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# BIBLE





# A CATALOGUE OF EARLY HEBREW LYRIC POEMS (PSALM LXVIII)

W. F. ALBRIGHT

Johns Hopkins University

THE present situation among students of the Hebrew Psalter may justly be termed chaotic. Currently accepted views range all the way from Pfeiffer's contention that « practically all the poems in our Psalter originated in the period 500-100 B.C. »<sup>1</sup> to the position of Eerdmans that the collection of Psalms was completed shortly after the middle of the fifth century B.C.E.<sup>2</sup> The range of respectable interpretation is almost as wide. In general, however, the problem of interpretation has made better progress toward generally acceptable results than is true of chronology, thanks largely to the work of Hermann Gunkel and his successors.

Thanks to Gunkel it is becoming more and more natural for scholars to study objective criteria of literary form and to rely less and less on speculative inferences with respect to the meaning of the original poet. What a poet means is notoriously uncertain, and the more gifted the poet the greater the number of possible interpretations of his meaning. The grandeur of a poet consists in his power to evoke profound sentiments in the

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941), p. 632. This was, of course, the view popularized by Duhm (1899) but also held by Wellhausen (*The Book of Psalms*, SBOT, 1898, pp. 162 ff.). The writer's position has remained almost diametrically opposed since the thirties; cf. his review of Pfeiffer, *JBL*, 61 (1942), 112 f.

<sup>2</sup> *The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, IV, 1947), pp. 14-27. I should prefer a date for the completion of the Psalter in the fourth century B.C.E., but under no circumstances later.

mind of his hearer or reader, not in his clarity of exposition. There is an essentially prelogical component in the thinking pattern of any poet, and this component tends to increase as a poet relies more and more on his intuitive and imaginative endowment.

The ancient Hebrew poets escaped the prelogical jungles into which many of the greatest modern poets have strayed on occasion precisely because of their close attachment to transmitted forms of verse and poetic clichés. Even today few biblical scholars have an adequate appreciation of the importance of the strictly formal element in ancient literary composition. Eduard Norden, Hermann Gunkel, and Martin Dibelius, followed closely by many others, have indeed created a different approach to the interpretation of ancient literature, but there are still a great many scholars — probably a majority, in fact — who continue to emphasize individual style and to treat each line of a Hebrew poem as though it were a reflection of some once current historical episode or of some psychological idiosyncrasy of the poet, instead of being an example of a given genre or category of composition. To be sure, great poetic genius had then, just as now, a way of breaking through accepted norms of composition and creating a new vogue. Moreover, a poet's sincerity need be no less because his sentiments are expressed in stereotyped form, just as his emotions tend to repeat those of his fellow mortals; it is precisely the generic quality found in the Psalms which makes them so universally valid for men of all subsequent times.

During the past thirty years there has been a steadily increasing tendency for scholars influenced by the school of Gunkel to date many, even most, Psalms before the Babylonian Exile, because of the very great difficulty of finding a satisfactory «Sitz im Leben» after the Exile. Mowinckel's work on the «Enthronement Psalms,» has had much to do with this movement. However, significant as it is, this tendency is far less decisive than two recent archaeological discoveries :

the decipherment and interpretation of the Ugaritic epics since 1931, and the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls since 1948. The Ugaritic texts are not only very extensive, but they date in their preserved form to the first three or four decades of the fourteenth century B.C.E. I calculate the total number of words preserved in the extant Ugaritic poetic literature at over 9000, which is more than half the approximately 18,000 words of the Hebrew Psalter. Of this over 4000 words belong to the Baal Epic alone, with about as many more divided equally between the Keret and the Aqhat (Danel) Epics. Unhappily we have only fragments of true lyrics and no real psalms, but even in our Ugaritic epics there are innumerable close reminiscences of the Hebrew Book. This is scarcely surprising, since the three Ugaritic epics certainly go back to South-Canaanite sources composed during previous centuries in Phoenicia proper.<sup>3</sup> My treatment of Psalm 68 below will illustrate the revolutionary character of the new material as applied to the interpretation of the Psalter. Fully half of the unique words which strew this Psalm may be elucidated from Ugaritic.

The new Isaiah Scrolls from the Dead Sea cave, dating as they do in the second or early first century B.C.E.,<sup>4</sup> throw only indirect light on the Hebrew Psalter, but this illumination is brilliant. In the first place it must be noted that the Hebrew text of the first MS of Isaiah is almost identical with that of the Masoretic Bible, if we discount the idiosyncratic spelling

<sup>3</sup> This follows mainly from the place-names found in the epics, such as Lebanon, Shirion (Antilibanus), Tyre, Sidon, *Smk*, *Hrnm*, etc., but also for many other reasons, cultural, linguistic, and historical.

<sup>4</sup> In spite of the overwhelming evidence from archaeology and palaeography for this dating, there are a few scholars, such as S. Zeitlin (most recently in *JQR*, 41 [1950], 1-58), who reject either their antiquity or their authenticity or both. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that not a single valid objection has yet been raised; all Zeitlin's and Driver's arguments are either based on inadequate information or deliberately reject evidence which the writer regards as certain.

and the many copyists' errors found in the new scroll. Moreover, the text of the second Isaiah Scroll and of the first two chapters of Habakkuk is even closer to the traditional text. The differences are greater than sometimes claimed,<sup>5</sup> and the new texts not infrequently agree with the Greek; yet the striking divergence from the Greek makes it clear that the latter is based on a considerably older Hebrew *Vorlage*. In short, it is becoming unlikely that the Hebrew prototype of the Greek Isaiah is later than the early third or even the fourth century B.C.E. The superior value of good ancient copies was well understood in antiquity. We cannot safely go below the middle of the second century for the Greek translation of the Hebrew Psalter, owing to the evidence from Hellenistic sources, especially from the prologue to Ben Sira. Our new recognition of the great antiquity of the standard Hebrew text makes it impossible to indulge in the reckless emendations and interpretations of a Duhm or a Wutz.<sup>6</sup> Even more important, it reduces the current critical dating of many Psalms in the Maccabean period to absurdity, since it is incredible that the Greek translators should have so completely misunderstood hundreds of words and phrases which had been written down by poets of their own time.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *BASOR*, No. 118.6 with reference to H. M. Orlinsky's contention that the Isaiah Scroll has practically no critical value (*JBL*, 69 [1950], 149-166).

<sup>6</sup> On the latter cf. the fully justified strictures of Orlinsky, *JBL*, 57 [1938], 215-218. Wutz's extraordinary reconstruction of Psalm 29 (*Systematische Wege von der Septuaginta zum hebräischen Urtext*, 1937, pp. 1025 f.) had actually been demolished by H. L. Ginsberg in 1935 before Wutz's work appeared.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Wellhausen maintained (*op. cit.*, p. 191) a date for Psalm 68 in or immediately after 167 B.C.E., and was followed in an elaborate paper by Haupt (*AJSL*, 23 [1907], 220-240), who pointed out (p. 225) that Wellhausen meant to date it in the year 164 B.C.E. Duhm had, however, dated it in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.E.)! Since the LXX misunderstood the Psalm wherever possible and obviously came after a whole series of inner Hebrew misunderstandings, I cannot date it after the Exile under any circumstances. To anyone fully conversant

It should now be obvious that Psalm 68, for instance, is far closer in date to Ugaritic than it is to the LXX.

The study of Ugaritic verse has thrown a flood of light on the evolution of Hebrew poetic forms, as I have pointed out in various recent publications.<sup>8</sup> Since such characteristic Ugaritic phenomena as climactic or repetitive parallelism swarm in the Song of Deborah and the Song of Miriam,<sup>9</sup> both dating from between 1300 and 1100 B.C.E., but disappear in such late compositions as Job, we are justified in referring psalms containing them to a relatively late date (except, of course, where we have reason to consider the verse or verses in question to be out of context and presumably borrowed from elsewhere). This entire subject merits much fuller discussion than there is space for in this paper.

It is not necessary to discuss the question of meter here. My reconstructions are based throughout on what we actually find in the text, where we have several different meters, mainly 2 + 2 and variations, 2 + 2 + 3 and variations, 3 + 3, 3 + 3 + 3 and variations.<sup>10</sup> I have insisted on the existence of mixed

with Ugaritic literature, it is quite incredible that its content can be late, even assuming deliberate archaism.

<sup>8</sup> Especially in the T. H. Robinson Volume, *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (1950), pp. 3-9; cf. also my *Pelican Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 230 ff.

<sup>9</sup> A study of the Song of Miriam (which I date in the thirteenth century B.C.E., though I do not deny that in the process of early oral transmission there has been some change of the text) is due to appear soon from the joint workshop of Drs. Frank Cross and Noel Freedman; cf. already the *Pelican* cited above, pp. 232 f.). — For Canaanite patterns of repetitive parallelism in Psalm 68 see Nos. V (like Song of Deborah), XII, XVII (abc/ced), XVIII, XIX (ab/cd//cd'/ef), XXII, XXV (?). Since accumulating evidence indicates that these patterns had largely become fossilized before original tenth-century verse was composed, this proportion is about what we should expect.

<sup>10</sup> Following are my statistics :

2 + 2, 2 + 2 + 2, etc. meters . . . . .	about 50 %
3 + 3, 3 + 3 + 3, meters . . . . .	about 22 %

meters in the Hebrew Bible since 1922, when my first paper on the subject appeared. C. H. Gordon has been recently leading an onslaught on the Ley-Sievers theory of Hebrew metrics, denying its validity for Ugaritic and Hebrew; his pupil, Dr. G. Douglas Young, has come out in this direction very strongly, insisting that «regular meter» cannot be found in early Semitic poetry.<sup>11</sup> Part of the trouble here may, of course, lie in our respective definitions of meter, but there is a deeper difference of opinion. I hold that Hebrew and Ugaritic poems were either sung to the accompaniment of instruments or were chanted like contemporary Homeric poetry.<sup>12</sup> In a Mediterranean world where music had reached such a high pitch of development,<sup>13</sup> it is simply inconceivable that there was no «regular meter» in standard Canaanite and Hebrew poetry, all of which was composed to be chanted or sung. This does not mean that there was not considerable freedom of movement in detail, with regular or irregular alternations of various metrical types.<sup>14</sup> I have been over the same material as Dr.

2 + 2 + 3 (4 + 3) meters . . . . . about 28 %

Cassuto's verse division and number of beats per colon agree with mine roughly two-thirds of the time (my estimate after counting his indications in the margin is about 62.5 %), but it must be noted that we agree nearly always where the text is clear in MT; see his useful paper in *Tarbiz*, 12 (1941), 1-27. In particular we agree nearly always in recognizing 2 + 2 + 3 groups.

<sup>11</sup> *JNES*, 9 (1950), 124-133.

<sup>12</sup> In my paper in *AJA*, 1950, on «Some Oriental Glosses on the Homeric Problem,» I defend a date for the oral composition of both Iliad and Odyssey about 1000-950 B.C.E., insisting on the even greater antiquity of the poetic type in question.

<sup>13</sup> My detailed monograph on the subject, promised nearly ten years ago, remains to be written. Meanwhile see the second edition of *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1946), pp. 125-129, 209-211, which contains the essentials.

<sup>14</sup> An excellent example of this metric alternation is found in the Gezer Calender, which must be scanned (there can be no serious argument here) as 2 + 2 + 2, 3 + 3 + 3, 2 + 2 (see *BASOR*, No. 92 [1943], 25). Since it is a complete mnemonic poem listing agricultural activities month by



Young, over and over again, and I interpret the same facts very differently.<sup>15</sup>

Psalms 68 has always been considered with justice as the most difficult of all the Psalms. In 1851, just a century ago, Eduard Reuss published a small book in which he brought together some 400 different commentaries on the Psalm, with results which can easily be imagined.<sup>16</sup> During the past century there have doubtless been as many more. My interpretation differs from previous attempts by frankly explaining the Psalm as a catalogue of lyric poems, presumably all of religious character — though this is not certain. In Hebrew, poetic compositions were commonly identified by citing their first line or strophe, following Sumerian and Accadian models, as well as probably Canaanite. This we know from a number of clear citations in the Bible.<sup>17</sup> This practice stands in contrast to Egyptian, at least to judge from extant Egyptian catalogues of religious

month, dating from the tenth century B.C.E., it is very germane to our subject.

<sup>15</sup> Among recent treatment of Hebrew poetry and prosody, from different points of view, may be mentioned especially T. H. Robinson, *Poetry and Poets of the Old Testament* (1947) and *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* (1950), pp. 438-450. I agree almost entirely with Robinson's modification of the Ley-Sievers system, except that I emphasize certain phonetic and alternating principles which he does not bring into the discussion, and that his chronology of verse-forms is pre-Ugaritic. Mowinkel's paper in the Bertholet Volume, pp. 379-394, is a very significant study, but I find his phonetic standpoint difficult to follow. In any case, it must be emphasized that we are still a long way from solving all basic problems of Ugaritic and Hebrew metrics. However, the metric nihilism to which Dr. Young seems to be moving is certainly far beyond rational discussion.

<sup>16</sup> *Der achtundsechzigste Psalm : ein Denkmal exegetischer Noth und Kunst.*

<sup>17</sup> There are many examples, most of which resemble our putative *incipits* very closely. The parade example is Ex. 15.21, which repeats as title of Miriam's Song the *incipit* of the Song of Moses immediately before. Then there is our No. I (Psalm 68.2), which is repeated as an *incipit* in Num. 10.35. Num. 21.17 f. is another *incipit* following the

and literary compositions.<sup>18</sup> The Ugaritic epics are also referred to merely by a single word, *l-B'l*, *l-Krt*, *l-'Aqht*. A number of Sumerian and Accadian catalogues of literary works or lyric poems in particular have been preserved,<sup>19</sup> so there is nothing surprising in having at least one such catalogue preserved in the Hebrew Bible. Obviously the editors of the Psalms interested themselves in rescuing ancient hymns from oblivion, and a catalogue containing no less than thirty such *incipits*, or beginnings of poems, would scarcely be rejected unless its contents were theologically or otherwise objectionable. Our thirty *incipits* (more or less, since no exact delimitation between titles is always

metric scheme 3 + 3 : 3 + 3. Then again I Sam. 18.7 is the *incipit* (or chorus, which may frequently have replaced the *incipit* in titles) of a triumphal song honoring Saul and David. The Song of the Forgotten Harlot (Is. 23.16) with the scheme 2 + 2 + 2 : 2 + 2 + 2 may be another. There are many more possibilities of this kind in the Hebrew Bible. The same principle was employed in Ugaritic to identify lyric poems (as against great epics), as we know from several passages in the liturgy of the Beautiful and Gracious Gods (Shahar and Shalem), where a number of such *incipits* of hymns are demarcated by lines from adjacent paragraphs: e.g., line 21, perhaps lines 16 ff., 8 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. H. Brugsch, *Die Ägyptologie* (1891), pp. 151-157, and *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 9 (1871), 43 ff.; H. Borchardt, *ibid.*, 33 (1895). 7 f. All these Egyptian titles refer to content rather than to wording.

<sup>19</sup> Two Sumerian catalogues of poetic compositions (longer than lyric poems) have been published by H. de Genouillac and S. N. Kramer (who was the first to recognize their significance, *BASOR*, No. 88 [1942], 10-19). E. Ebeling has published a long Assyrian catalogue of lyric poems (*Ein Hymnenkatalog aus Assur* [*Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung* I, 3] 1923), which is intermediate between the long *incipits* of Psalm 68 (and apparently of Ugarit) and the short *incipits* of the longer Sumerian poems. Accadian epics were identified by their first few words; e.g., *Enūma eliš*, *ša nagba imuru*, *enūma šallu awēlu*, etc., but lyric poems were so numerous that much longer *incipits* were necessary for identification. This was the practice taken over by the Israelites through Canaan. — On the subject of titles and *incipits* to identify literary works see now the detailed treatment by Carl Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des vorderen Orients*, Halle, 1949. He has missed much, however,



practicable) possess such extraordinary literary, religious, and historical interest, and their wealth of imagery is so great, that the Elohistie editor to whom we owe the inclusion of this Psalm deserves the thanks of every student of the Hebrew Bible. It is perfectly possible that the editor in question failed to recognize that he was dealing with a catalogue.

In 1934 Hans Schmidt recognized that Psalm 68 was made up of no fewer than sixteen short songs, originating independently and strung together for liturgical purposes.<sup>20</sup> Five years later T. H. Robinson followed Schmidt's view, but went still farther by writing : « We can solve the problem only on the hypothesis, advanced also by Hans Schmidt, that it is not strictly a single poem at all, but is a collection of sentences and phrases taken from a number of different poems, and strung together haphazard. It is almost as if a page from the index to a hymn-book (though the fragments are seldom taken from the opening lines of their respective poems) had strayed into the text. »<sup>21</sup> Quite independently the present writer reached the conclusion several years ago that the Psalm consists of a string of about thirty *incipits*. When he referred to his view in a paper presented at the Bangor meeting of the British Society for Old Testament Study in the summer of 1949, Robinson called attention to his own earlier statement; he had apparently been moving closer to the position now taken by the writer in the intervening decade.

As will appear from the notes to the following Hebrew reconstruction (cf. the English rendering at the end of this paper), I date the composition of the original Israelite poems

<sup>20</sup> See his commentary in Eissfeldt's *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*.

<sup>21</sup> In W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms* (1939), p. 320.

<sup>22</sup> Cassuto (*loc. cit.*, pp. 26 f.) dates Psalm 68 (which he treats as a unit), in the time of David or Solomon. The same date is adopted, quite independently, by Eerdmans (*op. cit.*, p. 333). In the same year that Eerdmans' commentary was published appeared E. Podechard's treatment of the Psalm in *Revue Biblique*, 54 (1947), 502-520, where it is dated about 320 B.C.E.

and adaptations from Canaanite between the thirteenth and the tenth century B.C.E. The collection and writing down of the *incipits* I should date in the Solomonic period or a little later.<sup>22</sup> The basis for this dating is partly that none of the verses suggests a date after the reign of David to me, but mainly that the Psalm swarms with instances of misunderstood defective spelling at the end of words, in accordance with the characteristic fully defective orthography of Phoenicia and early Israel, which was replaced by the standard spelling of the Divided Monarchy in the course of the ninth century B.C.E.<sup>23</sup> I have employed this approach effectively in studying the Oracles of Balaam,<sup>24</sup> and Drs. Frank M. Cross, Jr., and David Noel Freedman have used it successfully in several other poetic compositions from the eleventh-tenth centuries B.C.E.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> There are sixteen cases in my reconstruction where the (original) final consonant is vocalized differently from MT. The following cases appear certain or virtually so to me: *NeHPû* for *NeHPâ* (14), *HâRê* for *HâR* four times in v. 16, *Râ'û* for *Râ'u* (16), *'aHâRû* for *'aHâR* (26), *MiQRe(')ê* for *MâQôR* (27), *Gâ'aRû* (or *Gâ'aRû*) for *Ge'aR* (31), *YiKSêFû* for *Y KêSeF* (31), *TeNû* for *TeNû* (35). The rest exhibit varying degrees of probability. Several which can be explained by simple haplography or dittography of consonants are not included in the sixteen probative cases.

<sup>24</sup> *JBL*, 63 (1944), 207-233. In this connection it may be observed that the evidence for the early date of the Balaam Oracles has continued to grow since this paper was written, though neither I nor my students have been able to make further improvements in interpretation of the poems themselves as yet. Among strong additional arguments for the antiquity of the Oracles is the fact that, like the Song of Miriam, there is no mention of Ammon, only Moab and Edom appearing. In view of the increasing evidence for relatively late appearance of Ammon as an organized state menacing Israel, this is most significant. A powerful new argument for the antiquity of the story of Balaam is provided by my discovery (*BASOR*, 118 [1950], 16, n. 13) that Balaam's home land, *'MW* (Num. 22.5) is mentioned in Egyptian and cuneiform texts of the fifteenth century B.C.E.

<sup>25</sup> See provisionally their paper on «The Blessing of Moses» (*JBL*, 67 [1948], 191-210). Drs. Cross and Freedman are now working on a

In the present study lack of space has prevented me from going into detail with reference to previous commentators. Actually, the combination of our new orthographic technique with the clue provided by my catalogue theory, powerfully aided by the rich new Ugaritic material, enables one to go so far beyond previous students that reference to precursors will seldom be necessary. This does not mean that I feel sure of all my suggestions and interpretations. It goes without saying that some will remain uncertain and that others will be replaced by better proposals. I am, however, confident that the picture is correct on the whole, and that mistakes have not vitiated the usefulness of the new approaches. In my reconstruction of the catalogue of hymns in Psalm 68 I have restored the old tenth-century consonantal orthography. In the critical notes, however, I have simply followed MT, except when illustrating the original spelling. With many other recent commentators I have restored *YHWH*, marking it regularly with an asterisk to indicate that MT reads something else; see below, IA-B, n. b. There is only just enough indication of vowels in the restored text to clarify innovations and avoid ambiguity; *metheg* to indicate secondary accent is omitted to avert confusion, and *maqgeph* is used to denote enclitics and proclitics. Medial forms of consonants are retained when followed by vowels; otherwise final forms are employed. Diphthongs are not indicated, since they were not pronounced in the standard literary orthography of that time.

substantial monograph dealing with the development of early Hebrew orthography and the reconstruction of the earliest Hebrew poetry, based on their respective dissertations, which were also worked out jointly. The forthcoming publication of their study makes it unnecessary for me to go into extensive discussion or demonstration.

## PSALM LXVIII

IA.  
(2 + 2 + 3)

יִפְצֵ אֵיבוֹ<sup>c</sup>

יָקֻם<sup>a</sup> \* יִהְיֶה<sup>b</sup>

וַיִּגַם מִשְׁנָאוֹ מִפְּנֵי

IB.  
(3 + 3)

בַּהֲנִדָּה<sup>d</sup> עֵשֶׂן תִּנְדָּף<sup>c</sup>

כְּהֶמֶס דָּגַג מִפְּנֵי־אֵשׁ

II.  
2 + 2  
2 + 2  
2 + 2

מִפְּנֵי \* יִהְיֶה<sup>a</sup>

יֵאבֹד רִשְׁעִים

לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים<sup>b</sup>

וַיִּצְדָּקֵם יִשְׁמַח<sup>r</sup>

וַיִּשֶׁשׁ בִּשְׂמֵחַ

יַעֲלֶצֶ<sup>c</sup> > לִפְנֵי־אֵל (?) <<sup>d</sup>

IIIA.  
(2 + 2 + 3)

זֹמַר שֵׁם

שֵׁר ל \* יִהְיֶה

סֵל לְרִכְבּ יִעֲרֹפ־ת<sup>a</sup>

IIIB.  
(2 + 2)

וַעֲלֹז לִפְנֵי

בִּיהֲרֹר<sup>b</sup> שְׂמִיחָ<sup>c</sup>

IIIC.  
(2 + 2 + 3)

וַדִּין אֱלֹמֶנֶת<sup>d</sup>

אֵב יִתְמָם

\* יִהְיֶה בִּמְעַן קֹדֶשׁ

IV.  
(3 + 3 + 3)

\* יִהְיֶה<sup>a</sup>

מִשְׁבַּב<sup>b</sup> יִחְדָּם בְּתִהֲרִים<sup>c</sup>

מִצָּא אֶסְרָם בְּכִשְׁרֹת<sup>d</sup>

אֶךְ־סֹרֶם יִמְשְׁכֵן<sup>e</sup> צַחֲחָ<sup>f</sup>

V.  
2 + 2 + 3  
2 + 2 + 3  
2 + 2

לִפְנֵי עֶמֶךְ

\* יִהְיֶה בְּצִאֲתֶךָ

בְּצִעְדֶּךָ בִּישְׁמֵן

9. אֶרֶץ רֶעֶשׁ אֶרֶשׁמֶם נִטַּפּ־

מִפֶּנִּי \* יְהוָה זֶסְנִי<sup>b</sup>

אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

מִפֶּנִּי \* יְהוָה

VI.

2 + 2

2 + 2

תִּנְקֶה<sup>b</sup> \* יְהוָה

10. גִּשְׁמֵם נִדְבַת<sup>a</sup>

אֶת כִּנְנִתָּהּ<sup>d</sup>

נִחַלְתָּ <לֹא><sup>c</sup> - נִלְאָה<sup>a</sup>

VII.

2 + 2 + 2)

תִּכְנֶן בַּטְבָּתְךָ

11. חֵיתָ<sup>a</sup> יִשְׁב־בָּהּ

לִעֲנִי \* יְהוָה

VIII.

3 + 3)

12. \* יְהוָה יִתֵּן אִמְרָ<sup>a</sup>

מִבְּשֹׁרֶת<sup>b</sup> צִבְאָ<sup>c</sup> רֵב

IX.

2 + 2 + 3

3 (?) [4?]

יִדְדֶנִּי<sup>b</sup> יִדְדֶנִּי

13. מֶלֶךְ צִבְאָתָ<sup>a</sup>

וְיָבִיטָהּ<sup>c</sup> יְהוָה חֲלִיקָ<sup>d</sup> שֶׁלֶל

אִם-תִּשְׁכַּח בֶּן שִׁפְתָּם<sup>e</sup>

14.

X.

2 + 2 + 3)

נִחַפּ־ בַכֶּסֶף

כִּנְפֵי יָגֵד

יְהוָה אֲבִירָתָהּ בִּירְקֶרֶק<sup>b</sup> חֲרֹץ

XI.

3 + 3)

15. בִּפְרֵשׁ שִׁדְיָ<sup>a</sup> מַלְכֶם

יִפְּחֶתָּהּ<sup>b</sup> שֶׁלֶג בַּעֲלָמָן

XII.

2 + 2

2 + 2

הָרַב בִּשְׁנֵי

16. הָרַב<sup>a</sup> אֱלֹהִים

הָרַב בִּשְׁנֵי

הָרַב גִּבּוֹנָם<sup>b</sup>

2 + 2  
2 + 2

הָרִים<sup>e</sup> גִּבְנָנִם  
אֱלֹהִים לִשְׁבַּת

לִמְ<sup>c</sup> תִּרְצִדֶנָּה<sup>d</sup>  
הָרִי<sup>f</sup> חֲמֹד

(?)

אֶפְרַיִם יִשְׁכֵּן לְנֶצַח<sup>g</sup>

XIII.

(3 + 3 + 3)

18. רֶכֶב \* יְהוָה רִבְתָּם

אֶלֶפֶס<sup>a</sup> שְׁנֵי<sup>b</sup> אֲדָנִיבְּכֹאֵם<sup>c</sup> מִסְנֵי בִקְדָשׁ<sup>d</sup>

XIV.

(2 + 2 + 3)

שִׁבְתָּ שֶׁבַע

19. עֵלֶת לַמֶּרֶם

לִקְחַת מִתְּנַת בְּאֵרִים<sup>ba</sup>

(?)

XV.

3 + 3

3 + 3

20. בָּרֶךְ \* יְהוָה יְסִידִים

יַעֲמֹס־לֹנֶה<sup>a</sup> יִשְׁעָתָנָה<sup>a</sup>21. הָאֵלֶּה<sup>b</sup> אֱלֹהֵי<sup>c</sup> אֱלֹהֵי מִשְׁעֵת<sup>d</sup>וְלִיהוָה<sup>e</sup> לְמַת תִּצָּאֵת

XVI.

2 + 2

2 + 2

רֹאשׁ אִיבֹה

22. אֵין<sup>a</sup> יִמְחֹץ \* יְהוָה<sup>b</sup>

מִתְּחִלָּה בְּאִשְׁמוֹ

קִדְקֹד<sup>c</sup> שְׁעָרֵי<sup>d</sup>

XVII.

(3 + 3)

23. אָמַר \* יְהוָה<sup>a</sup>מִן־מִחִץ<sup>b</sup> בְּשָׁן<sup>c</sup> אֲשַׁב<sup>d</sup>אֲשַׁב־יָם<sup>e</sup> מִצִּמְרָת<sup>f</sup> יָם<sup>g</sup>

- XVIII. 24. לִמְ<sup>a</sup> עֲנִיתִי<sup>b</sup> (?) תִּרְחֹצֵץ<sup>c</sup>  
 2 + 2 רְגֵלְךָ בְּדָם  
 2 + 2 לִשְׁן כִּלְכֵךְ יְבִדְרָם<sup>d</sup> אֵיכֶם
- XIX. 25. מִנְחָה<sup>a</sup> רֹא<sup>b</sup>  
 2 + 2 חֲלֹכֶתְךָ \* יְהוֹ  
 2 + 2 חֲלֹכֶת אֵל מִלֶּךְ<sup>c</sup> בִּקְדֹשׁ
- XX. 26. קִדְמָה שֶׁרָם  
 (2 + 2 + 3) אַחֲרֵי נִגְנָם  
 בַּתָּךְ עֲלֵמַת תַּפְפֹּת
- XXI. 27. בָּמָה קָהֳלֵת<sup>a</sup>  
 (2 + 2 + 3) בֵּרַכְךָ \* יְהוֹ  
 אֲדֹנִי בַּמִּקְרָא<sup>b</sup> יִשְׂרָאֵל
- XXII. 28. שִׁירִי בְנִימֵן  
 2 + 2 + 3 צִעֵר רֹדֶם  
 2 + 2 שֶׁר יִהְיֶה רְגֵמָתָם<sup>a</sup> (?)  
 שֶׁר זִבְלֹן שֶׁר נִפְתָּל
- XXIII. 29. צִוֵּי אֱלֹהֵי<sup>a</sup>  
 (2 + 2 + 3) בַּעֲזֻקָּה<sup>c</sup> עֵזֶן<sup>d</sup>  
 \* יְהוֹ זִרְפַּעֲלָת<sup>e</sup> לֵן
- XXIV. 30. מַה יִּכְלֹתִי<sup>a</sup>  
 2 + 2 עַל<sup>b</sup> יִרְשָׁלַם<sup>c</sup>  
 2 + 2 לֶךְ יִבֹּל מִלְכָם שִׁי<sup>d</sup>
- XXV. 31. גִּעֵר<sup>a</sup> חֵית קִנִּי<sup>b</sup>  
 3 + 3 (?) + 3 עֲדַת אֲבָרִים<sup>c</sup> ... (?)  
 3 + 3



בעגל־ם<sup>d</sup> רִמְתִּי<sup>c</sup> מִתְרַפֵּס<sup>e</sup> בְּרִיץ<sup>f</sup>

יַעֲמִם<sup>g</sup> יִכְסֶּה<sup>h</sup> בִּזִּי<sup>i</sup>

יִרְעַמִּם<sup>j</sup> קִרְבַּת יִחְפֹּץ

XXVI.

2 + 2

2 + 2

מִן מִצָּרִים

יָדוֹ לִיָּהוּ

32. יֵאָתִי<sup>a</sup> חֲשֹׁמֶם<sup>b</sup>

כֶּשֶׁת־יָרֵךְ<sup>c</sup>

XXVII.

(2 + 2 + 2)

שֶׁר לִיָּהוּ

זֶמֶר אֲדֹנִי

33. מַמְלַכַּת<sup>a</sup> הָאָרֶץ<sup>b</sup>

XXVIII.

(3 + 3 + 3)

34. לִרְכֹּב<sup>a</sup> בִּשְׁמֵ שִׁמְקֹדֶם<sup>b</sup>

הַזִּיִּתָּן בִּקְל־עֵז<sup>c</sup>

תִּנֵּן<sup>d</sup> עֵז לִיָּהוּ<sup>e</sup> \* יָהוּ

35.

XXIX.

(2 + 2 + 3)

וְעֵז בִּשְׁחָקִים

נִרְאָ \* יָהוּ מִמִּקְדָּשְׁךָ<sup>b</sup>

עַל־שִׁמֶם<sup>a</sup> גִּאוֹתִי

36.

XXX.

(3 + 3)

אֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל <יָהוּ><sup>a</sup> הָאֵל

נִתְּנָה<sup>b</sup> רַחֲמֵצֶמֶת<sup>c</sup> לָעַם

בְּרַד אֱלֹהִים<sup>d</sup>

## NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT

IA-B. Verses 2 and 3a probably belong together; against their separation is the fact that IB would then be left without a subject. IA is, of course, an oral variant of Num. 10.35; the difference between **יָקוּם** here and **יָקוּמָה** there is like that existing between the initial word of the Song of Miriam in Ex. 15.1, **אָשִׁירָה**, and the first word of the *incipit* repeated in v. 21, **שִׁירִי**. The shift of pronominal suffixes from the third person singular to the second person is quite in line with similar variations in oral transmission elsewhere. According to the JE tradition in Numbers this hymn was sung when the Ark of the Covenant began its journey in the morning. — (a) We must naturally vocalize the verbs as jussive, since the hymn is an appeal to *YHWH*, not a mere prediction of what he will do. (b) Almost throughout the Psalm I have replaced the **אֱלֹהִים** of this Elohistie text by the original Tetragrammaton, just as preserved in the variant form Num. 10.35. That the four-letter word is given in its older spelling as a trigrammaton has nothing to do with the later development of the shortened jussive form *Yáhū*, spelled the same way; in the tenth century \**Yahweh* would be written so. Still earlier is the reconstructed form \**Yahwīy*, which I have discussed in *JBL*, 67 (1948), 379 f. (c) For this spelling of the ending in question, pronounced *êw* for older *êyhu*, in the tenth century see my treatment of the Gezer Calendar in *BASOR*, No. 92 (1943), especially p. 22, n. 27. (d) So vocalize (as *nif'al* instead of *qal*) with virtually all commentators. (e) The third person feminine singular agrees with the two words for « foes » in the preceding cola. In Canaanite and early Hebrew masculine plurals were often construed with fem. sing. verbs where their meaning was clearly collective; cf. my discussions in the *Cath. Bib. Quart.* 7 (1945), 22 f., and *Jour. Cun. Stud.*, 2 (1948), 243 f. (with W. L. Moran).

II. This verse-cluster is naturally undatable with our present knowledge. — (a) Cf. n. b. on IA-B. (b) Here and elsewhere in

similar instances I have kept the אלהים because of the general tendency in Hebrew verse to vary the names of God in adjacent cola. (c) The verb יעלצו, which is quite out of place in MT, both stylistically and metrically, was transposed because of the identical phrase which seems to have followed it in both positions. (d) This insertion, or something of the same type, appears to be required by the context; see n. c.

IIIA-C. The great antiquity of the content of this verse-cluster is established by the two passages taken directly from older Canaanite literature. There is nothing else, aside from the archaic prosody (prevalence of 2 + 2 + 3 meter, and some stylistic peculiarities), to point to an early date — but there is nothing opposed to a very early date, not later than the tenth century B.C.E. — (a) This expression has been recognized from the beginning of Ugaritic studies as identical with Ugar. *rkb* 'rpt, a standing appellation of the Canaanite storm-god Baal. It is curious to note that F. X. Wutz, virtually always wild in exegetical detail, emended and explained it correctly as early as 1925 (*Die Psalmen*, p. 171), before the Ugaritic tablets were dreamed of. (b) The original text may have already had the jussive *Yáhū*, written as MT. (c) The omission of *heth* is due to simple *homoioarkton*; the scribe thought of שמו in the preceding line. This natural emendation, already suggested by Hare and others, was independently proposed by my student Dr. S. Iwry. (d) Cf. in the Aqhat and Danel Epic of Ugaritic the similar verses: *ydn dn 'almnt ytp̄t̄ tp̄t̄ ytm* (II Aqhat, v. 7 f.) and similarly III Keret, vi. 33 ff.

IV. This verse-cluster again contains very clear reminiscences of Canaanite poetry, together with a tricolon typical of Ugaritic prosody except that it does not repeat words. The extremely early date is manifest — unless we assume deliberate archaism. — (a) I take יהי\* to be *extra metrum*, but Cassuto may easily be more correct in scanning it with the following three words as 2 + 2 (which would then be followed by 3 + 3, not by 3 + 2 + 2). (b) The vocalization *mōšib y'hîdîm bêta(h)m* and

reference to the creation of homes for unmarried men is imposed by the parallel in the Keret Epic (I.95 ff., 183 ff.), hitherto unnoticed. When the wholesale mobilization of the people of Keret for war against Pabel-malik is described we read :

*yhd bth sgr*

*'almnt škr tškr*

As for the unmarried, his house  
is closed,

The widow hires herself  
out.

MT vocalizes quite correctly here; we must remember that the place of an unmarried man without means to purchase a bride was quite unenviable among the Canaanites and early Israelites, so it was an act of grace on the part of *YHWH* to found a family for a poor bachelor (בית *means both « house » and « family, »* as well known). (c) Following MT, but assuming haplography of original *mem*. Of course this was the orthography of the pronominal suffix in question in the earliest Israelite times; cf. my remarks on בלהנה in *JNES*, 3, 254 f. (d) This word is correctly transmitted; it is Ugar. *ktṛt*, parallel to *snnt*, « women singers » (opposite to *bkyt* = *mšpdt*, « female mourners »), as correctly recognized by H. L. Ginsberg and C. H. Gordon. Since such singing women were employed by the Canaanites to help celebrate joyous occasions (as in the Aqhat Epic), they are entirely in place; the dismissal of this correct interpretation so cavalierly by Eerdmans in *The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (1947), p. 327, illustrates only too well how utterly ignorant the typical O. T. scholar is of the *Umwelt* of Israel. Since the divine name *Kauthār* (preserved in Arabic and Aramaic) appears in late Phoenician as *Kûšōr* (*Chūsōr* in Philo Byblius), the vocalization of MT is quite correct for Hebrew (*JAOS*, 60 [1940], 256 f.) (e) My change, assuming that the initial *mem* was lost by simple haplography, makes this colon conform entirely to the structure of the tricolon as a whole; it is *YHWH* who settles rebels against His rule in the desert. (f) The generally accepted translation of this word is imposed by the context and is etymologically defensible.

V. The variations show that this *incipit* is distinct from the second strophe of the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5.4-5), which it closely resembles. That it must belong to the same period (i.e., twelfth-eleventh centuries B.C.E.) was already recognized by M. Bittenwieser (to mention only recent commentators). With only two examples of this particular strophic cliché it is idle to speculate on their relative antiquity. — (a) Since the consonants are identical in the two contexts we must give up any attempt to emend the text. On the other hand, parallelism requires a meaning such as «quake, shake,» or the like. I therefore derive the form from a stem *ṭpp*, meaning «toss,» or the like; cf. Arab. *ṭaffa*, *ṭaṭṭafa*, «to flap the wings (bird),» and Aram. *ṭṭp*, «to flicker.» (b) That this phrase, \**Zû-Sinai*, «The One of Sinai,» is an ancient appellation of *YHWH* (it occurs both here and in the Song of Deborah) was first recognized by the erratic but often brilliant Hubert Grimme; cf. *BASOR*, No. 62. 30.

VI. This may belong with VII as part of a single composition. It looks relatively archaic. — (a) Properly adverbial accusative dependent on the following verb, literally, «free-will offerings.» (b) No commentator seems to have understood the meaning of תְּנִיָּה; it is simply and obviously denominative of the noun *tēnūfāh*, which must have meant originally «extra offering as a token of good will,» like Accad. *nūptu*; for the idea cf. *bahššš*, Louisiana French *lagnappe*. The original meaning of the stem *nwp* in Hebrew, just as in Arabic and Accadian, was «to surpass, exceed.» (c) Insertion of נָ, assuming a very simple haplography which caused the scribe to omit the first of two adjacent consonantal groups נָ, not only makes sense of the verse without further emendation but also improves the meter (which remains 2 + 2). (d) While this is perfect Hebrew, it is also perfect Canaanite; cf. the Baal Epic (IIAB, iv. 48), where we read 'El *mlk d-yknnh*, «El, the king who brought him into being» (for the translation cf. my treatment in the *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* [1950], p. 5).

VII. This may belong with the preceding; its date is early. — (a) MT חִיתָךְ can easily be explained as reminiscence of נַחֲלָתְךָ immediately before or as proleptically influenced by the following מִיִּבְתָּךְ. In any case the word is attested in the earliest Israelite times by the archaic *hawwôt Yā'îr*, mentioned several times, as well as by the less archaic form *hayyah*, «camp» (II Sam. 23.13). Its great antiquity is proved by the cognate Egyptian *why.t* (used from about 2000 on as a word designating «tribe of Semitic nomads» and Arab. *hayy* (for \**hawy*-), «nomadic tribe.» The construct is regular in Ugaritic and early Hebrew (just as in early Accadian, South Arabic, etc.) in the case of an antecedent followed by a relative clause without relative pronoun.

VIII. The age of this bicolon is obviously early, but it is impossible to speak with more precision. — (a) With several commentators, we must evidently read the consonantal text of MT, but divide differently, attaching *he* to the preceding, not the following word. Since the definite article was virtually never used in early Hebrew poetry, this division is obviously correct, besides making better sense. (b) The less said about the «female bearers of good tidings» the better. (c) In early Hebrew poetry the original Canaanite accentuation seems regularly to have been preserved in such cases: the Canaanite pronunciation before the 13th-12th century B.C.E. was *šāba'u rabbu*, which remained *šāba' rab* in verse for a long time.

IX. This verse-cluster is obviously very early, belonging in the period before the Israelites had settled down completely, i.e., before the Song of Deborah. The «kings» must in any event be Canaanite, since the Transjordan states had in general only one king each. — (a) Another treatment of this colon might be to transpose and read צְבָאוֹת מְלָכִים, «the armies of the kings,» the change occurring possibly on the analogy of יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת. (b) The verb *ndd* in the sense of «flee» seems to occur several times in Ugaritic, but no passage yields an absolutely certain significance. (c) The only changes in the

enigmatic consonantal text of the first three words of 13b are to transpose *beth* from its present place to a place in a very similar group of consonants four letters before, and to recognize dittography of *taw*. The Northwest-Semitic word *nawûm* means both «pasture land» (as in contemporary Accadian) and «camping area of a nomadic tribe» in the Mari letters (18th century B.C.E.). In the Hebrew Bible it seems to split, meaning both «pasture, etc.» and «dwelling, abode», with an earlier sense «pastoral encampment,» of the kind in which the Israelites must have lived in the first generations after the invasion of Transjordan. (d) For this use of the *hithpa'el* see Jos. 18.5. Other verbal forms could be used, but this does least violence to the consonantal text. (e) It is doubtful whether this colon belongs with the preceding, but since it makes excellent sense here, we keep it in place. In two other places this word appears as מִשְׁפָּתִים, which should perhaps be restored here. The meaning «hearth» was strongly defended by Paul Haupt, *AJSL*, 23 (1907), 236, n. 57, who was certainly correct. The stem meant originally «set, place,» and is identical with Ugar. *tpd* (which became *tpt* by partial assimilation), as pointed out first by the writer, *JPOS*, 12 (1932), 202, n. 83. In Hebrew the verb means twice «set (a cauldron) on the hearth,» which is obviously denominative. Ugar. *mtpdm* (with dual ending) is the same word as מִשְׁפָּתִים and can be shown to mean «hearth (stationary or movable)» in Anath, iii. 79 (= Pl. ix. 20); cf. a forthcoming treatment of this passage elsewhere. The two hearths were customary in antiquity as today among many nomad Arabs. The idea of the passage is, of course, to shame the stay-at-homes who miss such an opportunity for spoil because of their lethargy.

X. This verse-cluster is so patently of Canaanite origin that no discussion is necessary; without context it is impossible to guess how it was applied. It may be a simple love poem, but this is unlikely in a catalogue of hymns and triumphal songs. — (a) The wings of the bird are referred to by the



verb, which must therefore be plural (originally dual), not singular. The parallelism between כִּנָּה and אֲבֵרָה is enough to prove this corrected vocalization, which is another clear indication of early spelling in this Psalm. (b) Ugar. *yrq hrš*, «yellow gold,» which was doubtless an ancient cliché by 1400 B.C.E.

XI. This poem points to the beginnings of Israel, during the wars of conquest in Transjordan about the 13th century B.C.E. The mount Zalmon in question is not the hill near Shechem mentioned Jud. 9.48, which could not be over 3000 feet (900 meters) high and would almost never have any snow, but (as recognized by nearly all modern commentators) Djebel Ḥaurân (Druz), the (A)salmanos of Ptolemy. Here there are peaks more than 1800 meters (6000 feet) high, where snow falls nearly every winter but where it melts on the lava slopes with extraordinary speed. The name («Dark One») refers to the volcanic character of its rock, so different from the limestone of Lebanon («White One»). — (a) For the early Hebrew divine name *Šadday* for older *Šaddāyu*, «Mountain One,» see my discussion, *JBL*, 54 (1935), 180-193. Since that time there has come much fresh material, including the name itself in an inscription from about 1300 B.C. found in Egypt (see provisionally Finkelstein, *The Jews* [1949], pp. 7, 56, n. 20). (b) This convincing emendation I owe to Dr. S. Iwry, who is publishing it in *JBL*; only simple haplography and vertical dittography are involved, and there is an excellent parallel in Jer. 18.14, where I should render (with one small emendation of the consonantal text and simple haplography) :

Will flints ( <i>šōr</i> ) forsake	Or snow Lebanon?
the fields	
Will flowing ( <i>zābīm</i> ) water	Or running springs ( <i>m<sup>e</sup>qôrīm</i> )?
dry up	

Since most fields in the Palestine hill-country are strewn with pieces of flint, the pertinence of Jeremiah's words is obvious. The verb for melting or disappearance of snow and



drying up or disappearance of water is the same; נַחַשׁ is a transposed doublet of נָשַׁח, «to dry up, disappear.»

XII. This verse-cluster is undoubtedly of Canaanite inspiration, since *YHWH* was thought of in earliest Israel as having a preferred home in the southern mountains. Who the original deity of Djebel Haurân was escapes us, but it was presumably some form of the storm-god. The clue to the correct orthography and translation is given by the first half of v. 17a, which proves that the word for «mountain(s)» should be plural. This passage is thus again important for its very archaic spelling. — (a) This vocalization (cf. above) greatly aids the meter. Cassuto has correctly scanned most of the passage, but his rhythm is awkward while ours flows smoothly. (b) The exact meaning of *gabnûnim* is unknown, but the commentators are doubtless right in connecting it with *gîbbên*, «humpbacked,» and cognates. (c) Vocalize as *lāmá* rather than *lāmmah* with MT; cf. XVIII, n. a. (d) Recent renderings of this *hapax* oscillate between «squint» (or a similar sense) and «dance.» The versions disagree with one another radically in their interpretations, so the true meaning of the word had evidently been forgotten by their time. My rendering simply follows the usual Arabic meaning, «to watch.» (e) For the enclitic *mem* attached to the end of words for emphasis see most recently William L. Moran, *Cath. Bib. Quart.*, 12 (1950), 153, n. 4, and 154, who gives two very good new examples in Is. 9.18 and Gen. 14.6. The number already discovered in the Bible runs into the scores, all in archaizing verse or prose derived from poetry. (f) The initial *he* is out of place in early poetic style and must have been added by dittography; on the syntax see above, VII, n. a. (g) I do not know what to do with this three-beat colon; perhaps a colon has been lost and this is thus a fragmentary *incipit*; cf. XV, n. b.

XIII. This tricolon is not only of archaic type, but it contains a *hapax* known otherwise only from Ugaritic and

shares the parallelism of « thousands » and « myriads » applied to the size of armies with such ancient verse as the *incipit* of the hymn sung at the end of the Ark's daily journey (cf. above, I, for the hymn sung in the morning), the Blessing of Moses, Deut. 33.17 (eleventh century B.C.E., Cross and Freedman, *JBL*, 67 [1948], 192), and the triumphal song in honor of Saul and David (I Sam. 18.7). — (a) At an early stage in transmission of the written text the final *mem* may have been erroneously considered as enclitic and dropped, but other explanations of its loss are possible. (b) In MT we have *nun aleph* followed immediately by *nun aleph* in שָׁנָאנִי, and the first pair evidently arose through dittography. Restoring שָׁנָנִי, we have Ugaritic *tnn* (vocalized *šanani*), mentioned in three tablets, once in parallelism with *hpt* = Amarna *hupšu*, « serf, colonus, » once in parallelism with *'rb*, « nomad, » and once as the name of a class or guild listed between *mr'um*, « youths, attendants, grooms, » and *nqdm*, « shepherds. » In Keret, I, i. we have *tnn d-bl hg*, « *tnn* without number, » listed among the elements of the king's huge army of the South (*nqb*). The word has not hitherto been explained etymologically; it is cognate to Accad. *šanānu* = Eth. *tasannāna*, « to strive, » and *šitnuntu*, « war, » etc. Our translation « warrior » may be slightly too broad; it was certainly a class of warriors which formed a recognized element in the general population. (c) This word, which must clearly be inserted, has fallen out because of double haplography; i.e., both the initial and the final consonants were the same as the final and initial letters, respectively, of the words immediately preceding and following. For an excellent example cf. the originally identical texts of II Sam. 22.7b and Psalm 18.7 (פָּנִי and the preceding orthographic *yodh* must be omitted before this fact becomes obvious). (d) בּוֹאָ means, of course, « to bring. » For both imagery and wording cf. the parallel text Deut. 33.2.

XIV. Recognition of the fact that *mrym* = Heb. *mārôm* always appears with *špn* = *šāfōn* in Ugaritic carries with it

the corollary that *mārôm* in geographical extension means «north.» It follows that ארם is a mistake for ארם, not for 'Edôm, as sometimes thought. Our poem thus celebrated David's successful campaign in Zobah about the middle of his reign, c. 980 B.C.E. — (a) The preposition ב means either «in» as usually in Hebrew or «from» as often in Ugaritic and Phoenician; cf. *JAOS*, 67 (1947), 158, n. 42. (b) The following words, v. 19b, are reminiscent both of 7b and of 17b; I have no idea what to do with them.

XV. This prosy verse-cluster is hard to date by its content. In favor of an early date is, *inter alia*, the use of the preposition ה in the clear sense of «(escape) from,» as in Ugaritic; cf., e.g., the examples collected by Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (1947), p. 86. — (a) The ה of MT is presumably influenced by ה at the beginning of the following verse. (b) Reading *hē'* (= *hinnē*) here was suggested by Dr. Victor R. Gold; the initial *aleph* of the next word was then lost by simple haplography. (c) The second *lamedh* is dittography of the first. (d) The initial *lamedh* of MT is due to dittography and perhaps also to *homoioarkton*. (e) אדני is evidently repetition of preceding יהוה; it is omitted by the LXX.

XVI. This strophe is archaic in form and content, but cannot be dated, especially since our interpretation is not certain. — (a) So correctly vocalize with Dr. Frank M. Cross, Jr., following the analogy of such passages as II Sam. 1.25, 27; Is. 14.12. Ugar. 'ek, though syntactically similar, is semantically quite different, meaning «why?» (b) The word for «God» should probably be transposed to after the verb instead of before it. (c) ראש and קדקד are in parallelism, just as often in Ugaritic and in such early Hebrew poetry as the Oracles of Balaam (Num. 24.17). (d) The versions, followed by most commentators, have brought «skull» together with *šē'ār*, «head of hair,» but the result is sheer nonsense, quite aside from running counter to the normal practice in parallelism. Accordingly I follow the suggestion of Dr. S. Iwry, and return

to a discarded proposal of the past to read *šā'îr*, «goat,» in the double sense of «scape-goat» and of «goat demon, satyr,» well attested in later biblical literature. The scape-goat ritual is exceedingly ancient, and nothing would have been simpler than for the animal, driven forth laden with the sins of the people, to become a dangerous monster of the satyr class in the imagination of the common folk. However, I do not regard this interpretation as certain, and a reading רשע, «the wicked,» after Hab. 3.13 is certainly possible.

XVII. This difficult passage, which has been emended in wrong directions or simply misinterpreted by most commentators because of their pre-Ugaritic horizon, seems first to have been at least partly understood by the late S. Feigin in his book מסתרי העבר (1943), p. 407. Cassuto, *Tarbiz*, 12.18, n. 69, came very close to the truth with regard to the word בשן. The bicolon is undoubtedly of Canaanite origin; the name *YHWH* has displaced original *Ba'al*. — (a) I am treating these two words as extra-metrical, since they cannot fit into the following bicolon. (b) We must almost certainly insert מַחֲזֵק here in order to complete both sense and metric form; it was presumably lost by a combination of vertical haplography and *homoioarkton*. (c) This is naturally Ugar. *bṭn* = Accad. *bašmu*, «viper, serpent,» which appears in vernacular Syrian Arabic also as *bṭn*. This word was first discovered in Ugaritic by the writer (cf. *BASOR*, No. 46 [1932], 19, n. 16); it is probably cognate with Heb. *pēten* (itself borrowed from a dialectal form like Aram. *patnā*), as he also thought at that time. All these words are derived by normal sound change, complicated by partial dissimilation and assimilation, from an original *\*batmu*. The word also appears in the Blessing of Moses, Deut. 33.22, where we must evidently render «Dan is a young lion / Which attacks (זנק = Accad. *sanāqu*) a viper (*bāšān*); cf. Cross and Freedman, *JBL*, 67 (1948), 208, n. 74. It is likely that the place-name «Bashan» had something to do with vipers originally. (d) Read *gal* for *hif'il*. (e) Attach the initial *mem* of the next word-

group to it as enclitic (cf. above, XII, e). (f) Here I propose my most drastic emendation, changing *lamedh* to *mem*, for which no similarity of form or mechanical error of a copyist can be adduced. However, to judge from all the many Ugaritic and biblical parallels we should certainly expect a verb for « smiting » before mention of the Sea dragon. In going through the verbs used in this connection both in Ugaritic and in Hebrew only one fitted here — צַמַּח — and this fits like a glove; cf. the classical passage, Anath, iii. 35-44, where we have the nouns *ym*, « dragon, » and *bṭn*, « serpent, » as well as the verbs *mḥš* (also *mḥš*) and *šmt*, employed along with other similar terms. The original Bronze-Age text ran something like *min-šumut(i) Yammi*, which passed into Iron-Age Hebrew as *miš-šumut Yam*, later confused by a copyist with the familiar expression *mēšullôt yam*, « bottom of the sea. » (g) It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the importance of Yam in both Canaanite and Hebrew poetic literature, since there is already an extensive literature on the subject.

XVIII. My introduction of the Canaanite goddess Anath into this verse-cluster is probably more ingenious than convincing; for the textual arguments in favor of it see n. b. However, the picture requires a hunter or huntress who hunts men with dogs, a sanguinary being obviously known to hearers of the strophe. This fits Anath perfectly: she was a huntress of renown as proved by passages in the Aqhat Epic (cf. especially II Aqhat, vi. 40 and the treatment of it by H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR*, No. 98.22); she was an incredibly sanguinary huntress of her human enemies, in whose blood she delighted to wade and with whose blood she washed her hands (Anath, ii. 5 ff., 13 f., 27 f., 34: *trḥš ydh b-dm*, « she washed her hands in blood »). Cf. also Psalm 58.11: « The just shall rejoice/ When he seeth vengeance// His feet he shall wash/ in the blood of the wicked! » If my reading is correct it would probably follow that Anath is apostrophized as the representative of an enemy nation whose tutelary goddess she was. We have

a perfect illustration of such a poetic apostrophe directed to a pagan deity in the famous sixth-century passage Is. 14.12 ff., which is addressed to the god 'Ashtar (called Helel, son of Dawn). — (a) The adverb *lāmā* (with the accent on the second syllable and no doubling of the second consonant) is followed by a divine name (*YHWH* or *'Elôhîm*) in numerous passages (Ex. 32.11; Jud. 21.3; Psalm 10.1, 74.1, 88.15). There is, accordingly, nothing wrong with the syntax or idiom of our reconstructed text. (b) Taking the last two letters of כמען in MT and assuming simple haplography of the following *taw*, we have the name of the goddess Anath instead of an utterly unintelligible «in order that.» However, the reading may still be an accidental coincidence. (c) All commentators emend תמהץ to תרחץ, pointing out how easy such a scribal error would be after ימהץ in v. 22. However, the versions almost certainly found תמהץ before them already, since the words used do not reflect רחץ elsewhere. (d) Here we have a simple type of reminiscent haplography, assisted by the occurrence of *beth* in both the preceding and the following words.

XIX. This passage is hard to place, but the wording suggests an early date, perhaps in the tenth century B.C.E. — (a) מנהו certainly belongs here and not at the end of XVIII, where there is absolutely no place for it. It has never been explained hitherto, but is certainly a contracted representation of מן הוא (Is. 18.2, 7 — also in the Dead Sea Scroll and in LXX, which renders literally *τίς αὐτοῦ* ... in both verses). The old interrogative and indefinite pronoun *mn* appears frequently in Ugaritic (Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, 1947, p. 32), usually in the form *mn-m*, which is also found in Amarna Canaanite and Phoenician; I have pointed out that it occurs in Hebrew in the archaic verse Deut 33.11 (*Cath. Bib. Quart.*, 7 [1945], 23 f.). (b) The antecedent requires the singular instead of the plural of MT. (c) Though the participle of the *qal* does not appear in the Bible, it makes better stylistic and metrical sense than MT. It should be added that *h'likôt* is here used like the



cognate Accad. *alaktu*, *alḫakāti* (sic) in the sense of « professional or functional activity. » For the same words (and Ugaritic *hlkt*) employed in the meaning « orbit, » cf. *BASOR*, No. 82. 49.

XX. This strophe is not a liturgical notation, as sometimes thought. The logical difficulty felt in MT and awkwardly evaded by many commentators, that the singers precede, yet follow the players, disappears as soon as we remember that all *matres lectionis* were missing in tenth-century spelling. We must simply point the initial words of the first two cola as *pī'el* imperatives. In the absence of any other comparable liturgical insertions, we may safely treat the tricolon as the *incipit* of a hymn — age unknown.

XXI. This is another hymn of unknown date but with early form. — (a) The strange *hapax* מַקְהִלֹת disappears as soon as we separate the first word into *bēmô q<sup>h</sup>illôt*, as we propose. (b) We agree with the commentators who see the word *miqrā'*, « assembly, » here, in parallelism with the first colon. The final *aleph* may have been lost either by haplography (note that in my reconstructed form *resh aleph* appears twice in successive words, with only two letters between) or phonetically (the traditional Masoretic construct plural *miqrā'ê* seems to be a school form for the purpose of protecting the *aleph*, which might have been slurred to the point of elision in *miqr<sup>e</sup>ê* — the *a* was, of course, originally short).

XXII. This *incipit* has been confused by the early copyist's error *mem* for *resh* at the end of the first word, presumably caused by the fact that the first words of the two preceding verses also ended in *mem*. This mistake slipped into the text before any of the versions could avoid it. Since this poem is evidently — at least in part — an attack on the chiefs of the tribes, one would expect the same word here as before the remaining names of tribes. Other tribal names doubtless followed. Since the old tribal system disintegrated rapidly after Solomon's reconstitution of the national organization, this poem

may safely be dated before the time of David, who inaugurated centralizing policies which were decisively carried out by Solomon (cf. Finkelstein, *The Jews* [1949], pp. 25 f., 28). Besides, the obviously bitter criticism of the chieftains of Judah scarcely fits the time of David. It would be tempting to attribute the poem to adherents of Samuel and to date it at the beginning of Saul's reign. However, we know too little about possibilities to insist on any one solution. That the poem belongs to the same general age as other poems listing the tribes and their leaders, such as the Song of Deborah and the Blessings of Jacob and Moses, is obvious. — (a) My proposed vocalization of the consonants of MT assumes that the meaning of *rgm* in this passage is archaic and may be more directly connected with the basic Accadian sense «to shout, speak (whence *targumannu*, «interpreter»), Ugaritic «speak, say (very common),» legal Accadian «bespeak, claim (possession of),» Arab. «curse, revile.» It should be added that the Arabic and Hebrew stem *rgm*, «to stone,» has nothing to do with these words (contrary to the lexicographers), but is a doublet of *rgb* (cf. Arab. *rujm*, «heap of stones,» and Heb. *régeb*, «boulder» — never «clod»).

XXIII. This verse-cluster is early, as suggested by such items as the use of 'ōz in the sense of «victory,» and the resemblance of the passage to Ex. 15.16-17. — (a) Vocalize as imperative instead of as perfect. (b) Attach the final *kaph* to the next word. (c) This word should perhaps be transposed and placed after the next one, which would be textually very simple. (d) Point 'ōz instead of 'ûzāh, where the early reviser of the orthography seems to have guessed wrong. (e) Note also שָׁפַר in the inscriptions of Ahiṣam and Eliba'al of Byblus in the tenth century B.C.E.

XXIV. As it stands the verse is utterly illogical. Not only was the Temple not «over» Jerusalem in early times, but the «kings» could hardly be expected to bring offerings even to God *from* the Temple. My new division of the first colon makes



complete sense, suggesting strongly that this poem celebrated David's conquest of Jerusalem, about 990 B.C.E. The consonantal text remains virtually unchanged. — (a) I first read the infinitive construct *y<sup>e</sup>kōl<sup>e</sup>kā*, with no change in the consonants of MT, which is possible but difficult since כִּה in the sense of «how (great, etc.)» is always followed by an intransitive perfect verb or adjective. The change of יכֹלֵךְ to יכֹלֵת would be facilitated by the fact that the sequence *lamedh kaph* appears twice in the next line. The verb יכֹל is often used in exactly this way (with the preposition כִּי). (b) Read 'alē instead of 'al, *metri causa*, as often elsewhere in MT. (c) So pronounced in early times, as known from cuneiform and Greek transcriptions. (d) H. L. Ginsberg derives this word plausibly from older *ta'yu*, «offering» (for the etymology of which see *BASOR*, No. 110, 15, n. 41, on the occurrence of the word in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions). The final colon can be more easily scanned if we assume that it retained the Canaanite pronunciation *malakûma* (*malakîma*) šayy.

XXV. This verse has always been a *crux interpretum*; I gave it up in despair again and again, only discovering what appears to be the correct division of words and interpretation long after I had reached my present conclusions everywhere else in the chapter. I differ radically almost throughout from all precursors. If my treatment is approximately correct, the verse-cluster may be dated in the period of the Judges, when Israel was often helpless before its neighbors. The replacement of the conventional «kings» by «peoples» points to the period when the greatest menace came from the Sea Peoples instead of from the Canaanite «kings» or the states beyond the Jordan. There is no solid basis for the frequently expressed view that הִיתָ כְּנָה refers to the Egyptians; if figures of speech must «walk on all fours» the reed thickets could just as well reflect the Coastal Plain of Palestine, which has always been full of marshes. — (a) Read the perfect feminine singular (or plural) instead of the imperative, in

accordance with early orthography. (b) That is, lions and leopards, or other beasts of prey which preferred the jungles of the Jordan and the Coastal Plain. (c) A third word may have fallen out. (d) I assume that the final *mem* was lost by haplography before the word עֲמִים was misplaced here. (e) So read with several Hebrew MSS. (f) The three words following cannot be twisted to make sense, but if we retain their consonants, and divide and point differently complete sense emerges. *Mitrappîm bā-rûš*, «wearied by running,» is paralleled exactly in Prov. 18.9 (cf. also Jos. 18.3): *mitrappêh bi-mlaktô*, «wearied by his work (task).» The calves are threatened by the wild beasts after they are too weary to escape. (g) עֲמִים was presumably displaced to its present location in MT because of the two *mems* found in the latter (*homoioteleuton*). (h) This reading, which does not change a single consonant in the *textus receptus*, ought to have been noticed before, because of the parallelism in meaning between the verbs *kāsáf* and *hāfēš*. (i) Again not a single consonant has been changed; the correctness of the emended text, *yiks<sup>ef</sup>û bōz*, «they lust for booty,» is proved by the closely parallel words of Psalm 17.12: *k<sup>ef</sup>aryê yiksōf li-ṭrōf*, «like a lion which lusts for prey.» The infinitive construct may be employed with or without the preposition in such cases. (j) The initial *waw* replaces *resh* of the MT — the only consonantal emendation I propose in the entire verse.

XXVI. If my interpretation of this verse-cluster is correct, it would be hard to date it before the time of David. It might, of course, be later, but it seems improbable that the importation of natron was considered as important in the time of Solomon. — (a) Read the *hif'il* (as Is. 21.14, etc.) with Podechard and others instead of the *qal*, yielding much better sense. (b) This word is being identified increasingly with Egyptian *hsmn*, which has two meanings, «natron» (much the more common) and «a kind of copper or bronze.» Eerdmans correctly insists on the former alternative, though without explaining his pre-

ference adequately. Köhler-Baumgartner and Podechard prefer the latter. But copper and bronze were exported into, not from Egypt, and *ḥsmn* is a rather rare word, the ordinary word for «copper, bronze» being quite different. On the other hand natron (a compound of sodium carbonate with sodium bicarbonate in the presence of various chemical impurities) originated in Egypt, where it was a most valued product, often a monopoly of the state. It was exported for use as a detergent (important at a time when soap was still unknown and substitutes were unsatisfactory), in the manufacture of glass and for many other economic purposes (see A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 1934, pp. 221-228, 245-251). The sibilant indicates that the word was borrowed in the second millennium, since later borrowing would have yielded a *samekh*, not *shin*; the plural shows that the word was assimilated to Hebrew use of the plural for granular or liquid materials. (c) Many recent commentators follow Perles' recognition of the Accadian expression *qāta tarāṣu*, «to stretch forth the hand,» in תרץ יד, I prefer to read the participle, since Cush (Nubia) is pictured as in the act of paying homage to *YHWH* by presenting gifts derived from that land.

XXVII. Here again the period of David or Solomon is most suitable, but we can only conjecture. — (a) Since kingdoms cannot sing while kings can, I have no hesitation in rendering the word here in accordance with contemporary Phoenician as «kings.» Other passages where ממלכה means «king» are I Sam. 10.18 (כל-הממלכות הלחצים אהבם), I Kings 10.20 (לא-נעשה בן לבל-ממלכות), Lam. 2.2, etc.; cf. my remarks, *JBL*, 63 (1944), 218, n. 70. (b) The article is very rare in such early verse; here it is required *metri causa* and seems to have a strong demonstrative flavor.

XXVIII. This verse-cluster is again of transparent Canaanite origin, and must be very ancient, whatever the date of the poem which it introduces may have been. I do not hesitate to attribute it to early Israel, not later than the tenth century.

— (a) The Rider is, of course, *YHWH* (originally Baal) who rides in his chariot over the highest heaven. It has not hitherto been noticed that the  $\zeta$  is here used as in Ugaritic to apostrophize (Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, p. 93, § 12.6); cf. *IAB*, v. 122, *l-rkb* 'rpt, « O the Cloud-rider, » where it is even attached to the same word as in our verse. (b) Many commentators wish to emend the last three words, thus spoiling their beauty. The term שמי שמים means, of course, « highest heaven, » where the storm-god dwells, just as Zeus in Homeric poetry is the Ζεὺς αἰθέρι ναίων, dwelling in the aether above the αἴθρ, the lower heaven. The idea of « primordial » is common in all ancient mythologies; cf. the designation of the creator-god Ea as *šar qudmi*, « primeval king, » in Accadian, while the Egyptians frequently mention their *p<sup>3</sup>w.ty*, « Urgott. » (c) In Ugaritic Baal « gives forth his voice (*ytn qlh*) » in thunder, and the term 'z is used repeatedly in connection with him. Psalm 29, which H. L. Ginsberg has shown to be an adapted Canaanite psalm, is devoted to the glorification of the « voice of *YHWH*. » (d) Read the emphatic imperative singular instead of the plural, without change of consonantal text. (e) This emendation seems to be imposed by the parallel in the next verse; if wrong here, the colon would address the angels (replacing the pagan divinities), asking them to bestow strength on *YHWH* (as in Psalm 29.1). The shift from deities to angels brought many inconsistencies (cf. Psalm 82), but it greatly enriched the somewhat dour monotheism of the ancestral *tôrāh*.

XXIX. If my interpretation of MT in v. 36a is right, this strophe contains an admonition to Israel not to restrict the power of *YHWH* to terrestrial limitations. The reference to « sanctuaries » suggests an early date, before the building of the Temple had reduced the other sanctuaries to the status of *bāmôt*, « high places. » As emended, the first two cola bear very close resemblance to Deut. 33.26, on which see Cross and Freedman, *BASOR*, No. 108 (1947), 6 f., and *JBL*, 67 (1948), 196 and 209, n. 82. — (a) Most commentators correct ישראל

of the MT to שמים, as required by parallel texts elsewhere (see above) as well as by the parallelism here. This mistake, which antedates all the versions, evidently arose by vertical dittography (אֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל in the next line). (b) The Peshitta and Targum prove the antiquity of the preposition *min* here, and the LXX scarcely contradict. An emendation to מ makes no sense. It is, accordingly, best to give its normal value, « more terrible than, too terrible for » (i.e., more terrible than thy sanctuaries can bear).

XXX. This bicolon cannot be dated. — (a) The insertion of the name of God here seems necessary, since הוּא is certainly the same copulative pronoun (Arab. *ḍamîr al-faṣl*) which it is, e.g., in the early poem Deut. 32.39. Probably it was lost by haplography after being changed by the unknown Elohist editor to אֱלֹהִים\* (for the situation cf. above, XIII, n. c.). (b) This vocalization is better than MT. (c) The word *ta'sûmôt* is synonymous with 'ôz, but the latter is metrically and stylistically superfluous and may have entered the text as a scribal reminiscence of v. 35 and similar passages elsewhere. (d) This brief doxology was doubtless added by the Elohist editor.

- |       |  |                                |
|-------|--|--------------------------------|
| IA.   | <sup>2</sup> Let *YHWH arise,              | May his foes be scattered,     |
|       | And let his enemies flee before him!       |                                |
| IB.   | <sup>3</sup> Like smoke may they be put    | Like the melting of wax before |
|       | to flight,                                 | fire!                          |
| II.   | Let the wicked perish                      | Before *YHWH,                  |
|       | <sup>4</sup> But may the righteous rejoice | In the presence of God,        |
|       | May they exult                             | And shout in their joy!        |
|       | <before El> (?)                            |                                |
| IIIA. | <sup>5</sup> Sing ye to *YHWH,             | Chant ye His name,             |
|       | Bow low to the Rider of the Clouds!        |                                |
| IIIB. | Rejoice in *YHWH                           | And exult ye before Him!       |
| IIIC. | <sup>6</sup> Father of the fatherless      | And judge of widows            |
|       | Is *YHWH in His holy abode.                |                                |

V.       <sup>7</sup> It is \*YHWH  
            Who causeth the single to set up house,  
            Who setteth free prisoners with music,  
            But Who causeth rebels to tent in the wasteland.

V.       <sup>8</sup> O \*YHWH, when Thou didst , In the van of Thy people,  
            go out  
                When Thou didst march through the desert,

VI.     <sup>9</sup> Then the earth quaked                      Heaven also tossed,  
                    Before \*YHWH, God of Sinai,  
In the presence of \*YHWH Israel's God.

VII.    <sup>10</sup> An abundance of rain                      Wilt Thou give freely,  
  \*YHWH!  
Thy heritage is < not > worn              For Thou hast created it.  
            out,

VIII.   <sup>11</sup> An abode in which to dwell              Dost Thou make in Thy good-  
  ness  
                    For the poor, O \*YHWH.

IX.     <sup>12</sup> Let \*YHWH give an oracle              Rejoicing a mighty host!

X.      <sup>13</sup> While the kings of the armies              Flee headlong, flee headlong,  
                    In the meadows they divide the spoil —  
<sup>14</sup> Will ye remain seated by the hearths?

XI.     The wings of a dove                      Are plated with silver,  
                    And her pinions with yellow gold!

XII.    <sup>15</sup> When Shaddai scattered the              Like the melting of snow on  
                    kings                                      Zalmon.

XIII.   <sup>16</sup> O mountains of God,                      Mountains of Bashan,  
            O domed (?) mountains,              Mountains of Bashan,  
<sup>17</sup> Why do ye stand guard (?),              O domed (?) mountains,  
            Mountains chosen by God              For His habitation?

- XIII.    <sup>18</sup> The chariots of \*YHWH were two myriad,  
                     Thousands the warriors of my Lord,  
                             When they brought the Holy from Sina
- XIV.    <sup>19</sup> Thou hast gone up to the    Thou hast taken captives,  
                     north,  
                             Thou hast received gifts from Aram!
- XV.    <sup>20</sup> Blessed be \*YHWH day by    El bringeth us our salvation  
                     day,  
                     <sup>21</sup> Behold our God is a God who    And YHWH giveth escap  
                             delivereth,                      from death!
- XVI.    <sup>22</sup> How hath \*YHWH smitten    The head of His foes,  
                     The skull of the                      Who roameth with his guilt  
                             goat-demon (?)
- XVII.    <sup>23</sup> \*YHWH said,  
                             From <smiting> the Serpent I return,  
                                     I return from destroying Sea!
- XVIII.   <sup>24</sup> Why, O Anath (?) dost thou    Thy feet in blood,  
                     wash  
                     The tongues of thy dogs            In the blood of the foes?
- XIX.    <sup>25</sup> Whoever hath seen            Thy ways, O \*YHWH,  
                     The ways of my God,            Reigning in holiness?
- XX.    <sup>26</sup> Precede, O ye singers,            Follow, ye players,  
                             Among the maidens who beat tambours!
- XXI.    <sup>27</sup> Within the assemblies            Bless ye \*YHWH,  
                             My Lord, in the meetings of Israel!
- XXII.   <sup>28</sup> The princes of Benjamin,        A youth doth rule them;  
                             Judah's princes I accuse (?);  
                     The princes of Zebulun,        The princes of Naphtali



- XXIII. <sup>29</sup> Command, O my God, Triumph like the triumph,  
O \*YHWH, which Thou didst win for us!
- XXIV. <sup>30</sup> How great is thy triumph Over Jerusalem,  
The kings will bring Their offerings to thee!
- XXV. <sup>31</sup> There roared the beasts of the reed thicket,  
The herd of wild bulls...,  
At the calves wearied by running;  
Peoples lusting for booty And peoples delighting in  
battle.
- XXVI. <sup>32</sup> They are bringing natron Out of Egypt,  
Kush doth stretch forth Its arms to \*YHWH.
- XXVII. <sup>33</sup> O kings of the earth, Sing ye to \*YHWH,  
Chant ye my Lord!
- XXVIII. <sup>34</sup> O the Rider on the uppermost ancient heaven,  
Behold He doth thunder with mighty voice,  
<sup>35</sup> Give victory unto us, O \*YHWH!
- XXIX. Over heaven is his majesty,  
And His might is in the clouds,  
<sup>36</sup> Too terrible is \*YHWH for thy shrines!
- XXX. Israel's God, <YHWH> is Who hath given Victory to  
He, His people!  
Bless ye God!





## ZUR MANDÄERFRAGE

WALTER BAUMGARTNER

University of Basle

1. **N**ACHDEM die « Mandäerfrage », d.h. die Frage nach Alter und Herkunft dieser Sekte und speziell die Frage nach ihrem Verhältnis zu den Anfängen des Christentums, genauer zu gewissen Teilen der neutestamentlichen Literatur, dank den Ausgaben und Übersetzungen LIDZBARSKI's und den weitgreifenden Untersuchungen REITZENSTEIN's und der Aufnahme und Weiterführung ihrer Arbeiten durch führende Neutestamentler — ich nenne nur W. BAUER und R. BULTMANN — seit 1915 stärker in den Vordergrund getreten und bis in den Anfang der dreissiger Jahre hinein viel diskutiert worden<sup>1</sup>, ist es seitdem darum stiller geworden. So still, dass die Meinung aufkommen konnte und auch tatsächlich aufkam, als sei die

<sup>1</sup> Für die Literatur verweise ich auf C. H. KRAELING, JAOS 26, 1926, 49-55 und 29, 1929, 218, auf die umfassende « Mandaean Bibliography 1560-1930 » von SVEND AAGE PALLIS (Copenhagen u. London 1933), die immerhin auch noch einige Lücken aufweist — u.a. A. v. GALL, Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ (1926) und O. G. VON WESENDONK, Zum Ursprung des Manichäismus (Ephemerides Orientales, Sept. 1926); ebenso fehlt die von M. J. LAGRANGE, Rev. Bibl. 36, 1927, 324 erwähnte Artikelreihe eines Karmeliten in Bagdad, des R. P. ANASTASE-MARIE, in Al-Machriq 3-5, 1900-1902, die z. B. schon LIDZBARSKI's Erklärung des Nazoräernamens teilweise vorwegnimmt (s. LAGRANGE l.c. 499) —, die Literaturverzeichnisse bei JOSEPH THOMAS, Le Mouvement Baptiste en Palestine et en Syrie (Louvain 1935) S. XIX-XXVIII, und HENRI-CHARLES PUECH, Le Mandéisme/Le Manichéisme (L'Histoire Générale des Religions, III /Paris 1945/ 67-116), sowie auf die gute Erörterung der einschlägigen Fragen an Hand der wichtigsten Literatur seit 1915 durch HEINR. SCHLIER, « Zur Mandäerfrage », Theol. Rundschau, N. F. 5, 1933, 1-34.69-92. — Für einige Hinweise auf neueste Literatur habe ich R. BULTMANN zu danken,

ganze Frage überhaupt abgetan, wobei das Hauptverdienst daran H. LIETZMANN zugeschrieben wird<sup>2</sup>. Allein vor dieser Meinung kann nicht dringend genug gewarnt werden. Erledigt ist die Frage keineswegs. Sie muss nur präziser gestellt werden. Und es ist auch in den letzten fünfzehn Jahren genug erschienen, was sie im Fluss zu halten geeignet ist.

Manches wird später an seinem Orte zur Sprache kommen. Gleich hier zu nennen ist das unschätzbare und durch eine Reihe nicht minder wertvoller Aufsätze ergänzte Buch der Mrs. — heute Lady — E. S. DROWER, « The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran »<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> H. LIETZMANN, Ein Beitrag zur Mandäerfrage, Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1930. — So schreibt H. H. SCHAEFER in seinem Aufsatz « Die Kantäer » (Die Welt des Orients 4, 1949, 288-298, auszugsweise schon in den Nachr. d. Ak. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1945, 7-9 mitgeteilt): « Den hochgespannten Erwartungen... machte H. Lietzmann's Nachweis der durchgängigen Abhängigkeit des mandäischen vom nestorianischen Taufritual ein jähes Ende; seither ist es um die kurzfristig berühmt gewordenen Mandäer wieder still geworden » (S. 291). Nach W. F. ALBRIGHT, From the Stone Age to Christianity (Baltimore 1940, 281 f., in der eben erschienenen deutschen Ausgabe, Bern 1949, 362 f.) hätte die gesunde Kritik eines Peterson, Lagrange, Burkitt und Lietzmann solchen Erfolg gehabt und die Entdeckung der manichäischen Originaltexte dann der mandäischen Mode so gut wie ganz den Garaus gemacht (« has almost completely killed the Mandaean fashion »). Auch für FRANZ ROSENTHAL, Die aramaistische Forschung (Leiden 1939) 225 war die ganze Frage mit dem Jahr 1930 — eben dem Erscheinungsjahr von Lietzmann's Aufsatz — erledigt, so dass er auf ihre Erörterung eigentlich ganz hätte verzichten können, und H. CH. PUECH (s.o. Anm. 1) redet von der « actuelle éclipse de la question mandéenne », anders aber RHR 124, 1941, 63 f.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford University Press 1937, XXVI + 436 S., 24 Tafeln und 16 Textabbildungen; im folgenden abgekürzt als MJJ. — Auch sie redet im Vorwort (S. XV) von « much premature controversy » der Theologen über die Bedeutung der mandäischen Tradition für die neutestamentliche Forschung. Dass sie selber aber gleichfalls, nur in anderer Weise und nach anderer Richtung, mit einer solchen rechnet, wird deutlicher als in ihrem Buche in einem Aufsatz « The Mandaeans To-Day », Hibbert Journal 37, 1938/39, 435-447: Die Elemente seien dieselben wie in der Zoroaster- und Mithralchre, im Christentum und im Manichäismus; den gemeinsamen

Die Verfasserin lebte seit 1923 im Iraq<sup>4</sup>, hat die Bekanntheit der dortigen Subbas gemacht, ihre Schriften zu lesen begonnen und mit der Zeit ihre Freundschaft und ihr Vertrauen so sehr gewonnen, dass sie auch ihre heiligen Texte in die Hände bekam, an den Zeremonien teilnehmen und dabei sogar zeichnen und photographieren durfte. Bei den Priestern lernte sie die Praxis des Rituals, fragte sie systematisch aus und erfragte das Wenige, was sie nicht selber zu sehen kriegte, genau und möglichst bei Verschiedenen. Der erste Teil ihres Buches beschreibt Leben, Kult und Lehre der Subbas; der zweite teilt eine Anzahl der bei ihnen tradierten Geschichten mit, wie sie es auch schon in einem früheren Buche getan<sup>5</sup>. So verdankt ihr die Wissenschaft die erste eingehende und auf wirklich guter Kenntnis beruhende Darstellung des heutigen Mandäertums. Um das richtig würdigen zu können, muss man schon bedenken, wie es hier bisher mit unserem Wissen bestellt war. HEINRICH PETERMANN, dessen Bericht im zweiten Bande seiner « Reisen im Orient » (1860. II, 83-186, 447-465) den Ausgangspunkt für die neuere Forschung auf diesem Gebiete bildete, hielt sich etwas mehr als drei Monate, genau vom 24. Januar bis zum 6. Mai, in Sūq-esch-Schujūch am untersten Euphrat auf und genoss in dieser Zeit auch eigentlichen Unterricht beim Priester Schech Jahja, ohne es freilich zu einem

Mutterboden bilden Westiran, Babylonien und Medien, wo sich seit Jahrtausenden semitische und arische Kultur mit östlichen Gedanken und Bräuchen trafen und mischten. Daher die Verwandtschaft der mandäischen Religion mit der der Parsen, aber auch mit der der Juden, wo namentlich die pharisäische Sekte der Essener enge Beziehungen zum Osten verrate. Jesus und Johannes der Täufer werden einer solchen Sekte angehört haben; die Erzählungen von der Jungfrauengeburt, dem Besuch der Magier, der Hochzeit von Kana, der Speisung der Fünftausend, der Versiegelung des Grabes und der Auferstehung Jesu seien aus Missverstehen entsprechenden kultischer Riten und Wendungen entstanden.

<sup>4</sup> Ihre Reise beschrieb sie noch unter ihrem Mädchennamen E. S. STEVENS, *By Tigris and Euphrates* (London 1923).

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-Tales of Iraq* (Oxford 1931).

tieferen Verständnis der Sprache zu bringen<sup>6</sup>. Und die ausführlicheren « *Études sur la religion des Soubbas* » (1875) von M. N. SIOUFFI, dem damaligen französischen Konsul in Bagdad, beruhen ganz und gar auf den Angaben eines abgesprungenen mandäischen Priesterschülers, dessen Kenntnisse offenbar nicht allzuweit reichten, und darum nur mit Vorsicht zu benutzen sind<sup>7</sup>. Mrs. DROWERS's Buch zwingt nun, das gängige Bild vom heutigen Priesterstand und seinen Kenntnissen nicht unwesentlich zu revidieren. Als nämlich 1870 der Basler Orientalist ALBERT SOCIN auf seiner Orientreise in Süq-eşch-Schujüch Petermann's Studien aufnehmen wollte, erwies sich das als unmöglich, wie er selber in seinen Reisebriefen an Nöldeke erzählt, die dieser dann auszugsweise in ZDMG 24, 1870, 461 ff. veröffentlichte. Schech Jahja, der seinerzeit Petermann Unterricht gegeben, lehnte es bei ihm unter allen möglichen Ausflüchten ab. Die beiden kamen einfach in kein erspriessliches Verhältnis zueinander, und dass Socin schliesslich die Hilfe des türkischen Qaimmaqam in Anspruch nehmen musste, wenn er auch dessen Anerbieten, mit Prügeln nachzuhelfen, ablehnte, war nicht geeignet, die Situation zu verbessern. Socin konnte sich das nur so erklären, dass der Priester sich die von ihm gewünschte Erklärung der Texte nicht zutraute, da er sie selber nicht mehr genügend verstand. Und das ist in die Forschung als sichere Tatsache übergegangen<sup>8</sup>. Träfe es zu, so hätte Mrs. Drower ihr Buch, das ja zum grössten Teil auf den Auskünften ihrer Gewährsmänner, der heutigen Priester, beruht, niemals

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. W. BRANDT, Die mandäische Religion (1889) 9 f., Die Mandäer (1915) 10.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. BRANDT, Md. Rel. 16 ff., D. Md. 10; auch Mrs. DROWER muss mehr als einmal bestimmte Angaben desselben als unzutreffend bezeichnen (MJJ XVI. 3.17); anderes hat sich bestätigt.

<sup>8</sup> So z. B. NÖLDEKE, Mandäische Grammatik (1875) S. VII, BRANDT, D. Md. R. 19 f., D. Md. 10 f.; noch SCHAEDEER schreibt: « Freilich verstehen seine — d.i. des Ginza — Besitzer kaum mehr ein Wort von ihm und seiner ostaramäischen Sprache » (Kantäer, s.o. Anm. 2, 291).

schreiben können<sup>9</sup>. Dann ist aber das Verhalten des Schech Jahja gegenüber Socin anders zu verstehen: nämlich aus der verständlichen und bei ihnen auch sonst belegten<sup>10</sup> Scheu, einem Fremden, zu dem man aus irgendwelchen Gründen in kein Vertrauensverhältnis kommt, Einblick in die eigenen heiligen Riten und Traditionen zu gewähren.

Weiter verdankt man Mrs. Drower eine nicht unbeträchtliche Erweiterung des Textmaterials, indem sie in ihre Schilderung der mandäischen Kultbräuche öfter Gebete und rituelle Anweisungen einflieht, in ihren Aufsätzen auch ganze Texte in Umschrift<sup>11</sup> und Übersetzung mitteilt<sup>12</sup>. Das ist sprachlich

<sup>9</sup> So urteilt auch ROSENTHAL (S. 2375), Mrs. DROWER habe «uns gelehrt, dass die Kenntnisse der mandäischen Priester über ihre Religion und ihre heiligen Schriften doch bei weitem grösser waren, als man es bisher im Okzident annahm, und zu einem Verständnis der Texte recht gut ausreichten.» Dass ihre sprachlichen und sachlichen Auskünfte zu den Texten uns oft nicht befriedigen können, ist eine Sache für sich und nicht weiter verwunderlich. Auch Mrs. DROWER distanziert sich in solchen Fällen oft von ihren Angaben und hätte es gelegentlich noch deutlicher tun können, z. B. S. 29 N. 6 (מורא כארימלא) gehe nicht auf den Karmel) oder S. 85 (דיהבא) sei nicht von דכחא «Opfer», sondern von דאהבא «Gold» abzuleiten). Wenn sie daneben über die zunehmende Verweltlichung des Priesterstandes und über den starken Rückgang der Kenntnis der mandäischen Sprache klagt (MJJ XXII) — die Priesterschaft sei so tief gefallen, dass wenige korrekt abschreiben können und wenige alles verstehen, was sie schreiben (Iraq 1, 1934, 171) — so ist das die Folge der Entwicklung erst der letzten Jahrzehnte, der seit dem ersten Weltkrieg so stark veränderten Verhältnisse (MJJ 15 f. 146).

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. MJJ 22.

<sup>11</sup> Mit der von ihr gewählten Umschrift kann man sich insofern nicht ganz befreunden, als die Wiedergabe von א, ו und י mit a, u und i, wie man an sich selber erlebt, allzu leicht den Anschein einer vokalhaltigen und danach auszusprechenden Schreibung erweckt, was ja gerade nicht der Fall ist; Mrs. DROWER teilt gelegentlich selber kürzere Texte in phonetischer Umschrift mit (MJJ 176.185.201.215). Jene Gefahr besteht besonders bei der Wiedergabe der Pluralendung יא- mit -ia, tatsächlich -ī gesprochen, von הויא «Leben» als *hiia*, gesprochen *hajjī*, von נהויא «er wird sein» als *nihuia*, gesprochen *nehwē* usw.

<sup>12</sup> Soweit sie mir bekannt geworden, führe ich sie hier vollständig auf:

ebenso wertvoll wie sachlich. Dass es meist Beschwörungs- und astrologische Texte sind, die im allgemeinen nicht die offizielle und orthodoxe Religion zeigen, macht sie uns nur umso interessanter. Auch über Alter, Überlieferung und Aufbewahrung der Texte erfährt man allerhand<sup>13</sup>; wie der Wortlaut beim Abschreiben durch Zusätze, Streichungen usw. bewusst verändert und gesäubert, die Kette der Kopisten<sup>14</sup> gern auf einige bekannte Namen zurückgeführt wird, die in den Verzeichnissen der berühmten Verstorbenen gleich hinter den Lichtgeistern und den Patriarchen stehen<sup>15</sup>.

2. Jene Angriffe auf die Mandäertheorie bewegen sich teils auf sprachlichem und teils auf sachlichem Gebiet. Mit dem sprachlichen Argument arbeitete ALBRIGHT<sup>16</sup>: die mandäische Orthographie sei jünger als die zwischen 300-500 n. Chr. fixierte Schreibweise des babylonischen Talmuds; die Laryngale seien schon auf den Bleitafeln zusammengeworfen und demnach auch die ältesten Texte kaum vor dem 6. Jahrh. anzusetzen. Allein auch abgesehen von jenem מנרעא der Bleitafeln<sup>17</sup>, wo also vereinzelt sogar das *y* noch richtig erhalten ist, vertritt ה

Mandaean Writings, Iraq 1, 1934, 171-182; The Kaprana, Gaster Anniversary Volume (1936), 84-95; A Mandaean Phylactery, Iraq 5, 1938, 31-54; Woman and Taboo in Iraq, ib. 5, 105-117; Shafta d̄ Pishra d̄ Ainia, JRAS 1937, 589-611, 1938, 1-20; Three Mandaean Phylacteries, ib. 1939, 397-406; The Alf Trisar Shualia, ib. 1941, 101-126; A Mandaean Book of Black Magic, ib. 1943, 149-181; A Phylactery for Rue (An Invocation of the Personified Herb), Or. 15, 1946, 324-346; als Buch erschienen ist The Book of the Zodiac (Sfar Malwašia), Royal Asiatic Society, London 1949, nach drei Handschriften in Facsimile mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben. Ausgaben des Diwan Abatur und des Sharh d̄ Qabin d̄ Shishlam Rba sind, wie sie mir schreibt, vorbereitet.

<sup>13</sup> MJJ 20 ff., Iraq 1, 171 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Iraq 5, 44 f., 53 f.

<sup>15</sup> JRAS 1941, 102 f., MJJ 219 ff., B. of the Zod. 67 f., 155 f.

<sup>16</sup> From the Stone Age 338, deutsche Ausgabe 456.

<sup>17</sup> LIDZBARSKI, Florilegium M. de Vogué (1909, 349-373), Z. 16.18 des Textes Lyon; ROSENTHAL 235.



doch speziell auch das ה, sodass im allgemeinen ה und ה einerseits, א und ע andererseits zusammen gefallen sind<sup>18</sup>. Der Unterschied gegenüber dem Talmudaramäischen, wo sich dieselbe Entwicklung anbahnt<sup>19</sup>, ist somit nicht so gross. Gegenüber dem Syrischen, das die Laryngale noch in vollem Umfange besitzt, gehen jene beiden Dialekte im wesentlichen zusammen — schwerlich ganz ohne Zusammenhang mit der älteren semitischen Sprache auf demselben Boden, dem Akkadischen. Dem Mandäischen noch näher kommen hier die aramäischen Graffiti des 3. Jahrh.s n. Chr. aus Assur und Hatra<sup>20</sup>, die ה für ה gebrauchen (אהתה « seine Schwester ») und א für ע (אברא « Sklave »). Zusammenfall von ה und ה bezeugen auch die ungefähr gleichzeitigen, wegen schlechter Erhaltung aber nur zum geringsten Teil verständlichen Inschriften von Sari im Tur Abdin und von Hassan Kef am Tigris<sup>21</sup> mit ihrem להא « er sei » und יהיב « gegeben(?) ». Wechselgebrauch von א und ע (עזלון « gehen », אז « Ziege », אסירא « zehn » u.ä.) kennen aber auch die im allgemeinen auf die Achämenidenzeit zurückgehenden<sup>22</sup> aramäischen Ideogramme im Pehlevi<sup>23</sup>, deren Aramäisch nach dem Urteil von H. S. NYBERG<sup>24</sup> wie dem von AUTRAN<sup>25</sup> dem Mandäischen näher steht als irgendeinem anderen aramäischen Dialekt. So reicht diese sprachliche Entwicklung im Osten also weiter zurück, und so gewiss das Mandäische im ganzen eine späte Stufe innerhalb der aramäischen Dialekte

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. NÖLDEKE, Mandäische Grammatik (1875) § 57.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. M. L. MARGOLIOUTH, Lehrbuch der aramäischen Sprache des babylonischen Talmuds (1910) § 4.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. P. JENSEN, Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1919, 1042 ff., speziell S. 45, und Mitt. d. Deutschen Orient-Ges. 60, 1920, 11 ff.; ROSENTHAL 24.175.

<sup>21</sup> H. POGNON, Inscriptions Sémitiques (1907-1908), Nr. 60.61, S. 108 ff., 113 ff.; ROSENTHAL 175 f.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. ROSENTHAL 72 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. E. EBELING, Mitt. d. Alter. Gesellschaft XIV 1/2, 1941, 112.

<sup>24</sup> Monde Oriental 17, 1923, 2172.

<sup>25</sup> Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique 23, 1923-25, 213.



vertritt, kommt man von da aus doch nicht zu einer näheren zeitlichen Fixierung der Texte. Die Unterschiede gegenüber dem Talmudaramäischen können ebensowohl räumlich wie zeitlich bedingt sein <sup>26</sup>.

Dies um so eher, als das Mandäische gelegentlich auch wieder älter ist als die beiden anderen ostaramäischen Dialekte. Auf einzelne Fälle dieser Art hat schon Nöldeke hingewiesen <sup>27</sup>. Fast noch bezeichnender ist anderes. Im Lautstand öfteres ן statt ֿ für ursprüngliches d (זאהבא « Gold » neben דאהבא u.ä., vereinzelt dann sogar für ursprüngliches d : זמא « Blut »), und ק statt ע für ursprüngliches d (ארקא « Erde », אקאמרא « Wolle », אקאנא « Schafe », für ursprüngliches ' in אקאפרא « Erde »); beides noch von Nöldeke <sup>28</sup> verkannt, aber seitdem allgemein als Erhaltung eines älteren Lautstandes bewertet, die dann jene falschen Analogieen nach sich gezogen hat <sup>29</sup>. Und andererseits in der Formbildung eine Anzahl Haf'elformen <sup>30</sup>. Gewiss findet man dergleichen vereinzelt auch anderwärts in den jüngeren Dialekten, auch in den westaramäischen; aber im Mandäischen häufen sich die Beispiele in einer Weise, wie es dort nicht der Fall ist <sup>31</sup>.

3. Dass die sachlichen Einwände gegen die Mandäerthese in ihrer damaligen Form in wichtigen Punkten zu einer Klärung geführt haben, geht aus BULTMANN's Besprechung von Lietzmann <sup>32</sup> wie aus SCHLIER's Aufsatz mit aller Deutlichkeit hervor. Sie geben zu, dass die mandäischen Schriften spät redigiert, in einzelnen Teilen auch erst in arabischer Zeit entstanden

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. schon C. H. KRAELING JAOS 49, 1929, 201 f.

<sup>27</sup> Mand. Gramm. § 45.

<sup>28</sup> Mand. Gramm. 43.72 f.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. C. BROCKELMANN, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen I (1908) 134, ROSENTHAL 230.

<sup>30</sup> NÖLDEKE, Mand. Gramm. § 163.

<sup>31</sup> Das Jüdisch-Aramäische z. B. hat jenes ק nur in ארקא, gewiss nach Jer 10, 11.

<sup>32</sup> Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 1931, 577 ff.

sind, dass die Figur Johannes des Täufers in der mandäischen Überlieferung sekundär ist, das Taufritual vom nestorianischen abhängt und der Beweis literarischer Abhängigkeit neutestamentlicher Schriften von mandäischen in keinem Falle erbracht werden konnte, dass auch die anfänglichen Erwartungen, aus den mandäischen Quellen neue und bessere Kunde über die Anfänge des Christentums zu gewinnen, sich nicht erfüllt haben<sup>33</sup>.

Aber das alles bedeutet nicht, dass damit die « mandäische Frage » als solche erledigt sei und das mandäische Schrifttum seinen Reiz für die neutestamentliche Forschung eingebüsst habe, und noch weniger will es heissen, dass — wie Schaeder es einmal ausdrückt<sup>34</sup> — sein Verlust für uns gewiss nicht gross gewesen wäre. Es gilt nur eben zu präzisieren. Wenn es sich nicht um literarische Abhängigkeiten und noch weniger um Ableitung der Urgemeinde aus dem Schoss des Mandäismus handelt, so bleibt doch immer noch die Frage, wie jene Berührungen mit dem Vorstellungs- und Bilderschatz des Johannesevangeliums zu erklären seien: die Frage also, die damals überhaupt erst die Neutestamentler zu näherer Beschäftigung mit den mandäischen Schriften geführt hat, die man dann aber in der Diskussion der zwanziger Jahre auf der Gegenseite fast ganz aus den Augen verloren hat. Denn diese Berührungen bestehen und heischen eine Erklärung. Und eine Umkehr des Verhältnisses im Sinn einer Abhängigkeit des literarisch ja ohne Frage viel jüngeren mandäischen Schrifttums vom neutestamentlichen kommt darum nicht in Frage, weil wir in jenem ein Ganzes, den grossen soteriologischen Mythos mit seiner eigenen Ideenwelt haben, hier dagegen nur Einzelheiten, Bruchstücke daraus

<sup>33</sup> SCHLIER 91, vgl. auch G. HÖLSCHER, Urgemeinde und Spätjudentum (1928) 26. — Auch H. JONAS (s.u. Anm. 42) nimmt gerade die synoptischen Evangelien aus der irgendwie zur « Gnosis » gehörenden Literatur heraus (S. 6.80).

<sup>34</sup> Die Kantäer (s.o. Anm. 2) 290.

eingesprengt in den so ganz andersartigen christlichen Zusammenhang<sup>35</sup> und stilistische Besonderheiten.

Die mit jenen Berührungen gegebene Frage wird durch die Feststellung einer relativ späten Redaktion der mandäischen Schriften ebenso wenig aus der Welt geschafft wie durch den Nachweis stärkerer Abhängigkeit des Mandäismus vom nestorianischen Christentum und vom Manichäismus. Denn es handelt sich ja eben nicht mehr um literargeschichtliche Beziehungen oder ein unmittelbar historisches Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Grössen, sondern um ein traditions- und religionsgeschichtliches. Und dass von zwei sich inhaltlich berührenden Quellen die literarisch jüngere sachlich Älteres enthält, ist ja kein so ganz seltener Fall. Im Grunde geht es dabei auch nicht so sehr um die mandäische Sekte als solche, so wie wir sie aus ihrem Schrifttum und aus ihrem heutigen Bestande kennen, als um ihre bisher wenig geklärte und durchaus offene Vorgeschichte<sup>36</sup>, und speziell um diejenigen Elemente darin, die — sie stehen dort freilich nicht am Rande, sondern durchaus im Zentrum — eben wegen jener Berührungen entsprechend älter sein müssen, sodass sie im neutestamentlichen und altchristlichen Schrifttum ihre Spuren hinterlassen konnten.

Eine so späte Bildung der Sekte und Entstehung ihres gesamten Schrifttums, wie sie LIETZMANN<sup>37</sup> und PETERSON<sup>38</sup> mehr oder weniger bestimmt ins Auge fassten, wird damit schlechterdings unmöglich. Darin ist man heute wohl ohnehin ziemlich allgemein einig. Wesentliche Elemente der mandäischen Gedankenwelt konnte BULTMANN schon in viel älteren und genauer datierbaren Quellen nachweisen<sup>39</sup>. Besonders deutlich wird es bei

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. BULTMANN, ZNW 24, 1925, 139 ff., SCHLIER 21.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. HOELSCHER l.c. 21 f.; s.u. 6.

<sup>37</sup> LIETZMANN (s.o. Anm. 2) 607 f.

<sup>38</sup> ERICH PETERSON ZNW 25, 1926, 248, Theol. Blätter 7, 1928, 321.

<sup>39</sup> Im Eucharisterion... H. GUNKEL dargebracht (1923) II 3 ff. und ZNW 24, 1925, 141, vgl. auch SCHLIER 23 ff. Aber darin, dass Prov. 1,24,28 und ähnliche Stellen nicht aus jenem Mythos, sondern aus der

den aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrh.s v. Chr. stammenden « Oden Salomos », die in einer ähnlichen gnostischen Frömmigkeit wurzeln und auch nur *disiecta membra* des Mythos bieten <sup>40</sup>. Schon damit kommt man über den im 3. Jahrh. aufgekommenen Manichäismus zurück. Mag der Mandäismus auch manches aus ihm übernommen haben, so ist er doch gerade in dem, worauf es hier ankommt, von ihm unabhängig und älter <sup>41</sup>.

4. Bestätigt wird das durch eine Reihe neuerer Untersuchungen, die hier wenigstens kurz zu nennen sind.

An der Spitze stehe das leider unvollendet gebliebene Buch von H. JONAS <sup>42</sup>, fast ein Markstein in der Erforschung der Gnosis zu nennen, da es erst ein tieferes Verständnis dieses echt « orientalischen » Geistesphänomens in seinem ganzen Umfang und der ganzen Vielgestaltigkeit seiner Erscheinungsformen ermöglicht. Ohne unmittelbar auf unsere Frage einzugehen, wird es doch auch für sie wichtig, indem es in diesem weiten Zusammenhang die besondere Art der mandäischen Spekulation aufzeigt, die sich keinem der sonstigen Typen einreihen lässt, vielmehr verschiedene in einander verschlingt (S. 256 f.) und, als am wenigsten von griechischer Begriffstradition berührt, « der unmittelbarste Ausdruck gnostischen Seelenlebens geworden » ist (S. 94 f.). Damit wird die glatte Herleitung des Mandäismus aus dem Manichäismus ebenso

prophetischen Predigt zu verstehen sind, möchte ich G. BOSTRÖM, *Proverbienstudien* (1935) 29 ff. und H. RINGGREN, *Word and Wisdom* (1947) 139 schon Recht geben.

<sup>40</sup> Wie diese aber zusammengesetzt den ganzen Mythos ergeben und damit voraussetzen, zeigt nun schön H. JONAS (s.u. Anm. 42) 327 f.; vgl. auch WIDENGREN (s.u. Anm. 47) 56 ff. und V. SCH. PEDERSEN (s.u. Anm. 50) 143.

<sup>41</sup> Dass entgegen LIETZMANN's Behauptung nicht einmal das mandäische Taufritual in allen seinen Teilen vom nestorianischen ableitbar ist, konnte SCHLIER 83 ff. nachweisen.

<sup>42</sup> HANS JONAS, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*. I Die mythologische Gnosis (Göttingen 1934). Der in Aussicht gestellte II. Teil, Die philosophisch-mystische Gnosis, ist nie erschienen.

unmöglich wie seine Kennzeichnung als « nachgnostisch »<sup>43</sup>. — Die von E. SCHWEIZER in den beiden ersten Kapiteln seines Buches sorgfältig und mit offenem Blick für das Gesamtproblem geführte Untersuchung<sup>44</sup> über das Verhältnis der Selbstprädikationen Jesu im Johannesevangelium zu ähnlichen Aussagen im mandäischen Schrifttum kommt zum Ergebnis, dass die terminologische Übereinstimmung unmöglich auf Abhängigkeit auf der mandäischen Seite beruhen kann, dass vielmehr im Evangelium der ganze Mythos vorausgesetzt, aber nur in bestimmten Teilen benützt ist. — H. ODEBERG<sup>45</sup> stellt in seinem Versuch, das « innere mythische System » des Mandäismus zu ermitteln, für das die mythologischen, angelologischen und dämonologischen Elemente bloss wechselnde und frei behandelte Ausdrucksmittel sind, im III. Henoch palästinisch-jüdische Paralleltradition zu den mandäischen Enoschvorstellungen fest, worin er die bisher stärkste Stütze für die Annahme einer Verankerung der mandäischen Tradition in oder nahe bei Palästina sieht (S. 23 ff.). — J. THOMAS<sup>46</sup> stellt die Mandäer als wesensverwandt in den weiten Kreis der syrisch-palästinischen Täufersekten hinein und gewinnt damit Indizien für Alter und Herkunft der Sekte (S. 184-267, bes. 219 und 239) : von Haus aus eine « elchesaisierte » jüdische Täufersekte im Ostjordanland, wandern sie später nach der Adiabene aus und zuletzt in ihre heutigen süd-babylonischen Wohnsitze, wobei es zum Bruch erst mit dem Judentum wie später mit dem Christentum kommt und sie unter die mesopotamischen Täufersekten geraten, unter deren Einfluss sie sich sehr stark verän-

<sup>43</sup> So z. B. ALBRIGHT (s.o. Anm. 2) 338, deutsche Ausg. 455.

<sup>44</sup> EDUARD SCHWEIZER, EGO EIMI. Religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden. (Forschungen z. Literatur und Religion des AT und NT, N. F. 38, Göttingen 1939).

<sup>45</sup> HUGO ODEBERG, Mandäische Religionsanschauung. Zur Frage nach Wesen, Grundzügen und Herkunft des Mandäismus (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1930, Teol. 2).

<sup>46</sup> JOSEPH THOMAS, Le Mouvement Baptiste en Palestine et en Syrie. 150 av. J.-Chr.-300 apr. J.-Chr. (Louvain 1935),

dern. — Der Klärung des Verhältnisses zum Manichäismus dienen zwei Arbeiten. Die eine, die unten (6) nochmals zu nennende von G. WIDENGREN<sup>47</sup>, zieht bei der Erörterung der Hauptthemata der manichäischen Lehre neben der syrischen Gnosis ständig auch die mandäischen Parallelen heran, sodass der Ertrag für den Mandäismus fast ebenso gross ist wie für den Manichäismus selber. Auf das Verhältnis der beiden geht er nicht näher ein (S. 45<sup>1</sup>); aber daraus, wie die beidseitigen Texte weithin parallel laufen und wie mehr als einmal die mandäischen die manichäischen ergänzen oder erst verständlich machen (S. 47 ff., 78.82 ff.), geht soviel jedenfalls klar hervor, dass es sich nicht einfach um Abhängigkeit des Mandäismus handelt, sondern dass beide im selben Untergrunde wurzeln<sup>48</sup>, letztlich aus denselben « mesopotamischen » Quellen schöpfen (S. 176 ff.). Und wie in einem bestimmten Einzelfall die Abhängigkeit sogar deutlich auf manichäischer Seite liegen kann, zeigt der durch ägyptologische und koptologische Arbeiten bekannte T. SAEVE-SOEDERBERGH<sup>49</sup>. Seine eindringende stilistische Analyse der « Thomas-Psalmen », einer formal wie inhaltlich sich von den übrigen Liedern des 1930 von C. SCHMIDT entdeckten und 1938 von C. R. C. ALLBERRY herausgegebenen koptisch-manichäischen Psalmbuches abhebenden Liedergruppe, unter ständigem Vergleich mit den mandäischen Dichtungen ergibt (S. 155 ff.), dass diese Thomaspsalmen dazu in einem besonders engen und geradezu literarischen Verhältnis stehen wie es bei den anderen Liedern der Sammlung nicht der Fall ist. Da hat die Annahme, diese besondere manichäische Liedergruppe bediene sich ausgesprochen mandäischer Formen, grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit als die umgekehrte Annahme, dass einzig diese manichäische Liedergruppe auf die ganze mandäische

<sup>47</sup> GEO WIDENGREN, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*. King and Saviour II., Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1946, 3).

<sup>48</sup> So auch schon BOUSSET, *Theol. Rundsch.* 20, 1917, 201, KRAELING (s.o. Anm. 26) 207 ff.

<sup>49</sup> TORGNY SAEVE-SOEDERBERGH, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Uppsala 1949).



Dichtung eingewirkt habe. Wenn C. SCHMIDT die Lieder der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrh.s zuweist, sind sie knapp hundert Jahre jünger als jener Thomas, einer von Manis Leibschrülern, dem sie gewiss mit Recht zugeschrieben werden. Das setzt dann aber mandäische Dichtung mit ihren wichtigsten Inhalten und Formen schon für die Zeit Manis voraus. Und da für Thomas eine Wirksamkeit in Ägypten wie auch in Palästina und Syrien überliefert ist, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass er eben für seine Tätigkeit in einem « mandäisch » orientierten Palästina oder Syrien seine Dichtung den dort üblichen Formen anpasste, wie es auch sonst für den Manichäismus bekannt ist, und das bedeutet dann wiederum eine Stütze für westliche Herkunft der Mandäer. — V. SCH. PEDERSEN<sup>50</sup> endlich will durch traditions-geschichtliche Analyse der mandäischen Hauptschriften ältere Komplexe aus der Zeit vor dem Zusammenstoß mit dem byzantinischen Christentum, der die jetzige Gestalt derselben stark bestimmt haben muss, herauschälen, um damit eine Grundlage für weitere religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung zu schaffen. Während die Anoschtradition nach ihm aus älterem Stoff erst in byzantinischer Zeit ausgebildet wurde (Kap. III.), findet er solche Komplexe in den ältesten Schichten der Tradition über Johannes (Kap. I) und Mirjai (Kap. II), die weder gegenüber dem Judentum noch gegenüber dem Christentum eine feindliche Haltung einnehmen, ferner in den alphabetischen Liedern des « Rechten Ginza » (GR) XII 2-5, deren Alphabet noch  $\pi$  und  $\gamma$  enthält (Kap. V), sowie (Kap. VI) in den Massiqtahymnen des « Linken Ginza » (GL), wo GL II sogar noch nicht einmal mit jüdisch-christlichen Elementen durchsetzt ist, wie es im GL III und wiederum im « Moralkodex » GR I und II 1 (Kap. VII) der Fall ist. So ergibt sich eine nicht jüdisch-gnostische,

<sup>50</sup> V. SCHOU PEDERSEN, Bidrag til en Analyse af de Mandaeiske Skrifter (Aarhus 1940); man vergleiche auch seinen Aufsatz « Le Manichéisme et les origines chrétiennes », Rev. d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse 17, 1937, 378-383, eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem gleichnamigen Buch von A. LOISY (1934).



aber christlich-gnostische Sekte (S. 93 f. 183, 219), in der Sonntag und Taufe von Anfang an heimisch waren (Kap. VIII), die auch die bereits mit der Weltzeitalterlehre verbundene Tradition von Adam und seinen Nachfolgern (Kap. IX) und sonstige alttestamentliche Erzählungsstoffe (Kap. X) kannte. Aber dahinter steht, unmittelbar erhalten in GL II und durch Subtraktion der jüdisch-christlichen Elemente zu gewinnen aus GL III sowie aus der Tradition über Manda dHajje (Kap. IV), eine vorchristliche westsemitische Gnosis (S. 95 f. 221 ff.). SAEVE-SOEDERBERGH<sup>51</sup> erhebt gegen PEDERSEN den Vorwurf, seine Analyse lasse die « comparative evidence » ausser acht und ver säume es, die von ihm gewonnenen Schichten zu anderen Gegebenheiten der Religionsgeschichte in Beziehung zu setzen, wie es auch SCHLIER<sup>52</sup> verlange; so bleibe seine Analyse schwierig und in den Ergebnissen kaum überzeugend. Immerhin stimmt er seiner Beurteilung des Moralkodex wie der Massiqtahymnen zu. Mir scheinen sich die beiden Methoden auch nicht auszuschliessen: eine derartige traditionsgeschichtliche Analyse<sup>53</sup> ist als solche kaum anfechtbar, und sie kommt allein in Frage, wo äusseres Vergleichsmaterial nicht zur Verfügung steht.

So sehr diese Arbeiten in der Methode wie auch zum Teil in den Ergebnissen auseinandergehen, so sind sie jedenfalls einig in der Annahme einer westlichen Herkunft der Mandäer<sup>54</sup>, weiter aber auch darin, dass der Mandäismus auf keinen Fall als Ganzes ein spätes Gebilde ist, sondern dass er als vollwertiges Glied innerhalb der gesamten Gnosis in wesentlichen Teilen, die genauer zu bestimmen eine Aufgabe der künftigen Forschung sein wird, viel weiter zurückreicht, sodass ein indirekter Einfluss in dem oben (3) genannten Sinne

<sup>51</sup> S.o. Anm. 49, S. 1622.

<sup>52</sup> S.o. Anm. 1, S. 18 f.

<sup>53</sup> Wie sie auch SCHWEIZER (s.o. Anm. 44) 64 ff. anwendet.

<sup>54</sup> Dies gegen die namentlich von E. PETERSON ZNW 25, 1926, 248, Theolog. Blätter 1928, 317.321 f. und LIETZMANN (s.o. Anm. 2) 608 vertretene Annahme, die Mandäer hätten immer in Babylonien gegessen.

auf neutestamentliche und altchristliche Literatur keineswegs unmöglich ist; eine Arbeit wie die von SCHWEIZER weist ihn auf einem bestimmten Gebiet auch direkt nach.

5. Aus dem gesamten Fragenkomplex sei nun eine Einzelfrage herausgegriffen: die nach der Bedeutung des babylonischen Bodens für das Mandäertum.

Zunächst nach der sprachlichen Seite, wo es die oben (2) gemachten Bemerkungen zu vervollständigen gilt. Im Zusammenhang seiner These einer westlichen Heimat der Mandäer hat LIDZBARSKI bekanntlich auch Schrift und Sprache derselben als Argumente verwendet<sup>55</sup>. Gleich BRANDT<sup>56</sup> betont er die Ähnlichkeit der mandäischen Schrift mit der nabatäischen, die namentlich im Falle des  $\aleph$  nur durch Annahme eines historischen Zusammenhangs mit derselben zu erklären sei; und die meisten Neueren haben sich dem angeschlossen<sup>57</sup>. Nur ROSENTHAL<sup>58</sup> hat widersprochen, und mit Recht. Abgesehen von dem beiderseits, aber eben auch noch anderwärts, zu einem blossen Vertikalstrich entwickelten  $\daleth$  beschränkt sich die Ähnlichkeit auf den einen Buchstaben  $\aleph$  und kann da ebensowohl blosser Parallelenentwicklung sein. Gerade die am meisten charakteristischen Formen, das  $\aleph$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$  und  $\psi$ , bleiben im nabatäischen Alphabet ohne Entsprechung<sup>59</sup>.

An der Zugehörigkeit des Mandäischen zum ostaramäischen Sprachzweig war nach dem Erscheinen von NÖLDEKE's Grammatik (1875) natürlich nicht mehr zu rütteln. Auch für LIDZBARSKI ist es ein « reines babylonisches Aramäisch »<sup>60</sup>. Nur meinte er

<sup>55</sup> Johannesbuch II, S. XVII f.

<sup>56</sup> BRANDT, D. Mandäer 33 f.

<sup>57</sup> H. H. SCHAEFER OLZ 31, 1928, 166; C. H. KRAELING JAOS 49, 1929, 211 f.; H. JENSEN, Die Schrift (1936) 230; s. auch D. DIRINGER, L'Alfabeto nella Storia della Civiltà (1937) 435 f.

<sup>58</sup> S.o. Anm. 2, S. 246 f.

<sup>59</sup> Man vergleiche die Schrifttafel bei JENSEN (s.o. Anm. 57) 219, Abb. 238.

<sup>60</sup> OLZ 25, 1922, 56. — THOMAS 231 und PUECH (s.o. Anm. 1) 80 scheinen LIDZBARSKI da missverstanden zu haben,

ein paar wichtige theologische Termini als westaramäisch in Anspruch nehmen zu können : nämlich מַאנְרָא γγῶσις<sup>61</sup> und מְשׁוּנִיא כּוּשְׁתָּא. Auch da ist ihm ROSENTHAL mit Recht entgegengetreten<sup>62</sup>. Die in מַאנְרָא vorliegende Entdoppelung eines *dd*<sup>63</sup> ist ebenso wenig auf das Westaramäische beschränkt wie die Dissimilation zweier emphatischer Laute in כּוּשְׁתָּא<sup>64</sup>; und eine Pualform wie מְשׁוּנִיא kann ein seltener Rest sein aus einer Zeit, wo auch das Mandäische noch innere Passiva besass<sup>65</sup>. So ist LIDZBARSKI's Argumentation hier zum mindesten nicht zwingend; die fraglichen Wörter müssen nicht westaramäisch sein<sup>66</sup>.

Besonders deutlich wird das babylonische Milieu im Bestand an akkadischen Lehnwörtern. Kannte NÖLDEKE deren erst zwei<sup>67</sup>, so führte ZIMMERN in seinen « Akkadischen Fremdwörtern » (1917) ihrer fünfzehn ausdrücklich auf, während er eine viel grössere Anzahl wohl einfach unter der Bezeichnung « aramäisch » inbegriff. Einige weitere macht, von ZIMMERN beraten,

<sup>61</sup> Diese von Mrs. DROWER MJJ 10 ff. bestrittene und auch von PEDERSEN (s.o. Anm. 50) 225 in Frage gezogene Etymologie ist durch das Zeugnis der Bleitafeln (s.o. 2) gesichert.

<sup>62</sup> L.c. S. 244 f.

<sup>63</sup> Vgl. BROCKELMANN (s.o. Anm. 29) I 245.

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. R. RUŽIČKA, Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen (Beitr. z. Assyrl. VI 4, 1909) 219 f., BROCKELMANN I 238 f. — Das Neusyrische hat von dieser Wurzel *kšītā* und *makšīt*, s. A. J. MACLEAN, A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriae (1901) 141b, 178a, auch schon NÖLDEKE, Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache (1868) 39.

<sup>65</sup> Ein Gegenstück dazu glaube ich in dem von Mrs. DROWER in Or. 15, 1946, 324 ff. in Umschrift und Übersetzung veröffentlichten « Phylactery for Rue » auf S. 326, Z. 17 zu finden : דַּוּלָא מְדוּלִיא אָנָא דְמַחִיָּיא דַּוּלָא מְדוּלִיא, auf S. 335 übersetzt « I am a water-pot drawing up water that quickeneth the dead », während es doch nur heissen kann : « ich bin ein heraufgezogener Schöpfbeimer, der die Toten ins Leben ruft ».

<sup>66</sup> Eher könnte mit SCHWEIZER (s.o. Anm. 44) 18.72 ein Rest westsemitischer Wortstellung in der vom sonstigen mandäischen Usus abweichenden Stellung in den Sätzen mit « Ich bin » gesucht werden.

<sup>67</sup> מַלְאוּשָׁא מַלְאוּשָׁא und מַלְאוּשָׁא מַלְאוּשָׁא Tierkreiszeichen (Mand. Gramm. S. XXVIII),

LIDZBARSKI in den Anmerkungen seiner Übersetzungen namhaft.<sup>68</sup> Ich zähle ihrer nun über achtzig, und eine genaue Durchkämmung namentlich auch der neuerdings publizierten Texte dürfte ihre Zahl noch mehr in die Höhe treiben<sup>69</sup>. Nun ist allerdings das akkadische Element im aramäischen Wortschatz überhaupt ziemlich stark vertreten<sup>70</sup>, und die grosse Mehrzahl jener achtzig findet sich auch anderwärts, namentlich im Jüdisch-Aramäischen (JA) und im Syrischen, deren Wortschatz uns am besten bekannt ist. Aber eine ganze Anzahl sind doch meines Wissens bisher nur hier belegt, sodass sie mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit auch als nur ins Mandäische eingedrungen gelten können<sup>71</sup>: אַתְּאַנָּא etwas an der Angel, < *itānu*, *itannu*, Masche des Netzes (Johb. II 153<sup>2</sup>); אֹבְבָא Orakelpriester, < *zabbu* (Ginza 29<sup>5</sup>); הַאֵלְלִתָּא Waschung, < *eliltu* (LIDZBARSKI, Mand. Liturgien S. XXII); נַאֲנַרְבָּא Opfergabe, < *nindabū* (Ginza 121<sup>3</sup>); נֻמְבֵּיָא Totenklage, < *nubbū*, *numbū* (ZIMMERN 67); סִינְגֻרְרָא ein Fisch, < *zingurru* (ZIMMERN 52, H. HOLMA, Kleine Beiträge z. assyrischen Lexikon /1913/ 54 f.); קַאבֻּתָּא Verschlag, < *qabūtu* Stall (Johb. II 114<sup>4</sup>); שׁוּשָׂא der zwölfte Teil einer Stunde, < *šuššu* σωσσοσ, sechzig (ZIMMERN 65); תִּיַאבֻּתָּא (!) Invasion, < *tibūtu* (DROWER, Book of the Zodiac 136<sup>3</sup>). Erwähnt sei weiter das in Gebeten beliebte אֵלָא «unablässig» (MJJ 88.164), wo zwar das Wurzelverb gemeinaramäisch ist, solche Verwendung des Partizips aber, die ganz dem akkadischen *lā baṭlu* entspricht, sonst nicht vorkommt. Ebenso hat einzig das Mandäische für צוּרְתָּא (ja. und syr. «Figur, Bild») < (*u*)*šurtu* (s. MEISSNER, Mitt. d. Alter. Gesellsch. XI 3, 57 f.) mit diesem die Bedeutung «Kreislinie» gemein (Book of the Zodiac 127<sup>5</sup>). Und

<sup>68</sup> Vgl. Johannesbuch II 253 f.

<sup>69</sup> Wenn H. FLEISCH, Introduction à l'étude des langues sémitiques (1947) 83, das Mandäische einen in jeder Hinsicht, auch im Wortschatz, «dialecte purement araméen» nennt, bedarf das also entsprechender Einschränkung.

<sup>70</sup> Vgl. ZIMMERN, Fremdw. 79 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Für einige Auskünfte habe ich hier und weiterhin W. von SODEN in Göttingen zu danken,

wenn נופכא (ja. syr. Rebe) von den mandäischen Priestern als « Baum » verstanden wird (MJJ 207 f.), so stimmt das wiederum überein mit akkadischem *gupnu* « Baumstumpf », « Stamm », das hier von *gapnu*, « Rebe, Rankengewächs » unterschieden ist (s. ROSENTHAL Or. 9, 1940, 200; A. E. RUETHY, Die Pflanze und ihre Teile /1942/ 13 f.)<sup>72</sup>.

Andere Male steht die mandäische Wortform dem akkadischen Original näher als seine Form in den anderen Dialekten: אשנאנדא Bote, < *ašgandu*, gegenüber ja. syr. אינונדא, איונדא (BROCKELMAN., Lex. syr.<sup>2</sup> 9b, WIDENGREN /s.o. Anm. 47 / 172); אשלאנדא (א) Leiche, < *šalamtu*, *šalamdu* (ZIMMERN 48), gegenüber mittelhebr. שלד, syr. של, wenn nicht das Mandäische bereits vollzogene Assimilation nach seiner Art

<sup>72</sup> Bloss zufällig dürften Belege aus anderen Dialekten fehlen für זבאניתא Wage, < *zibānitu* (Johb. II 893, Book of the Zōd. 221), da das davon offenbar denominierte זבן kaufen (ZIMMERN 16, GESENIUS-BUHL, Handwörterbuch<sup>16</sup> 904a) gemein-aramäisch ist. Unsicher sind u.a. אמאמית als Beiname der Venus, nach ZIMMERN 61 < *amāmītu* zu *amāmū*, ein Schminkmittel, nach G. FURLANI, I pianeti e lo zodiaco nella religione dei Mandei (1948) 133<sup>11</sup>, < Anunitu, Erscheinungsform der Istar als Morgenstern, s. DEIMEL, Pantheon Babylonieum (1914) Nr. 91 III 6; מאהרא Schiffsvorderteil, < *māru* (Johb. II 488), wo aber bisher nur das entsprechende fem. *mārat clippi* belegt ist (s. A. SALONEN, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien /1939/ 75 f.), sowie die in Ginza 1363 erwogenen Ableitungen. פיהתא, Bezeichnung einer Kultspeise, wollte ZIMMERN (S. 66, NÖLDEKE-Festschr. 958 ff.), von *pit pī* « Mundöffnung », dann eine kultische Reinigungszeremonie, herleiten: auch wenn man über den von LAGRANGE Rev. Bibl. 36, 1927, 344 f. betonten Unterschied in der Bedeutung hinwegsehen könnte, da im Mandäischen ja manches Wort einen ganz neuen Sinn bekommen hat, so bleibt doch die auch von ZIMMERN empfundene Schwierigkeit, dass פיהתא eben nicht das akkadische Wort wiedergibt — das wäre פיתא —, sondern das mandäische Äquivalent für aramäisches פִּיהָתָא ist. Bei der Unwahrscheinlichkeit, dass die Etymologie des akkadischen Wortes bekannt und bewusst gewesen wäre, kann man nur mit LIDZBARSKI Mand. Lit. XXII f. und ROSENTHAL 231 f. die Herkunft beider Termini von der Wurzel פתח anerkennen. Wie die Mandäer dazu kamen, ihre Kultspeise als « Öffnung » zu bezeichnen, bleibt wie oft in solchen Fällen ungewiss.

wieder aufgelöst hat (s. RUŽIČKA /s.o. Anm. 64/ 148); עורבא Weide, < *urbatu*, ja. syr. mit a-Vokal (HOLMA, /s.o. / S. 88 ff.); עכורא Götzentempel, Götze, < *ekurru* (ZIMMERN 68, LIDZBARSKI, NÖLDEKE-Festschr. 541<sup>2</sup>), vgl. אכורי auf jüdischen Zauberschalen (s. J. A. MONTGOMERY, Aramaic Incantation Texts /1913/ 72, Or. 10, 941, 276), gegenüber ägyptisch-aram. und ja. אנורא. Indes beweist das nicht viel, da es auch an Beispielen für das Gegenteil nicht fehlt <sup>73</sup>.

Das Gesagte dürfte auch ohnedies genügen, um die starke Verbundenheit des Mandäischen mit dem südbabylonischen Boden darzutun. Es bestätigt das NÖLDEKE's Formulierung <sup>74</sup>, im wesentlichen dürfe man das Mandäische für die Sprache des unteren Babylonien, wie das Aramäische des babylonischen Talmud für die des oberen ansehen; nur wäre erst noch die Gegenprobe zu machen, ob im letzteren der akkadische Einschlag wirklich ebenso stark ist. Gerade die Lehnwörter setzen aber den Anschluss an eine zunächst noch durchaus lebendige Sprache voraus. Wir wissen vom Akkadischen, dass es in den jüngsten Keilschrift Dokumenten bis ganz nahe an die Zeitenwende heranreicht <sup>75</sup>, und mündlich mochte es sich in diesen Kreisen noch beträchtlich länger halten <sup>76</sup>, wenn es auch durch das Aramäische schon seit Jahrhunderten mehr und mehr

<sup>73</sup> Ein paar Beispiele: תאליא, der die Sonnen- oder Mondfinsternis verursachende Drache, ja. תלי (BUXTORF-FISCHER, Lex. /1875/ 1288a), < *attalū*, syr. ܐܬܠܝܐ (ZIMMERN 63, s. G. FURLANI, Academia Nazionale dei Lincei 1947, 569-606); ferner — s. ZIMMERN s. vv. — ענגארא Dach, < *igāru*, ja. syr. ܥܢܓܪܬܐ; Brief < *egirtu*, ja. syr. ܥܓܪܬܐ; פריכא Altar, Goetzenschrein, < *parakku*, syr. ܦܪܚܐ; תאתורא Brücke, syr. ܬܝܬܘܪܐ, < *titurru*, ja. ܬܝܬܘܪܐ.

<sup>74</sup> Mand. Gramm. S. XXVI.

<sup>75</sup> Vgl. P. SCHNABEL, ZA 36, 1925, 66 ff., und J. SCHAUMBERGER, Anal. Or. 12, 1935, 279 ff. und im 3. Supplement zu F. X. KUGLER, Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel (1935) 367 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Vgl. auch das unten (6) über die Lebensdauer der babylonischen Religion Bemerkte, wenn diese ja auch nicht notwendig an die babylonische Sprache gebunden war.



zurückgedrängt und schliesslich abgelöst wurde. Jedenfalls verbietet sich auch von dieser Seite her ein sehr später Ansatz des mandäischen Schrifttums, der es von der noch lebenden früheren Landessprache allzusehr trennen würde.

6. Diese Frage nach dem babylonischen Einschlag lässt sich auch auf das inhaltliche Gebiet ausdehnen. Allerdings ist es ja klar, dass eine einfache Wiederaufnahme der These von K. KESSLER<sup>77</sup> und W. ANZ<sup>78</sup>, für die die mandäische Religion in der Hauptsache ein Ableger der babylonischen war<sup>79</sup>, heute nicht mehr in Frage kommt<sup>80</sup>. Dafür hat sich die wissenschaftliche Lage gegenüber damals viel zu sehr geändert<sup>81</sup>. Aber bei einer so komplexen Grösse, wie es der Mandäismus nun einmal ist, kann man seinen einzelnen Komponenten nicht sorgfältig genug nachgehen, ohne dabei natürlich die Tragweite solcher Untersuchung für das Ganze der Frage zu überschätzen. Und es ist hier umso mehr am Platz, als man in Reaktion auf jene frühere Überschätzung dieses babylonischen Faktors da und dort in Gefahr steht, ins andere Extrem zu verfallen. So F. C. BUR-

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. namentlich seine Vorträge in den Verhandlungen des II. Internationalen Kongresses für Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte in Basel 1904 (1905), 145-152, 238-259, und den Artikel «Mandäer» in Herzog-Hauck, Realencyklopädie f. Protest. Theol. u. Kirche XII (1903) 154-183.

<sup>78</sup> Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus (1897).

<sup>79</sup> Schon etwas vorsichtiger äusserte sich H. ZIMMERN dahin, «dass der Mandäismus, wie das ja von vornherein durch die Landschaft, in der er seine Wurzeln hat, nahegelegt wird, in wesentlichen Stücken sich als eine späte Form der älteren babylonischen Religion herausstellt» (NÖLDEKE-Festschr. 967).

<sup>80</sup> Das zeigt gerade der Versuch einer solchen Wiederbelebung durch G. P. WETTER, Phos (1915) 103 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Vgl. die vorzügliche Skizzierung der Geschichte der Forschung durch H. S. NYBERG, Monde Oriental 23, 1929, 225 ff. — jetzt natürlich entsprechend weiterzuführen — mit dem Gegenstück «Forschungen über den Manichäismus» ZNW 34, 1935, 70 ff.; auch WIDENGREN (s.o. Anm. 47) 7 ff.



KITT<sup>82</sup>, der nicht mehr als «some superstitious survivals of ancient Babylonian customs» bei den mandäischen Frauen, aber nicht als Teil der mandäischen Lehre, gelten lässt, und M. J. LAGRANGE<sup>83</sup>, der in der Ablehnung der «*prétendue origine babylonienne*» so weit geht zu sagen, die Mandäer hingen von den Babyloniern nicht mehr ab als alle übrigen Semiten, und dies meist auch nur durch hebräische Vermittlung: «*il est même étonnant qu'une population fixée en pleine Babylonie offre si peu de termes religieux très anciens qu'on pourrait dire transmis sur le sol*». BOUSSET, der doch selber durch die Einführung der iranischen Religion als des entscheidenden Faktors dem «Panbabylonismus» auf diesem Gebiete den Todesstoss versetzte, hat da sehr viel mehr Weitblick bewiesen, wenn er auch fernerhin mit dem babylonischen Element als der einen Komponente in jenem babylonisch-iranischen Synkretismus rechnete<sup>84</sup>, und ebenso LIDZBARSKI<sup>85</sup>. Ein handgreifliches Beispiel solchen Zusammenhanges ist Hibil Ziwas Kampf mit dem Riesen Krun, wo die Herkunft von Marduks Tiamatkampf ja wohl allgemein anerkannt ist<sup>86</sup>. Heute steht wesentlich mehr Material zur Verfügung, wenn es auch natürlich der Nachprüfung und Sichtung bedarf.

Beginnen lässt sich wiederum mit den Arbeiten von Mrs. DROWER, die meist auch selber schon auf solche Zusammenhänge hinweist. Die Funktionen der heutigen mandäischen Priester erinnern an die des babylonischen *bārū* und *āšipu* (MJJ XVIII.

<sup>82</sup> Journal of Theol. Studies 29, 1928, 225 ff. in seiner völlig zustimmenden Anzeige von S. A. PALLIS, *Mandaean Studies* (1926), der diese Auffassung vertritt; dessen Buch selber ist mir nicht zugänglich, nach den Besprechungen durch LIDZBARSKI, OLZ 25, 1922, 52 ff. und ZDMG 81, 1927, 298 ff., und durch NYBERG l.c. scheint das kein grosser Schade zu sein.

<sup>83</sup> Rev. Bibl. 36, 1927, 483 f.

<sup>84</sup> Theol. Rundschau 20, 1917, 192 ff.

<sup>85</sup> OLZ 25, 1922, 56.

<sup>86</sup> Ginza 158 f., s. ANZ 96 f., W. BRANDT, *Mandäische Schriften* (1893) 150<sup>3</sup>, BOUSSET, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (1907) 246 ff. usw.

XXIII). Ganz wie diese verstehen sie sich auf Omina (MJJ 4 f.) und Astrologie (MJJ 83); das « Book of the Zodiac » (s.o. Anm. 12) ist davon voll, und so vieles spätere Entstehung und persische, griechische und arabische Einflüsse verrät, dürfte es sich doch lohnen zu untersuchen, wieviel Babylonisches noch darin stecke. Die für den Mandäismus so bezeichnenden Wasserriten rufen die Frage nach einem Zusammenhang mit dem im Dienst des Ea stehenden Kult von Eridu wach (MJJ 118)<sup>87</sup>. In der neben der zentralen Rolle des « Jordan » um so auffälligeren Hochschätzung des Euphrat (MJJ 348, JRAS 1937, 600<sup>5</sup>)<sup>88</sup> dürfte ältere Verehrung dieses Flusses nachwirken<sup>89</sup>; im Waserteich neben der Kulthütte der babylonische *apsū* (MJJ 125. 142), wenn man diesen als einen sakralen Teich im Tempelareal auffassen darf<sup>90</sup>. Die jährlichen Sühnriten für das Heiligtum mit Tötung eines Stieres haben ihr Gegenstück im Ritual des *kalū* (MJJ 128 f., 142 f.)<sup>91</sup>. Zur rituellen Anweisung « Take clay from the two river paths » (JRAS 1943, 149) lässt sich die Angabe eines sumerischen Textes stellen: « an image of clay, of clay from the two river banks » (JRAS 1943, 149)<sup>92</sup>. Zum Neujahrstag gehört wie in Babylon die Bestimmung der Geschenke und die Beziehung zur Schöpfung (MJJ 85 ff.). Die Weihung des Hohenpriesters vollzieht sich in ähnlichen Formen wie der Thronwechsel beim Priesterkönig in J. G. FRAZER's

<sup>87</sup> Vgl. ANZ 98 ff., ALBRIGHT AJSL 36, 1920, 293, THOMAS 291 ff., WIDENGREN 144 f., 156 f., 162 ff.). In AJSL 35, 1918, 185 f. konnte Albright einen ganzen Passus aus einer mandäischen Beschwörung ins Akkadische zurückübersetzen.

<sup>88</sup> Für die Texte s. LIDZBARSKI Johb. II 452 und die Register in seinen Ausgaben.

<sup>89</sup> Vgl. die Darstellungen des Euphrat als Flussgott aus römischer Zeit: Beitr. z. Assy. VII (1913), 158, F. CUMONT, Études Syriennes (1917) 247 ff., Syria 3, 1922, 209, ebd. 4, 1923, 50 und THOMAS 306 f.

<sup>90</sup> Vgl. E. BURROWS, Or. 1, 1932, 231 ff., Albright AJSL 35, 187 f.

<sup>91</sup> Sonst vgl. J. A. MONTGOMERY, Aramaic Incantation Texts (1913) 43 f., 110 f., FURLANI 139 f., W. SCHRANK, Babylon. Sühnriten (1908) Reg.

<sup>92</sup> Nach ST. LANGDON, Sumerian Liturgical Texts (1917) 199 f., mir unzugänglich.

« Golden Bough » (MJJ 169 ff.), der nun ja auch in das alt-orientalische Königsritual einbezogen wird<sup>93</sup>; auch dass der Bräutigam wie im Hohenlied als König behandelt wird (MJJ 62 vgl. LIDZBARSKI, Mand. Liturgien X), mag letztlich dahingehören<sup>94</sup>.

Noch in anderen Fällen lässt sich ein Zusammenhang erwägen. Die Versiegelung des Grabes mit dem Skandola, dem Siegelring mit magischer Kraft (MJJ 186, Hibbert Journal 37, 443 f.), hat ihr Gegenstück in der babylonischen Versiegelung des Grabes<sup>95</sup>, und die Verwendung des Fingernagels (טופרא) zum Siegel (MJJ 170, vgl. Mand. Liturgien 111,8) das ihre darin, wie auch der Babylonier, der kein Siegel besass, seinen Fingernagel (*supru*) — oder die Kleiderquaste — dafür benützte<sup>96</sup>. — Auf den Diwanen, Zaubertexten in Streifenform, kommt es öfter vor, dass Hibil Ziwa seinen Vater um Rat fragt, was er tun solle, und dieser ihm dann Anweisung gibt, oder dass ein anderer Lichtgeist einen höheren um Auskunft bittet (JRAS 1941, 104 ff., 117. 120. 121); das erinnert stark an das ähnlich verlaufende Zwiesgespräch zwischen Marduk und Ea in babylonischen Beschwörungstexten<sup>97</sup>. Da indes die Dialogform in den mandäischen Texten auch sonst beliebt ist, — so werden z. B., wie mir Lady DROWER schreibt, die Krankheitsdämonen verhört und gezwungen, die Zeremonien und Formeln bekannt zu geben, durch die sie auszutreiben sind — und da der besonders charak-

<sup>93</sup> Vgl. J. ENGNELL, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East (1943) 176.

<sup>94</sup> Vgl. WIDENGREN 113 ff. 121.

<sup>95</sup> Vgl. Br. MEISSNER, Babylonien u. Assyrien I (1920) 428.

<sup>96</sup> Vgl. G. R. DRIVER, Semitic Writing (1948) 62 f.

<sup>97</sup> Vgl. H. ZIMMERN in E. SCHRADER, Die Keilschriften u. das Alte Testament<sup>3</sup> (1902) 372, C. FRANK, Studien zur babylonischen Religion (1911) 26; das ganze Material zu dieser « Marduk-Ea-Formel » jetzt bei A. FALKENSTEIN, Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung (1931) 51 ff. « Übrigens zog schon ANZ 93 ff. dieses Zwiesgespräch heran als Parallele zum Aufriss des Naassenerhymnus, wo allerdings gerade die Gesprächsform fehlt.

teristische Zug, wie Ea erst bekennt, auch nicht mehr zu wissen als sein Sohn, hier fehlt, ist die Ähnlichkeit vielleicht doch nur Zufall.

Zu den augenfälligsten Anleihen bei der babylonischen Religion gehört, wie längst erkannt, das Auftreten der Planetenreihe in ihren verschiedenen Formen<sup>98</sup>. Allerdings hat man mit einigem Recht eingewendet<sup>99</sup>, dass gerade dieses bei ihrer Verbreitung über ganz Vorderasien am wenigsten beweise. Indes lassen sich doch auch hier interessante Beobachtungen machen. Wenn z. B. statt der ganzen Reihe nur ihrer drei, Šamiš, Sin und Libat, genannt sind als die, die die Befehle des Ptahil und die Gebete der Frommen entgegennehmen (Johb. II 183, 11-14), so entspricht das, wenn wir von der bei den Mandäern üblichen Vorausnahme der Sonne absehen, ganz der alten astralen Dreiheit Sin, Šamaš und Istar<sup>100</sup>. Eine bemerkenswerte Abweichung ist es, wenn in einem von Theodor bar Konaj erhaltenen mandäischen Psalm Jupiter nicht wie sonst als Bel erscheint, sondern unter seinem eigentlichen Namen als «Mardik»<sup>101</sup>, und Venus statt wie sonst als Istar oder neben ihr als ܝܢܢ(ܝܢ), d. h. als die mit Istar wohl wesensverwandte, aber bis in die Spätzeit doch zumeist von ihr unterschiedene Muttergöttin Nanai<sup>102</sup>. Im übrigen ist die Stellung zu den Planeten nicht ganz einheitlich. Sind sie im allgemeinen zu bösen Mächten geworden, denen keinerlei Verehrung gezollt werden darf, so enthalten sie doch positive Lebenskräfte, gute Geister im Dienst des Lichtkönigs,

<sup>98</sup> Das ganze Material ist sorgfältig gesammelt und bequem zugänglich gemacht durch G. FURLANI (s.o. Anm. 72).

<sup>99</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, Deutsche Lit.-Ztg. 1890, 1499, BURKITT (s.o. Anm. 22) 2271 u.a.

<sup>100</sup> FURLANI 139.

<sup>101</sup> H. POGNON, Inscriptions Mandaïtes (1898) 226 f., und dazu BOUSSET, Hauptprobleme<sup>273</sup>, der auch in dem danebenstehenden «Labarnita» scharfsinnig dessen Gemahlin Šarpanitu vermutete.

<sup>102</sup> Vgl. Or. 15, 1946, 331, 3. 342, 12, JRAS 1943, 155 f., auch J. A. MONTGOMERY, Aramaic Incantation Texts (1913) 240 zu Nr. 36, und FURLANI 1395.

die das Leben der Menschen beeinflussen (MJJ XVIII). Und so kommt es zu einer schwankenden Haltung. Die Priester sind zugleich Astrologen wie einst. Es kommt vor, dass auch ein orthodoxer Priester tiefe Verehrung für Šamiš hegt und zu ihm beten heisst (MJJ 249). So findet man ihnen denn auch Attribute beigelegt, die mindestens früher einmal positive Bedeutung hatten und auch alt anmuten. Bel heisst « König der Götter » (Furlani 136), Bel und Nebo « Herren der Götter » (Or. 15, 325, 12 f.); Istar wird als « Herrin der Götter und Menschen » angerufen (MJJ 26, Or. 15, 326, 5 f. 13 f. u.ö.). Nebo, heute noch Patron der Schrift und Schreibkunst (MJJ 240)<sup>102a</sup>, ist der « Weise und Schreibkundige » (Ginza 446, 1) ebenso der wesensverwandte Dinanukht, das « Tintenbuch der Götter », mit weiteren Attributen « der Machtvolle, Stolze, Hochmütige, in dessen Haus es keinen Hausherrn, in dessen Bau... es keinen Älteren gibt » (Ginza 206, 11-13), in denen der ganze Berufsstolz des babylonischen Schreiberstandes nachklingt. Und Nirig (d.i. Nergal) ist « Herr von Heer und Waffe » (Or. 15, 325, 12 f.), « Herr von Heer, Waffe und Krieg » (ib. 331, 14, vgl. auch Ginza 124, 12 f.). So kann man schon sagen, dass hier die Götter des alten Babylonien bis heute weiterleben, und nicht nur als Dämonen, sondern auch als positive Mächte.

Dass auch die genannten Attribute alt sind, lehren ihre babylonischen Entsprechungen: *bēl ilāni* « Herr der Götter » für Marduk<sup>103</sup>, *bēl kakki* « Herr der Waffe » u.ä. für Nergal<sup>104</sup>. Freilich ist der Wortlaut nicht immer ganz derselbe. So wird Nebo wohl auf verschiedene Weise als der Schreibkundige und als der Weise bezeichnet<sup>105</sup>, aber in Einer Formel wie hier, als **ספרא חכמא**, nur noch in einer aramäischen Inschrift aus Kapadokien<sup>106</sup>. Auch Istar ist wohl einerseits *bēlīt ilāni* « Herrin

<sup>102a</sup> Vgl. Driver (s. Anm. 96) S. 67 f.

<sup>103</sup> KN. TALLQVIST, Akkadische Götterepitheta (1938) 46.

<sup>104</sup> TALLQVIST 393.

<sup>105</sup> TALLQVIST 382 f.

<sup>106</sup> Vgl. LIDZBARSKI, Ginza 205.

der Götter », anderseits *bēlit nīšē* « Herrin der Menschen »<sup>106a</sup>, aber nie beides zusammen, und ebenso wenig ist für Nergal jene besondere Formulierung zu belegen. Diese Formeln scheinen erst in aramäischen Kreisen aufgekommen zu sein, so wie ja auch die *מִטְחָאֲרָאָה*, die « Wachthäuser », die die Seele bei ihrem Aufstieg zum Himmel passiert, das akkadische *maššartu* auf aramäische Weise wiedergeben<sup>107</sup>.

Auch konkrete lokale Kultbeziehungen lassen sich noch da und dort erkennen. Wenn der genannte Beschwörungstext Bel und Nebo zusammen als die « Herren der Götter » aufführt, so ist es das bekannte Götterpaar von Babylon und Borsippa, mit deren Namen sie eine Zauberschale (Furlani 136) nennt. Und wenn im Ginza 436, 1 ff. Babel und Borsippa mit Zerstörung bedroht werden, so stehen ungenannt diese Götter dahinter. Gelegentlich treten auch noch andere Gottheiten mit ihren Kultstädten dazu: « Sundered is Bel from Babel, sundered is Nebo from Borsippa, sundered is Nīšra from Kashkar »<sup>108</sup>. Dieses Kaškar, das auch im « Book of the Zodiac » (S. 209) und im Talmud begegnet, ist Kaskar am Tigris, das in der Sassanidenzeit blühte und später mit dem auf der anderen Seite des Flusses neugegründeten Wasit zu einer Doppelstadt zusammenwuchs<sup>109</sup>. Man ist versucht, es mit dem auf einem Keilschriftfragment des Assurbanipal (?) erwähnten *Ka-as-ka-ri* zu identifizieren<sup>110</sup>, wenn auch der fragmentarische Zustand dort keinerlei Hinweis auf die Lage gibt. Eine alte Kultstadt wird

<sup>106a</sup> TALLQVIST 59 f. 62.

<sup>107</sup> Vgl. ZIMMERN, Fremdw. 14, LIDZBARSKI, Zeitschr. f. Semistik 2, 1924, 182. Auch die Tierkreiszeichen tragen aramäische Namen, s. MJJ 74 und NÖLDEKE, ZDMG 25, 1871, 256 ff.

<sup>108</sup> JRAS 1943, 168 f., Nr. 27: אִפִּיךְ בֵּל מִן בָּבֶל, אִפִּיךְ נְבוֹ מִן בֹּרְסִיפָא, אִפִּיךְ נִישְׂרָא מִן קַשְׂכָּר.

<sup>109</sup> Vgl. M. STRECK in der Encyclopädie des Islam II 858 f., IV 1221 ff.

<sup>110</sup> TH. BAUER, Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals (1933) I, T. 59, 82-3-23, 128 Z. 4, vgl. STRECK, Assurbanipal (1916, VAB VII) S. LXXVIII.



schon dahinter stecken; aber mit dem Gottesnamen ist nichts anzufangen, vielleicht ist er verderbt<sup>111</sup>.

Einen umfassenden Versuch, für die wichtigsten Themata der manichäischen wie der mandäischen Lehre Herkunft vom mesopotamischen Königsritual, Beispiele für die « disintegration of the royal pattern », nachzuweisen, hat in Zusammenhang mit seinen weitausholenden früheren religionsgeschichtlichen Arbeiten und mit selbständiger Beherrschung der einschlägigen Quellen WIDENGREN in seinem oben (4) erwähnten Buche unter-  
nommen<sup>112</sup>. Die Idee des « Lebens » (Lebensbaum, -kraut, -garten, -wasser usw.), die Auffassung und Bezeichnung der bösen Mächte und ihre Überwindung, Unterliegen und Wieder-  
erstehen des Retters, das Zwiegespräch zwischen dem « Gesandten » und dem ersten Menschen, das Thema von den « Zöllnern » und von der « Ware », vom « Schiff » und dem « Kapitän », die Brautkammer im Zusammenhang des *ἱερὸς γάμος*, die Bezeichnung des Retters als Arzt, Totenerwecker, Lampe, Bote usw., das alles findet er bei Marduk oder bei Tammuz, wo es sich um bloße Epitheta handelt auch bei anderen Göttern wieder, und zwar als Akte eines Götterdramas, das dann in der Gnosis zum Drama der Seele wird. — Es ist klar, dass, wenn WIDENGREN der Beweis gelungen ist, das nicht nur für Manichäismus und Mandäismus, sondern für die gesamte Gnosis seine Bedeutung hat; denn hier geht es nicht mehr um Einzelheiten, sondern um zentrale Dinge. Nun ist die Beweiskette allerdings gelegentlich etwas dünn. In dem die « Zöllner » usw. betreffenden Kapitel (S. 82 ff.) z. B. kann er nur geltend machen, dass *מאכסא* « Zöllner » und *תאננארא* « Kaufmann » akkadische Lehnwörter sind und « Kaufmann » auch als Attri-

<sup>111</sup> So wie im ähnlichen Text JRAS 1943, Nr. 28 der Name von Borsippa zu *פארצופא* verderbt und Nergal für Nebo eingetreten ist und weiter noch Libat mit Indien, Šamiš mit Persien verbunden dazukommen.

<sup>112</sup> Es ist auch die Auffassung von ENGNELL (s.o. Anm. 87), der mehrfach und in gleichem Sinne die Mandäer erwähnt (S. 176, 2013, 303, 325, 351).



but babylonischer Götter vorkommt<sup>113</sup>. Können diese Lehnwörter statt mit dem « pattern » nicht ebenso gut durch den babylonischen Handel nach dem Westen getragen sein, wie es mit so vielen andern Wörtern dieses Gebietes<sup>114</sup> sicher der Fall war? Auch was für eine Bedeutung diese Epitheta bei jenen Göttern hatten und warum sie gerade ihnen beigelegt wurden, entzieht sich ja unserer Kenntnis. Ebensowenig gelingt es ihm, das syrische *šallitānē* als Bezeichnung der bösen Mächte auf das Akkadische zurückzuführen, da *šaltaniš* keinen sicheren Rückschluss auf einen Plural *šaltanu* gestattet<sup>115</sup> und die Nominalform ohnehin verschieden ist; bestenfalls hätte also das Aramäische hier, ähnlich wie bei jenen Attributen und wie es WIDENGREN selber einmal für den Terminus מראר bemerkt (S. 48), seine eigene Form entwickelt. Aber auch beim Zwiegespräch (S. 78 ff.) bleibt die Entsprechung (Tammuz und seine Schwester) etwas unbefriedigend. Trotzdem, und wie man sich auch sonst zur « Uppsala-Schule » stellen mag, wird man doch durch die Menge sachlicher und terminologischer Übereinstimmungen überrascht. Die Arbeit verdient schon alle Beachtung und sorgfältigste Nachprüfung. Und zu den Ausführungen über die « Tammuz-Religion » (S. 63 f., 177 f.) ist zu beachten, dass A. MOORTGAT in seinem « Tammuz » (1949) von ganz anderer Seite her zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen kommt (S. 93 ff.).

Wie verträgt sich aber mit solchen Indizien einer stärkeren babylonischen Verwurzelung jene Annahme einer westlichen Herkunft der Mandäer, die sich doch ebenso auf bestimmte Indizien stützt<sup>116</sup> und, wie wir gesehen haben (4), sich heute

<sup>113</sup> Nach TALLQVIST 243 bei Enlil und Mulli.

<sup>114</sup> Vgl. ZIMMERN, Fremdw. 16 ff.

<sup>115</sup> Vgl. A. SCHOTT, Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften (MVAeG 30, 2, 1926) 47 ff.

<sup>116</sup> Ausser der Rolle des Jordan sind es namentlich jene offenbar im Westen beheimateten Geniennamen Nidbai, Silmai und Hau(ra)ran, s. BRANDT, Mand. 22, LIDZBARSKI Johb. II S. XVI ff., Lit. XIX f., Ginza VI f.; KRAELING (s.o. Anm. 1) 210 ff., THOMAS 230 ff. Auch nach ALBRIGHT (s.o. Anm. 2) 282, deutsche Ausg. 364, haben die Mandäer ebenso

auch ziemlich allgemeiner Anerkennung erfreut? Das eine schliesst das andere nicht aus. Ursprüngliche Wohnsitze im Westen setzen eine nachfolgende Wanderung nach dem Osten voraus<sup>117</sup>. Und diese muss man schon ziemlich früh, in die ersten Jahrhunderte unserer Zeitrechnung ansetzen<sup>118</sup>, damit sie in der neuen Heimat völlig heimisch werden und sich die dortige Sprache so ganz aneignen konnten, wie es auch bei den babylonischen Juden der Fall war. Dass die neue Umwelt — allenfalls durch Vermittlung dortiger Täufersekten — dann auch ihre Religion stark beeinflusste, liegt nahe. Damit ergeben sich zwei scharf getrennte Phasen ihrer Geschichte<sup>119</sup>. Der Mandäismus, wie wir ihn aus den Schriften und dem heutigen Bestande kennen, repräsentiert die zweite. Weit dahinter, nur schwer fassbar, liegt die erste; ob man sie vor-oder frühmandäisch nennt, verschlägt nicht viel. Alles Babylonische der zweiten zuzuweisen, mag dann zunächst die unvermeidliche Konsequenz erscheinen. Aber sich einen « Mandäismus » ohne alle babylonischen Elemente vorzustellen fällt schwer. Und es ist wohl auch unnötig. Was WIDENGREN S. 176 f. für Mani annimmt, dass ihn die mesopotamischen Elemente in zwiefacher Weise erreicht hätten, durch unmittelbare Einwirkung der damals noch lebendigen babylonischen Religion<sup>120</sup> und indirekt durch jene « religiösen Reste babylonischer wie kanaanäischer und aramäischer Mythologie geerbt.

<sup>117</sup> Ob direkt nach der Mesene, oder wie Theodor bar Konaj berichtet, erst nach der Adiabene (s. THOMAS 241 f., 266), ist für uns hier nebensächlich.

<sup>118</sup> Das 5. Jahrh., an das LAGRANGE, Rev. Bibl. 36, 1927, 514 f. denkt, ist dafür gewiss zu spät; den Anlass zur Auswanderung noch ermitteln zu wollen ist aussichtslos.

<sup>119</sup> Vgl. BOUSSET (s.o. Anm. 84) 201, KRAELING JAOS 49, 1929, 212, THOMAS 242 f. 252.266, PUECH (s.o. Anm. 1) 80.82 f.

<sup>120</sup> Vgl. dafür neben dem oben (5) zur Lebensdauer der babylonischen Sprache Bemerkten WIDENGREN 7. Auch SCHAEFER ist von seinem früheren Urteil, die babylonische Religion sei « zur Zeit von Manis Auftreten schon seit vielen Menschenaltern tot gewesen » (Morgenland 28, 1936, 97) abgerückt. In seinem jüngsten Aufsatz (s.o. Anm. 2) 289 f. heisst es nur,

giöse Kunstsprache», die Manichäismus und Mandäismus mit der syrischen Gnosis als Erzeugnis einer vor-oder frühgnostischen Bewegung gemeinsam hatten, das dürfte ungefähr auch für den Mandäismus zutreffen; nur dass hier die zweite Art der Berührung auch schon für die erste Phase in der westlichen Heimat in Rechnung zu stellen ist. Wie stark in Syrien seit alters der babylonische Einfluss war, wissen wir aus den Funden von Mari, Qatna, Ugarit, vom Nimrud Dagb usw., und für diese Spätzeit gilt es erst recht <sup>121</sup>. Und in Palästina war es sicher nicht viel anders. Die Verteilung nach den beiden Phasen möchte man sich dann etwa so denken, dass der ersten alle allgemeineren Elemente, die Planetenreihe usw., zufielen, der anderen alles Vereinzelte und Spezielle <sup>122</sup>: die nur mandäisch belegbaren Lehnwörter, die Versiegelung des Grabes, die lokalen Kultbeziehungen, besondere Wasserriten und Opferzeremonien, die Euphratverehrung usw. Aber eine glatte Aufteilung ist unmöglich — auch WIDENGREN verzichtet darauf —, denn auch überraschende Einzelheiten begegnen gelegentlich im Westen <sup>123</sup>, so dass nicht mit Sicherheit abzugrenzen ist, was nur an Ort und Stelle übernommen werden konnte. Wir müssen uns mit der grundsätzlichen Erkenntnis begnügen.

sie habe sich zwar im Bereich einzelner Heiligtümer über die griechische bis tief in die parthische Zeit hinein erhalten, zeige aber in der Sassanidenzeit keine deutlichen Lebenszeichen mehr. « Was von ihr in der Erinnerung haften geblieben war, sank unter die Ebene der Hochreligion hinab und ... rann in den Hexenkessel von verworrenem Aberglauben und Zaubwesen, aus dem die babylonischen Sekten niederer Ordnung schöpften ».

<sup>121</sup> Vgl. F. CUMONT, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*<sup>3</sup> (1931) 112 f., G. GOOSSENS, *Hiérapolis en Syrie* (1943) 85 f., THOMAS 418 ff.; für die Bekanntschaft mit babylonischen Göttern s. auch die bei WIDENGREN 72 aufgeführten syrischen Quellen.

<sup>122</sup> Dass nach PEDERSEN (s.o. Anm. 50) 123 f. die ältesten Schichten die Planeten immer zusammenfassend nennen und die Stellen mit namentlicher Aufführung alle jung sind, lässt sich dem leicht einfügen.

<sup>123</sup> So begegnet z. B. Nanai als Name für Venus auch in syrischen Texten, s. G. H. BERNSTEIN, *ZDMG* 10, 1856, 549; für ihr Vorkommen in Dura und Palmyra, auch für das des Nebo mit Bel zusammen s. O. EISSFELDT, *Tempel und Kulte syrischer Städte in hellenistischer Zeit* (*Der Alte Orient* 40 (1941) 97 f. 1032.



# THE CURSE, BLASPHEMY, THE SPELL, AND THE OATH

SHELDON H. BLANK

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

THIS essay is an exploration of the curse and related modes of human expression in the Bible. It is intended as an introduction to a study of the blessing-type of biblical prayer.<sup>1</sup>

Curses may have the form of a prayer or they may not. Not every expression of a wish is a prayer. It is a prayer if God, addressed either directly (« mayest Thou ... ») or obliquely (« may He ... »), is asked to fulfill the wish. The biblical evidence concerning the curse suggests a development from the curse as a profane wish — profane in the sense of non-religious — to the curse as imprecatory prayer.

## The Curse

The curse occurs in the Bible in three forms : (I) the simple curse formula, (II) the composite curse, and (III) curses freely composed. Forms I and II are, for the most part, profane wishes; form III usually has the character of imprecatory prayer.

I. *The simple curse formula* is a nominal sentence made up of (a) the *ḵal* passive participle of the verb אָרַר and (b) the

<sup>1</sup> The blessing and the curse in the Bible have been treated by J. Hempel (« Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen » in *ZDMG* n. F. IV, 1925, p. 20 ff.) and Adolf Wendel (*Das freie Laiengebet im vorexilischen Israel*, Leipzig, 1932). Although an independent study, the present essay was undoubtedly influenced by these works; its originality lies largely in its emphasis upon the folk belief in the effectiveness of the spoken word.

subject of this passive participle. The subject may be a noun, common : ארורה האדמה (Gen. 3.17) or proper : ארור כנען (Gen. 9.25), or an active participle : ארור לקח שחר (Deut. 27.25), a pronoun : ארור אתה (Deut. 28.19), ארורים הם (1 Sam. 26.19), or a noun clause with the relative אשר : ארור אשר לא יקים דברי (Deut. 27.26). The subject follows the predicate.<sup>2</sup>

A usual third element (c) may be called the *condition*. It suggests the reason for the curse. This may either be explicit, as in 1 Sam. 26.19 : « Let them be cursed ... (כי) *because* they have driven me out this day ... » and in Gen. 49.7 : « Cursed be their anger (כי) *for* it was fierce, » or, more commonly, implicit, the subject being further defined by a relative clause which suggests the reason, as in Jer. 11.3 : « Cursed be the man (אשר) that hearkeneth not to the words of this covenant » (the man *that* hearkeneth not is to be cursed *because* he does not hearken).<sup>3</sup> The condition may even be implicit in the subject itself when this is an active participle, as it is in most of the curses in Deut. 27, e.g. v. 17 : « Cursed be *he that removeth* (מסין) his neighbor's landmark. » He who does so is cursed because he does so.

The following twenty-two examples occur of curses containing only the curse formula, i.e., the participle and its subject, with or without the condition : Gen. 27.29 and Nu. 24.9; Deut. 27. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26; Ju. 21.18;<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam.

<sup>2</sup> The only biblical exception is ארריך ארור (Gen. 27.29 and Nu. 24.9).

<sup>3</sup> In Jer. 20.17 the relative pronoun אשר is actually the equivalent of כי and the subject of the verb is impersonal; the clause means merely : « because I was not destroyed at birth. »

<sup>4</sup> This curse and the next are, properly speaking, vows. Like the oath (see below, p. 87) the vow is a conditional curse : « Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin (*if* anyone gives Benjamin a wife) » and « Cursed be the man that eateth any food (*if* any man eats any food) ... » But, unlike the oath, it contains the curse formula. It is only by its intent as revealed by its context that a vow can be distinguished from an ordinary curse, as, for example, the curse upon the potential rebuilder of Jericho (Josh. 6.26).

14.24, 28; 26.19; Jer. 48.10a; 48.10b; Mal. 1.14a; <sup>5</sup> Ps. 119.21. <sup>6</sup>

II. *The composite curse* contains the curse formula continued with curses freely composed. The formula itself differs in no manner from the formula in type I curses, as may be seen in the following sixteen examples: Gen. 3.14; <sup>7</sup> 3.17-19; 4.11 f.; <sup>8</sup> 9.25; 49.7; <sup>9</sup> Deut. 28.16a, 16b, 17, 18, 19a, 19b; <sup>10</sup> Josh. 6.26; 9.23; Jer. 17.5; 20.14, 15. But in what is added to the formula in composite curses new features appear.

The freely composed portions of composite curses are of two subtypes depending upon whether the curse (a) is spoken by men or (b) is attributed to God. The composite curses spoken by men (a) occur in Gen. 9.25; Josh. 6.26; 9.23; Jer. 17.5 f.; 20.14 and 15-17. The first example is typical: the simple curse formula, «Cursed be Canaan,» is continued by the freely composed curse, «he shall be an abject slave to his brothers.» The freely composed portions of composite curses of the first subtype exhibit a single pattern: one or more main clauses, each in itself a curse, <sup>11</sup> the main verb in each main clause in the third person and the subject of each such verb identical with the person cursed in the preceding curse formula, <sup>12</sup> and all of these in the imperfect (or perfect with vav consecutive <sup>13</sup>)

<sup>5</sup> V. 14b begins with כִּי but is not a condition in the above sense.

<sup>6</sup> If, as in LXX, the hiatus comes before אֲרֻרִים.

<sup>7</sup> In this and the next following example alone, the condition exceptionally precedes the participle.

<sup>8</sup> In this example and in Josh. 9.23, below, the introductory וְעַתָּה is not a part of the curse; it belongs to the context.

<sup>9</sup> In the parallelism of this poetic line, the participle in the first stichos is silently supplied also in the second.

<sup>10</sup> In verses 16-19 the curse formula occurs six times. This series is followed in v. 20 ff. by curses freely composed.

<sup>11</sup> One main clause: Gen. 9.25; Josh. 9.23; Jer. 20.14. Two main clauses: Josh. 6.26; Jer. 20.16 f. (the condition in v. 17, introduced by אֲשֶׁר, could be construed with the curse formula). Three main clauses: Jer. 17.6.

<sup>12</sup> In Josh. 9.23 מִכֶּם (i.e., one of you) does not form an exception.

<sup>13</sup> Imperfect forms: Gen. 9.25 יִהְיֶה; Josh. 6.26 וַיִּסְדֶּנָּה and יִצְיֵב; Josh. 9.23 יִכְרֹת and יִכְרֹת; Jer. 17.6 וַיִּרְאֵה. Perfects with vav consecutive: Jer. 17.6 וַיִּכְרֹת and וַיִּשְׁכֵּן; Jer. 20.16 וַיִּהְיֶה and וַיִּשְׁמַע.



— with one significant exception, the jussive  $\text{אל יהי}$  in Jer. 20.14.

Being parallel to the curse formula which they continue, these freely composed curses throw light upon this formula and provide an answer to three questions: (1) What is the tense (present or future) of the participle  $\text{ארור}$  in the formula? (2) What is the mood of this participle (declarative or optative)? And (3) what is the significance of the passive voice; why is the curse not actively phrased: « Let B curse A » instead of « May A be cursed »?

(1) As for the first question, the participle in the formula is construed as a future. This follows from composite curses such as that in Gen. 9.25 according to which the effect of the curse is to befall future generations. And it emphatically follows from such hypothetical curses as that in Josh. 6.26 invoked upon one, as yet unknown, who may arise and rebuild Jericho (cf. 1 Ki. 16.34). It follows also from the fact that the main verbs in the freely composed curses of this subtype continue the formula with the imperfect or its equivalent, a sequence which unmistakably suggests that the participle in the formula is likewise future.

(2) Usually the participle in the formula is modal and means « Let him be (or may he be) cursed. » It expresses a wish and is to be construed as an optative.<sup>14</sup> The best evidence for this conclusion is the parallelistic curse Jer. 20.14, where the antithetic parallel to  $\text{ארור}$  is  $\text{אל יהי ברוך}$ <sup>15</sup>; but any of the imperfects (or their equivalents) in the above examples may readily be construed as modal imperfects; and in the curses of type III, which closely resemble the freely composed portions

<sup>14</sup> As has long been recognized; cf. S. R. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, Oxford, 1892, p. 169, *obs.* 2, and Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, ed. Kautzsch, transl. A. E. Cowley, Oxford, 1910 (hereafter cited as *G-K*), p. 360, n. 1 and p. 476, § 151a.

<sup>15</sup> Cf., also, Gen. 9.27, where  $\text{ויחי כנען עבד למו}$  parallels the composite curse, and 1 Sam. 26.19, where the jussive  $\text{ירה}$  parallels the participle  $\text{ארורים}$ .

of the composite curses, the modal nature of the curse will be apparent.

Nevertheless, Johs. Pedersen contests the view that ארור in the formula is *always* a wish.<sup>16</sup> His reservation is certainly justified as far as those curses are concerned which are attributed to God in myth narrative, our second subtype. These are not so much wishes as immediately effective decrees. But since in a myth gods speak as men, there was probably a certain declarative quality in the human curse as well, as though having been uttered it, too, had been realized.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, when the biblical curse formula is described as the expression of a wish, this must be done with Pedersen's reservation: « nicht immer. »

(3) Consideration of the third question will lead to the important conclusion that, although usually the expression of a wish, the curse formula is not a prayer. It is not addressed to God. Neither God nor any other agent is addressed or involved in the curse formula; this is the significance of the passive form of the verb (ארור). Although « a concealed agent is included in every passive verb, »<sup>18</sup> this agent, « the author or authors of the action in question, » is in fact concealed — so effectively concealed in the curse formula as to elude discovery.

Even the phrase ' לפני which twice (and only twice) occurs with the curse formula (Josh. 6.26 : ... ' ארור האיש לפני ' and 1 Sam. 26.19b : ... ' ארורים הם לפני ' ) does not imply that God was thought to be the one to execute the terms of the curse. For this meaning the *lamed* of agent<sup>19</sup> would have been employed.<sup>20</sup> The phrase ' לפני probably means « in God's presence, » i.e., with His consent.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg, 1914. He says : « Man wird denn auch nicht immer mit Recht den Fluch als einen tatkräftigen, ausgesprochenen Wunsch bezeichnen können » (p. 86).

<sup>17</sup> In Jer. 17.5 : « Cursed is the man that trusteth in man ... » and in Ps. 119.21 the writers appear merely to be stating a presumed fact.

<sup>18</sup> *G-K*, p. 387, n. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *G-K*, p. 389, § 121 f.

<sup>20</sup> As it is in the blessing in Ju. 17.2 : ' ברוך בני לי'.

<sup>21</sup> Nor is this argument vitiated by the evidence of 2 Ki. 2.24, where

Nor is it probable that demonic agents were silently assumed as the authors of the effects of the curse. The total absence of any reference to such powers in the many biblical examples of the curse would be inexplicable if demons were indeed assumed.<sup>22</sup>

Apparently, then, no external agent was assumed and, apparently, the spoken curse was itself and alone conceived to be the effective agent. This is the significance of the habitual preference for the passive construction in the curse formula and the consequent absence of any reference to an external agent, demonic or divine. *The curse was automatic or self-fulfilling*, having the nature of a «spell,» the very words of which were thought to possess reality and the power to effect the desired results.

There is abundant biblical evidence for the belief in the effective power of the spoken word — human as well as divine; and this evidence has more than once been assembled and studied.<sup>23</sup> Some of this evidence will be reviewed in the following sections of this article.

Elisha curses בָּשָׁם ' and 1 Sam. 17.43, where Goliath curses David בְּאֵלֵהוּ. Neither passage contains the curse *formula*, which alone is here under discussion. Examples of *freely composed* curses in which God is invoked as the cursing agent are numerous. — It came, indeed, to be believed that God could prevent or nullify a curse (cf. Nu. 23.8, 20 and below, p. 95) even as he could occasion a curse (cf. 2 Sam. 16.11 and Ju. 5.23, where the word מְלַאךְ is a tendentious gloss). Therefore the need for His consent. — The phrase 'לִפְנֵי ' may have reference to the invoking of curses in a sanctuary as a part of a cult or judicial ceremony (cf., below, p. 88 f.).

<sup>22</sup> Concerning the insignificant role of demons in the Bible generally cf. Hans Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im AT*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904, esp. p. 30. Cf. Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> J. Z. Lauterbach, «The Belief in the Power of the Word,» *HUCA*, XIV (1939); P. Heinisch, *Das «Wort» im AT und im alten Orient*, Münster, 1922, esp. p. 8 ff., 44 f.; L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im AT und im antiken Orient*, Leipzig, 1938. Cf., also, J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, «Tabooed Words»; Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 259 ff.

Composite curses attributed to God (subtype b) occur in Gen. 3.14 f.; 3.17-19;<sup>24</sup> 4.11 f.; 49.7; Deut. 28.16 ff. The significant difference here is that the series of verbs which have as their subject the person cursed in the formula is occasionally interrupted by a clause in which God speaks in the first person as the one who effectuates the curse: **ואיבה אשית** in Gen. 3.15, **אחלקם ביעקב ואפיצם בישראל** in Gen. 49.7; and the list of freely composed curses which follows upon the sixfold curse formula in Deut. 28.16 ff. contains several in which God (here in the third person) is the subject of the main verb and, accordingly, the one who effectuates the curse. Except for the last, these passages occur in myth narratives where, by definition, gods speak as men.

Where the divine curse is merely referred to (and not quoted as part of a myth narrative) it is less obvious that God curses with words as men curse: Gen. 12.3; Deut. 30.19;<sup>25</sup> 11.26-29; Mal. 2.2; Prov. 3.33. Nevertheless the difference between the human and the divine curse is not a clear-cut distinction. Though the human curse was spoken, the words of the spoken curse were thought themselves to be effective; and though the divine curse was effective action, it was probably thought of as phrased in effective words as well. For, an expression here and there in references to divine curses (and not only in the myth-narrative curses) betrays the presence of the thought that even these curses are words — words once spoken that have an enduring potency. This thought is implied, *e.g.*, in Deut. 30.1;<sup>26</sup> 29.26<sup>27</sup> and 27.14.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Gen. 5.29 and 8.21.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ps. 37.22: « They that are cursed by Him are cut off »; unless with LXX the participle is to be read as a *pi'el* (cf., below n. 34).

<sup>26</sup> **כל הדברים האלה**, which can, of course, mean « these things »; but cf. the following reference.

<sup>27</sup> **כל הקללה הכתובה בספר הזה ...**

<sup>28</sup> The « loud voice » not merely that the curses should be heard but also that they should have been distinctly uttered? — When, in 2 Ki. 9.34, Jezebel is called « this cursed woman » (**הארורה**) it is probably because

Thus, like the other composite curses — those uttered by men — and like the curse formula curses of type I, even the divinely willed composite curses were thought to derive their potency largely from the fact of their being spoken. It is possible, indeed, that the divine curse was considered more immediately effective than the human curse. If so, the difference suggests that the power of the curse was thought to depend upon the power of the one who cursed. See below, n. 63.

Now, although the composite curses attributed to God do involve deity, they do so by virtue of the fact — and only by virtue of the fact — that they are attributed to God. Nevertheless, if God can thus curse, then, instead of themselves uttering a curse against another, men can appeal to God to curse one whom they wish cursed — and consider such a one more effectively cursed. If they do thus appeal to God to curse, the appeal is an imprecatory prayer. Such imprecatory prayers occur among the examples of the freely composed curses of type III.

III. *Curses freely composed without the formula* also exhibit two subtypes. The first of these (a) does not differ in form from the freely composed portions of type II curses. These curses also are made up of one or more main clauses, each in itself a curse, and the main verb in each main clause is in the third person, the subject of each such verb being the person cursed.<sup>29</sup> Within the limits of the curse God is not addressed: the form is not « Put them to shame (O Lord) » but, as in the type II curses, « Let them be put to shame. » The main verbs are modal imperfects.

Examples of such curses occur primarily among the Psalms. Ps. 40.15 f. contains a typical example: « Let them be ashamed and abashed together that seek after my soul to sweep it away; let them be turned away backward and brought to confusion

of the effective words of God to Ahab through Elijah in 1 Ki. 21.23 (cf. 2 Ki. 9.10, 36 f.).

<sup>29</sup> Ps. 35.8a is exceptional in this respect.

that delight in my hurt; let them be appalled by reason of their shame that say unto me 'Aha, aha'.» Similar curses occur in Ps. 70.3 f.; 71.13; 35.4-8; 6.11; 7.17. For the most part these are variations or elaborations of the curse here quoted from Ps. 40.15 f.

As in the curse formula, the subject (the one cursed) usually follows the predicate (the freely composed substitute for the participle אָרִיר of the formula). The subject is usually an active participle which serves also as an implicit condition suggesting the reason for the curse; e.g., «they that delight in my hurt» are to be «brought to confusion» *because* they «delight in my hurt.» Once, in Ps. 35.7, an explicit condition occurs introduced by כִּי. This similarity between these curses freely composed and the simple curse formula is significant because it shows that *the freely composed curse had as its model the curse formula* and developed from the formula by way of the transitional composite curse. The formula had only to be omitted from the composite curse to produce the first subtype of type III curses. And even in its independence as a literary form, this first subtype retained most of the characteristics of its model, the curse formula.

Once freed from the formula, however, the freely composed curse went its own way. Although in the foregoing examples of type III curses God is not addressed within the limits of the curse itself, in the psalm as a whole He is addressed and there can be little doubt that the psalmist sought, if not His active cooperation, at least His consent to the terms of the curse. These curses, then, and emphatically the remaining curses of type III are forms of imprecatory prayer and show the curse within the area of religious expression.

The second subtype of type III curses is made up of such as are almost wholly independent of the curse formula. God is addressed, directly with verbs in the second person or obliquely in the third person, and asked to fulfill the curse wish of the petitioner. The verbs include imperative forms with



jussives and modal imperfects. This is the prayer form of the curse.

Examples occur predominantly in the book of Psalms and the « confessions » of Jeremiah. The latter contain the clearest examples. In Jer. 11.20 (cf. 20.12), after addressing God with a vocative, the prophet continues : « Let me see Thy vengeance on them ; » in 12.3, after a similar vocative, he continues : « Pull them out (O Lord) like sheep for slaughter » ; and similar maledictions, formally comparable, are contained in 17.18 and 18.21-23. In the book of Psalms such imprecatory prayers occur in 69.24-26, 28 f. ; 58.7-9 ; 79.12 ; 83.14-18 ;<sup>30</sup> 109.6-19. An extended example of such a freely composed curse prayer occurs also in Job. 3.3-10 — Job's curse upon the day on which he was born. It is introduced as a curse in v. 1.<sup>31</sup> The form, particularly of the curse in Job 3.3-10, is very elastic ; in form as well as in idea the imprecatory prayer is a long way removed from its source, the curse formula.

But the imprecatory prayer developed step by step out of the curse formula. And, as the examples in the confessions of Jeremiah clearly show, the process was complete at least by the end of the seventh century. Apparently thereafter all three curse forms, including the two extremes, the curse formula and the imprecatory prayer, continued side by side.

Since the imprecatory prayer developed from the curse formula, an understanding of the formula contributes to an understanding of the prayer. The evidence already adduced has led to the conclusion that the curse formula was thought to derive its power from the potency of the spoken word. This conclusion is reinforced by the evidence which emerges when

<sup>30</sup> The text of 17b may not be original. V. 18 is reminiscent of the curse in Ps. 40.15 f., quoted above, p. 80 f.

<sup>31</sup> A freely composed curse attributed to God in myth narrative is his curse upon womankind in Gen. 3.16. It is like a divine sentence and is closely related in form to the type II curses spoken by God in the same context.



one considers the biblical ban against blasphemy, the related modes of biblical expression : the spell and the oath, and the methods thought to be effective in neutralizing the curse.

### Blasphemy

The fear of the effective power of the spoken word best explains the total absence of blasphemy in the Bible. Although there are numerous examples of the formula for blessing with God as the object of the blessing, the Bible nowhere contains the curse formula directed against God, *i.e.*, blasphemy. This is all the more remarkable because the Bible is by no means lacking in passages referring to the *possibility* of a curse directed against God.

The classic instance is Job 2.9, where Job's wife urges him to curse God and die. Incidentally, the substitution of בֵּרַךְ (« bless ») for אָרַר in this passage is itself significant, suggesting that even the use of the verb אָרַר with God as its object could not be tolerated and a euphemism had to be employed.<sup>32</sup> The possibility of a man's addressing a curse to God is also envisaged in 1 Sam. 3.13,<sup>33</sup> in Ps. 37.22,<sup>34</sup> and in 1 Ki. 21.13, where Naboth, convicted of this offense and of lese majesty, is stoned. The law which Naboth is supposed to have violated is probably that stated in Ex. 22.27: אֱלֹהִים לֹא תְקַלֵּל וְנִשְׁוֵא : בעֶמְךָ לֹא תֵאָר .<sup>35</sup> Isa. 8.21 contains the suggestion that, in a time of crisis, an unspecified person will do in desperation what Job refused to do. Yet, despite frequent allusions to the possibility of blasphemy, the words of a curse directed against God are never cited.

<sup>32</sup> This euphemism also in Job 1.5, 11; 2.5; 1 Ki. 21.13.

<sup>33</sup> If we read אֱלֹהִים for לֹהֵם (*tik. sof.*).

<sup>34</sup> If the participle be read with LXX as *pi'el* instead of *pu'al*; otherwise see above, n. 25.

<sup>35</sup> Note that although the verb אָרַר is used when the object is נִשְׁוֵא it is avoided in the parallel where the object is אֱלֹהִים. — Cf. Lev. 24.15 for another statement of the law, in a narrative context.

It is significant also that, in these latter passages, when God is the object the verb for cursing is not אָרַר but קָלַל, which is probably a less offensive synonym.<sup>36</sup> A third synonym (קָלַב) <sup>37</sup> occurs in Lev. 24.11 : וַיִּקְלַב... אֶת הַשֵּׁם. But Lev. 24.16 is an extension and a sharpening of the other laws against cursing God, and it makes it a capital offense even to mention (נִקְבַּה) <sup>38</sup> the name of God.<sup>39</sup> It is apparently related to the « third commandment, » Ex. 20.7 (Deut. 5.11).<sup>40</sup>

Of a piece with the prohibition against pronouncing God's name is the development of substitutes for the tetragrammaton,<sup>41</sup> also the custom according to which only once a year, on the Day of Atonement, the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies and pronounced the divine name, and the tradition that even then his life was in jeopardy.<sup>42</sup> Clearly related, but with a somewhat different twist, is the substitution of the epithet בִּשְׁת for the names of foreign deities or even the vowels alone of the word בִּשְׁת in such names.<sup>43</sup>

The ban against blasphemy and the word-taboo which prevents the pronunciation of God's name and requires the substitution of epithets for the names of foreign deities have

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 80 f. — Cf., also, n. 35.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Nu. 23.7 f.; Job 3.8; Prov. 11.26.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Isa. 62.2.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, § 5.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Morgenstern, « The Book of the Covenant Part III — The Hūqqim, » *HUCA* VIII-IX (1931-32), p. 28 ff. — From Job 1.5 it appears that it was considered a sin even to think (בִּלְבָבָם) a curse upon God. Cf., also, Ps. 62.5.

<sup>41</sup> *E.g.*, « the Name » in Lev. 24.11, 16; Ex. 20.7; Deut. 5.11 and the *kēri* « Adonai »; also J. Z. Lauterbach, « Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton » in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1930-31.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. J. Z. Lauterbach, « A Significant Controversy between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, » *HUCA* IV (1927); Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 262 f.

<sup>43</sup> *E.g.*, Jer. 3.24 and 2 Sam. 2.8 (cf. 1 Chr. 8.33); also the pronunciation of the name עֲשֵׂתִי and the god-name מִלֵּךְ with the vowels of בִּשְׁת, *passim*, and Ps. 16.4; 1 Ki. 11.5, 7; Ex. 8.22.

as their common source the belief in the effective power of the word. The superstitious fear (or the piety) of the biblical authors made it impossible for them to reproduce the words of a curse directed against God.

The words of Job's wife bring out the full import of the ban. She implies that death at God's hand must follow upon blasphemy, as though a curse directed against God would « backfire » and take effect upon the originator of the curse.<sup>44</sup>

### The Spell

The belief in the effective power of the word is vividly illustrated also by the few examples preserved in the Bible of

<sup>44</sup> The idea of a curse returning upon one's own head also in Ps. 109.17 f. — Likewise banned by biblical law are curses upon a ruler (Ex. 22.27; cf. 1 Ki. 21.13; Isa. 8.21; Ju. 9.27; Eccles. 10.20; 2 Sam. 19.22; 16.9; 1 Ki. 2.8 f.) and curses upon one's parents (Ex. 21.17; Lev. 20.9; cf. Prov. 20.20 and 30.11-14). In Deut. 27.16 (unless here, too, we read זקלל for מקלה) even one who esteems his parents lightly is himself accursed (cf., also, Deut. 21.18-21). Jeremiah and Job avoid cursing their parents by cursing, instead, the day on which they were born (Jer. 20.14-17 and Job 3.1-10). Although an individual is not by law prevented from uttering a curse upon his own person, this also is taboo and exceedingly rare, as will be noted in a following section on the oath (which involves a conditional curse upon oneself). It has been suggested (Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 28) that a curse upon one's parents is the equivalent of a curse upon oneself, because a curse (like a blessing) might work itself out in succeeding generations (this is the implication of Josh. 9.23; 1 Ki. 2.45; Gen. 35.9-12, *et al.*). It may well be that the taboo against a curse upon the king and God derives from a consideration such as this: that a weakening of these is at the same time a weakening of their subjects and worshippers, the curser included. Since a curse upon one's self affects no others, it need not be prohibited by law, but a curse upon God or king affects an entire people and a curse upon parents an entire family, and so these are of public concern and must be prohibited. (Conversely, of course, a blessing upon God reflects benefit upon His people and its use in public worship is fitting.) The thought that one's self, one's parents, one's king or one's God could be harmed by the words of a curse clearly has its origin in the fear of the effective power of words.

simple spells. These spells do not depend for their effectiveness either upon God or upon any other external agent; the spoken words themselves are assumed to have the power to produce the desired effect.

Such a spell is recorded in Nu. 21.17. It consists of two words, an imperative and a vocative : עלֵי בָּאֵר « Spring up, O well! » A second example is contained in Josh. 10.12, the words of Joshua, similarly couched : שָׁמֶשׁ בְּנִבְעוֹן דּוֹם וַיֵּרָח בַּעֲמַק אֵיִלֹן, « O sun, stand thou still in Gibeon; O moon in the vale of Ayyalon! » Here, too, the verb is an imperative and the objects are addressed with vocatives. The imperatives and vocatives in both spells are addressed to natural objects, the well, the sun and the moon. Not God, but the objects themselves are addressed.<sup>45</sup>

In the Balaam pericope in Nu. 22 ff., the line which divides between a curse and a spell is very thin. Balak indeed calls upon Balaam to *curse* Israel (« because they are mightier than we »), but he significantly adds : « perhaps then we can smite them and drive them from the land » (22.6, cf. v. 11), apparently hoping that Balaam's words will hold Israel « spellbound » and rob them of the capacity to fight. The agent cannot be Israel's God; it is certainly a power other than God and is apparently a power inherent in the vainly expected words themselves, words which would have the character of a spell.

A curse in the imperative-vocative form of a spell occurs

<sup>45</sup> Not the tradition but the narrator is responsible for the misleading phrase « to the Lord » in Josh. 10.12. For the purpose of the narrator, it must have been God, not Joshua, who wrought the miracle. By here adding לֵי' and in v. 14 the words וַיִּשְׁמַע י' בְּקוֹל אִישׁ, « when God obeyed a human command, » he succeeded in drawing into the orbit of religion what was originally a secular spell. The process is similar to that which made of the originally profane curse an imprecatory prayer. — In one of the two traditions combined in Nu. 20.8, Moses and Aaron were to bring forth water from the rock by their potent words alone; cf. Dürr (*op. cit.*, p. 106 f.), who also argues that, in Ps. 105.31 and 34, the subject of the verb אָמַר is Moses and that here it is he who, with his effective word alone, brings plagues upon Egypt.

in 2 Sam. 16.7 : *וְאַיֵּשׁ הַדָּמִים וְאִישׁ הַבְּלִיעַל* : « Begone, begone, thou man of blood and base fellow, » a repeated imperative followed by a double vocative. For the relation between the spell and the curse, it is highly significant that although this utterance has the precise form of a spell, it is referred to in the context as a « curse. » <sup>46</sup>

Even the few extant examples of the spell in the Bible attest to the belief in ancient Israel that the spoken word had power to effect both good and evil — a power not derived from an external source, human or divine, but inherent in the word itself.

### The Oath

The flying scroll in the eerie vision of the prophet Zechariah (5.1-4) is an *'alah*, inscribed with the words of a curse. It is of enormous size. It flies through the air, settles upon the home of the guilty, enters the heart of the house, and there sits fast, an invisible presence, consuming timber and stones.<sup>47</sup> Here Zechariah has preserved the fantasy with which the mind of biblical man surrounded the curse. The biblical oath is a conditional curse and this fear-evoking fantasy explains its efficacy.

It has several uses. It may be used to discover the unknown perpetrator of an offense. It is thus employed (in Ju. 17.1 f.)

<sup>46</sup> For the meaning of Shinei's curse-spell perhaps cf. Isa. 30.22 (*בָּצָא תִאֲמַר*), where the word « Begone! » addressed to a lifeless object (an idol) is the practical equivalent of « vanish, » and Ezek. 26.18, where the same verb implies ruin and death. Cf., also, 2 Ki. 2.23. — The language of certain psalms is too general to permit a conclusion as to what sort of damaging speech the psalmist's adversaries direct against him, whether insults, false accusations and slander, curses, or spells : Ps. 12.5; 22.14; 31.19; 35.20 f.; 36.4; 52.4-6; 64.3 f.; 109.2 f.

<sup>47</sup> In this passage in Zechariah apparently it is God who directs the curse to its target (*הוֹצֵאתִיהָ*, v. 4). Probably, however, the process by which the human curse was thought to fulfill itself was quite similar.

by the mother of Micah, the Ephraimite, against the unidentified thief who took her silver<sup>48</sup> and it obtains a confession from her son. It is also used to ascertain the guilt of a person suspected of an offense. It is thus employed in the trial by ordeal of the wife suspected of adultery in Nu. 5.12 ff. A conditional curse is written on a scroll and rinsed with water, which water the accused woman must drink, symbolically imbibing with the water the gruesome words of the curse.<sup>49</sup> Thus it was thought that the curse itself entered her body, just as, in Zechariah's vision, it entered the home of the guilty and, assuming her guilt, did so with the same devastating effect. The text of the oath is obviously conflate.<sup>50</sup> Between the condition and conclusion of the oath a second formulation has been inserted, according to which, not the self-fulfilling words of the curse, but God<sup>51</sup> will effect the disintegration of her guilty body. This reformulation draws the ordeal into the area of religious practice but does not conceal its original primitive spell-like character.

Similar oaths designed to identify the guilty or to determine the guilt of a suspect are implied in Ex. 22.7 and 10. These, too, in their present context, have been incorporated into religious or judicial practice and may have been pronounced in the sanctuary. At any rate, by the time of the composition of 1 Ki. 8.31 f., in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, such oaths<sup>52</sup> were administered on the sacred precincts.

<sup>48</sup> Note אֵלִית from the root אָלַה as in Zech. 5.3. This word for oath-curse occurs also in Nu. 5.21, 23 — see below.

<sup>49</sup> The oath elements in this passage are the words: וְאֵת כִּי שָׁמִית׃ חַחַת אִישׁךְ וְכִי נִטְמָאתָ ... וּבָאוּ הַמִּים הַמֵּאָרְרִים הָאֵלֶּה בְּמַעֲיָךְ לְצַבּוֹת בָּטָן וּלְנַפְל יָרֵךְ (20,22. — The second person in an oath as in 1 Sam. 3.17; כִּי in a negative oath instead of אִם as in 2 Sam. 3.35; effects of the curse — הַמִּים הַמֵּאָרְרִים — comparable to the effects in Job 31.22).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 43 f.

<sup>51</sup> V. 21 יֵתן י' אוֹתָךְ לָאֵלֹה וּלְשִׁבּוּעָה בְּתוֹךְ עַמֶּךָ בְּתַת י' אֵת יִרְכָךְ נִפְלֹת וְאֵת בִּשְׁנֶךָ צָבָה.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. אֵלֶּה, v. 31.



Whatever the original process by which the oath was thought to convict the guilty, here God is made the warder of oaths, responsible for the proper direction and fulfillment of the conditional curse.<sup>53</sup>

Also in the several examples of an *oath formula* in the Bible, God is involved as the one who fulfills the conditional curse. The oath formula employs the conditional curse to produce the conviction that the speaker is speaking the truth. He says : כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה לִי אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף : « Thus may God do to me and even more of the same (if I do, or do not do, so and so). »<sup>54</sup> The significant thing about this formula is that the

<sup>53</sup> In the ordeal in Nu. 5 the accused accepts upon herself the conditional curse by saying : « Amen, Amen. » When the curse-formula curses of Deut. 27 are combined with the people's response, they become an oath. Assenting with the response אָמֵן the people take on themselves conditionally whatever is implied by the word אָרֹר. For this significance of « Amen » compare Jer. 28.6, where it is continued by the words כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה לִי אֱלֹהִים with the oath formula כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה י' (below). Cf., also, 1 Ki. 1.36, Josh. 2.21, and Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 98. In 1 Sam. 12.5 the response יָד נָתַן has a similar significance. — On the basis of these observations one may confidently read אָמֵן with LXX for אָמַר in Jer. 15.11; note the double אָם לֹא of the affirmative oath which follows. The words י' אָמֵן are a concise poetic substitute for the longer oath formula.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. 1 Sam. 3.17; 14.44; 20.13; 25.22; 2 Sam. 3.9, 35; 19.14; 1 Ki. 2.23; 20.10; 2 Ki. 6.31; Ruth 1.17. The subject of the verbs יַעֲשֶׂה and יוֹסִיף is always God. Only once (in 1 Sam. 3.17) is a person other than the speaker conditionally cursed in the oath formula. There Eli exacts an oath of Samuel who, perhaps, replied, as the woman does in Nu. 5.22, with the words « Amen, Amen » and thus accepted the oath as his own. In 1 Sam. 25.22 the added word אֵיבִי has an obviously prophylactic purpose (cf. 2 Sam. 12.14). In the five examples of the negative oath (where one swears *not* to do something), the condition is introduced by אָם (in 2 Sam. 3.35 by אָם בִּי, probably a conflation). In the affirmative oath, it is only once (2 Sam. 19.14) introduced by אָם לֹא which we would expect; the usual particle is כִּי (the corroborative כִּי which means « assuredly » — cf. *G-K*, § 159 *ee*). Although this usage is syntactically awkward and inconsistent, it is psychologically justifiable, because the oath is a solemn avowal. In oaths with כִּי the primary sense



oath-taker gives no hint as to the ominous content of the « thus » and « the same. » The formula is neutral and evasive, as though the oath-taker is reluctant to define the curse. Even this evasive formula is omitted in the great majority of the oaths recorded in the Bible and only a truncated sentence remains : « If I do so and so — » or « If I do not do so and so — . » This protasis or condition, introduced by  $\text{אם}$ , « if, » or  $\text{אם לא}$ , « if ... not » (as the case may be), itself serves as the oath, with no apodasis or conclusion.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, although the conditional curse is an essential part of the oath, the actual words of the curse, defining the calamity which is to befall the oath-taker if he has sworn falsely, are almost never spoken. They are evaded, as in the oath formula, or wholly suppressed, as in the truncated form of the oath. And this is done because of the fear that, even though the oath-taker is convinced of his innocence or sincere in his intentions, by some evil chance the words might nevertheless be realized. The words themselves are dangerous. A divine agency is indeed assumed in the oath formula; but the fear of

of the oath as a conditional curse is obscured. Once, in 1 Sam. 20.12-13a  $\alpha$  (where alone the condition precedes the conclusion) the condition is introduced by the *conditional*  $\text{כי}$  and later resumed by  $\text{אם}$ .

<sup>55</sup> *E.g.* Ps. 132.2-4; Neh. 13.25, and often. — The use of  $\text{אם}$  and  $\text{אם לא}$  to introduce a denial or an affirmation must have achieved the status of a common idiom, in which the literal implications were all but forgotten before the use of these particles in a *divine* threat or promise became current. (Cf. *G-K*, § 149b and the following instances cited there : Deut. 1.34 f.; Isa. 14.24; Jer. 22.6; Ezek. 35.6; Ps. 95.11; cf., also, Hem-pel, *op. cit.*, p. 94.) God could no more be thought of as accepting upon Himself a conditional curse in an oath formula than He could be cursed by men — excluded by the prohibition of blasphemy. But this usage in a divine threat or promise is attested at least as early as the 8th century (Isa. 22.14). Behind this 8th century usage must lie the whole development of the oath with the suppression of the conclusion leaving only the conditional particle. But the original complete oath form was not forgotten and it occurs at least as late as the time of the composition of Job (see below).

the curse itself, of the very words of the curse, dictates the form of the formula.

At the other extreme, to be sure, there are instances — only a few — of oaths in the Bible where nothing is suppressed, the conditional curse being fully and explicitly set forth. An example of a complete double oath with the curses fully stated occurs in Ps. 137.5 f., and a second in Ps. 7.4 f. The psalmists here daringly invite calamities upon themselves, saying : « Let my right arm be paralyzed; » « Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth » (Ps. 137) ; « Let an enemy pursue my soul, and overtake it and tread my life down to the earth; yea, let him lay my glory in the dust » (Ps. 7).<sup>56</sup>

The classic example in the Bible of the oath in the form of a complete conditional curse upon one's self is Job 31, which is made up of a series of such oaths.<sup>57</sup> In the received text there are at least four clear instances of the complete oath : (1) verses 5, 7 and 8, (2) verses 9 and 10, (3) verses 19-22, and (4) verses 38-40. In each such oath the final verse contains the apodasis, the curse which is to befall Job, the speaker, if he has been guilty of committing, or omitting, any of the actions listed in the foregoing conditional clauses introduced by  $\text{אם}$  or  $\text{אם}$   $\text{אם}$  respectively. These curses (in verses 8, 10, 22 and 40) are as follows : « Let me sow and another eat, let the produce of my soil be uprooted, » « Let my wife grind for another, let others bow down to embrace her, » « Let my shoulder

<sup>56</sup> Although God is addressed with a vocative at the beginning of the oath in Ps. 7, He is so addressed merely that He may be assured that the psalmist has done his companion no evil. In the preceding example also and in the one yet to be cited, God is not asked to play any part in the execution of the conditional curse. These curses are variants of the freely composed curses of type II, subtype a and type III subtype a, cf., above, p. 75 f. and p. 80 f.

<sup>57</sup> The text of the chapter may have suffered somewhat in transmission and has been variously reconstructed, as, for example, in M. Battenwieser, *The Book of Job*, Macmillan, 1922, p. 324 f., 135 ff.

blade drop from my shoulder and my arm be rent from the socket,» and « Let thistles grow up instead of wheat and weeds instead of barley. »

It should not pass unnoticed that in his speech in this chapter Job says things which are customarily left unsaid, or, at any rate, concealed in the evasive oath formula. We can appreciate the dramatic effect of this climax in the Job dialogue only if we recognize it as practically unique in this respect. Job boldly defies all convention and without restraint puts into words what is hardly ever spoken. Nothing could more forcibly produce in his hearers the conviction of Job's innocence than these curses pronounced by Job upon himself, this audacious breach of the word-taboo.

Despite their rarity, the examples of the complete oath plainly reveal what it is that the curse formula, the evasive oath-formula and the truncated oath form conceal. They reveal the thoughts in the mind of the oath-taker and, beyond this, they throw light on the connotations of the term אָרוּר in the simple curse formula. The conditional curses with which the oath-taker threatens himself are damages to his property and person : the failure of his crops,<sup>58</sup> the loss of his possessions, the alienation of his wife, the crippling or maiming of his body, even the loss of his life at the hands of a murderer.<sup>59</sup> If the naming of a thing was equated in the mind of biblical man with the evocation of the thing itself, if the words of a curse possessed such terrifying reality as the *'alah* in Zechariah's vision of the flying scroll, there is little wonder that in an oath a man would hesitate to pronounce a curse, even a conditional curse, upon himself.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Job 24.18.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Isa. 65.20, where it is suggested that, in apocalyptic times, a man who does not attain the age of 100 will be regarded as one accursed.

## Protection Against Curses

If it was thought that a wish had only to be uttered to be realized, man was both strong and weak : strong because by blessing he could give life and by cursing deal death to others, weak because he was at the mercy of another's curses. Probably biblical man was not so naive as to seriously believe either that he possessed such omnipotence or that he was afflicted with such impotence. And yet a confession might be wrung from a culprit by directing a curse against him, a son might be stoned merely for cursing his parents, the king of mighty Egypt craved the blessing of Moses and Aaron (Ex. 12.32), the king of Moab put more faith in Balaam's curse-spell than in his own armies and was prepared to buy it at any price (Nu. 22.17), and men bethought themselves of means by which a curse might be neutralized.

The actions of Jehoiakim in Jer. 36.23 suggest the belief that a curse might be neutralized by destroying the words which express it. In order to remove the threat of Jeremiah's words. the king slashes, column by column, the scroll which contains the curses, and reduces the fragments to ashes. He does this with the obvious intention of nullifying the effect of the written words. For, after the scroll had been thus disintegrated, the king and his counsellors did not tear their garments and were no longer perturbed (v. 24, cf. v. 16). The destruction of the words had removed the threat.

One could void a curse also by destroying its source, the man who uttered it. This seems to have been in the mind of Abishai when he wished to kill Shimei (2 Sam. 16.9) and in the mind of Solomon when he ordered Shimei's execution (1 Ki. 2.46). It may have played a role in the trial of Jeremiah (Jer. 26) where the prophet saves his life by disclaiming personal responsibility; God, the real author of his words, will remain after His prophet is destroyed (26.12-14).<sup>60</sup> Amaziah's purpose in banishing Amos

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

from Beth-el (Amos 7.12 f.) is to prevent his speaking more of the words which « the land is not able to bear » (v. 10).

A curse might be eluded by deception. In 2 Ki. 22.11, upon hearing the curses contained in the scroll found in the Temple, Josiah tears his garments. It is implied in Jer. 36.24 that Jehoiakim and his counsellors would have done the same had not the threat of Jeremiah's words been removed by their destruction. Probably by tearing his garments, which is a mourning custom, the one accursed intended to make it appear that he had already suffered the effects of the curse and supposed that he might thus deceive, as it were, and elude the curse itself.<sup>61</sup>

A more effective means to neutralize a curse is to administer a blessing as an antidote. This is forcibly illustrated by Ju. 17.2, where Micah's mother, upon learning that her curse directed against an unknown thief had been directed in fact against her own son, promptly says : בָּרוּךְ בְּנִי לִי, « Blessed by God be my son. » Similarly, in 1 Ki. 2.45, in the hearing of Shimei, Solomon blesses himself and his father's throne to neutralize Shimei's curse in 2 Sam. 16.5-8. When it is learned that a three-year famine is the result of the Gibeonites' curse, David asks them what he must now do to deserve their blessing which would cancel their curse (2 Sam. 21.1-3). And, finally, when Pharaoh dismisses the Hebrews after the death of the first-born of Egypt, he requests of Moses and Aaron that now they bless him (Ex. 12.32).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. 16.12a. — Gen. 27.13a contemplates the diversion of a curse from one person to another. Cf., also, 1 Sam. 25.22 and n. 54, above.

<sup>62</sup> Since it was possible by such means to annul a curse, the prohibition against cursing the deaf (Lev. 19.14) stems from the consideration that unfair advantage is taken of such a one; being unable to hear the curse, he will not, as another might do, take suitable measures to protect himself. (So, also, Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 38.) Incidentally, the words of the curse would be effective whether or not he heard them. Contrast Eccles. 7.21 f.

It is probably significant that in Ju. 17.2 the blessing with which Micah's mother counteracts her curse involves God as the agent for blessing. This implies that God's blessing is of all blessings the most efficacious.<sup>63</sup> Balaam denies that his curses are effective without God;<sup>64</sup> were even Balaam to curse Jacob, God could yet annul his curse with a blessing,<sup>65</sup> or God could, indeed, prevent the curse.<sup>66</sup> If this is so, then by far the most effective means by which a man might at any rate seek to protect himself from a curse is to appeal to God for His sure blessing.

Thus, the form of the curse formula, the ban against blasphemy, the spell, the oath, and the means employed to neutralize a curse, all point to the belief that the power of the curse originally derived from the effective power of the words which expressed it. Nevertheless, in Bible times, breaking loose from its profane model, the curse developed into imprecatory prayer, a type of religious expression.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. 7.29 and Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 60. This, in turn, implies that the effectiveness of a blessing (or of a curse) depends to some extent upon the power of the person who pronounces it (cf. 1 Sam. 3.19; 9.6; Dürr, *op. cit.*, p. 92 ff., 106; Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 77 ff.). The effectiveness of Balaam's blessings and curses is acknowledged by Balak (Nu. 22.6b). The « cursers of the day » in Job 3.8 are (?) persons with a reputation for effective cursing.

<sup>64</sup> Nu. 23.8 (cf. vv. 27 and 20b).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Deut. 23.6; Josh. 24.10; Mic. 6.5; Neh. 13.2. — Cf., also, Ps. 109.28; 40.15 f.; 59.8 f.; 2.1-4; 55.10. The obverse of this idea appears also: God can convert men's blessings into curses (Mal. 2.2). — Prov. 26.2 is a weakening of the idea that a curse inevitably fulfills itself. It expresses the ethical view that a curse, if unwarranted, is powerless (cf. Toy in ICC to Proverbs, *ad loc.*).

<sup>66</sup> Nu. 22.12.





## SOME EMENDATIONS IN PSALMS

H. L. GINSBERG

Jewish Theological Seminary of America

THE clearer the general superiority of the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible over its rivals becomes (which of course does *not* imply its superiority in every detail over every other witness), the greater becomes the need for conjectural emendation. The results of this method are necessarily less assured than those of mathematics, but that is no more cogent argument against its application than against research in any other branch or aspect of the humanities. What is true is that the value of the results is liable to drop close to zero if the practitioner is deficient in familiarity with Scripture, mastery of Hebrew idiom, or exegetical sense. The judge of that value must, of course, possess a considerable measure of the same qualifications, plus honesty.

So far as I know, none of the following emendations in Psalms have been proposed before, but of course one or more of them may have been. I shall appreciate it if such cases are brought to my attention.

**2:11-12.** If נשקו בר is placed before ברעדה it will presently become apparent that, in the phrase וגילו נשקו בר ברעדה, the word בר is simply a dittography of the following letters and the נ of נשקו probably a dittography of the preceding ו, and that the remainder, being parallel to 11a, is to be emended to ונדלו שמו וברעדה 'and magnify His name in trembling.' (Cf. 2 Sam 7:26; Mal 1:11b; 1 Chr 17:24.)

**4:7.** Read נִטָּה for נסה. The final clause means, 'Show us Thy favor, O Lord.' For the verb *nty* in this sense, cf. Gen 39:21; for 'light of countenance' as equivalent to 'favor,' see

Ps 44:4; 89:16; Prov 16:15. For ם miswritten for ט cf. וְנָפְּטִי (so Sym., Syr., Vulg.), instead of וְנָסֹו, Cant 2:17; 4:6,<sup>1</sup> and אִיט(י)בֶּה instead of אִנְסֶכֶּה Koh 2:1.<sup>2</sup>

8:2-3. With Staerk, Bertholet, and Morgenstern,<sup>3</sup> vocalize the second word in 2b *tunnā*. Further, there is no reason why the refrain should be any longer at the beginning of the poem than at the end. 2a, which is identical with 10, is therefore to be separated — at least metrically — from 2b. The latter begins a new line, combining with v. 3 to form the following distich:

(2b) (Thou) whose majesty's praised o'er the heavens

(3) from the mouths of babes and sucklings;

Who hast stablished strength 'gainst Thy foes  
to quiet enemy and opponent.

Whoever follows Morgenstern in deleting 3, must needs delete 2b as well.

8:4. Since the text does not say 'Thy moon and Thy stars' (and there's no reason why it should), the final יך of שִׁמְיך is evidently due to contamination by the יך of אֲצַבְעֶיךָ. Read, however, not שְׁמִים but שֶׁשׁ 'the sun' (// 'moon and stars,' cf. Gen 37:9; Koh 12:2). [Opposed by Gunkel, hence anticipated.]

9:6, 16, 18, 20, 21; 10:16. For גִּיִּים read גִּיִּים = גִּאִים 'the haughty.' Note (1) that the word is parallel to 'the wicked' in 9:6, 16-17, 18 — just as (2) גִּאוּה 'haughtiness' is in 36:12 — and compare (3) the combination בְּגִאוּת רֶשַׁע in 10:2. Observe further (4) the emphasis on the fact that the 'גִּיִּים' are but mortals, 9:20, 21. (Also 10:18, where the final clause means 'so that mortals may no longer exercise tyranny upon earth'; the preposition מִן being used as in 148:1, 7.)

<sup>1</sup> Further, יפֹוה is corrupt for יפֹנֶה; cf. Jer 6:4. See my *Studies in Daniel*, 1948, p. 78 n. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Then follow the words בִּיזוּ אֶת בָּשָׂרִי וְלִבִּי נִהַג, which in our text have strayed to v. 3. See my monograph (at the present writing in manuscript) *Studies in Koheleth*, Study I B 2.

<sup>3</sup> *HUCA* 19 (1945-46): 491 ff.

That haughtiness is the root of wickedness is not the discovery of Isaiah. (That God judges nations is *mentioned* in 9:9 *not* because that is what the psalm *prays for*, but merely to illustrate His eternal greatness (vv. 8-9), in contrast to the haughty — individual, native Israelite — malefactors whom He has repeatedly judged and destroyed in the past and whose modern counterparts He is now urged to judge and destroy again.) [Cf. further 'proud' // 'wicked' in Job 40:12.]

**22:17, 21.** Read צרעים (talmudic Hebrew) 'wasps' for מרעים and חרב respectively (for the latter perhaps the singular צרעה). The psalmist complains that he is attacked by bulls (13), a lion or lions (14), dogs (17a<sup>a</sup>), and עדת מרעים (17a<sup>b</sup>) and prays to be delivered from the same in the reverse order: חרב (21a), dog (21b), lion (22a), wild oxen (22b). At first sight there may not seem to be anything suspicious about מרעים 'evil-doers' and חרב 'sword,' and of course the psalmist might very well become literal after using three figures of speech. However, it is evident that the psalmist is not literal about the fourth peril either, since the human enemies who beset him (a) do not surround him (17) nor — even if חרב is allowed to stand (21) — do they threaten him with the sword: all they do literally is mock at him (8) and complacently divide his effects in anticipation of his death (19). Since, therefore, עדת (17) is precisely the right word for a 'swarm' of bees (Jud 14:8), and since the figure of being surrounded by bees does occur in Ps 118:12, the emendation proposed is very tempting. Most readers will probably be completely convinced after reading my observations below on the parallel passage just referred to: Ps 118:10-12.

**23:3b.** In light of 5:9 — 'O Lord, lead me in Thy straightness because of them that lie in wait for me (שוררי); make Thy way<sup>4</sup> even before me' — and of 27:11 — 'Teach me Thy way,<sup>4</sup> O Lord, and lead me in an even path because of

<sup>4</sup> Some prefer to read דרכי 'my way.'

them that lie in wait for me (למען שוררי) — it is obvious that here too the final phrase is למען שוררי, and that the sense of the half-verse is: 'He leadeth me in straight paths because of them that lie in wait for me.' How incomparably more appropriate this is in its context (cf. v. 4) than the vague 'for His name's sake' of the textus receptus will be obvious to the discerning.

**68:22.** That שער is to be corrected to רשע has been seen by others, and in view of the parallelism (cf. פִּעְלֵי אֵוֶן // אֵיבִיד // 92:10) and of Hab 3:13b alone it would be hard to doubt it. But as a matter of fact Hab 3:13b is a perfect parallel to our verse, so that a collation of the two, plus one hint each from the Septuagint to Hab 3:13b and from 14a ibid., can yield a complete restoration of both passages.

Thus, the parallelism ראש איביו // קדקד ירשע in Ps 68:22 suggests that יוסוד ער צואר in Hab 3:13b must be miswritten for קדקד צואר (ראש...רשע // קדקד צואר), and that in turn that ערות ibid. must be miswritten for רעות (cf. ירעון קדקד, Jer 2:16) or רצות (cf. Ps 74:14) 'thou didst shatter' (מחצת //).

Again, the LXX renders Hab 3:13a by *baleis eis kephalas anomōn thanaton*, as if the ב of the masoretic מבית stood at the beginning of the preceding word. Actually it probably stood in their text, if at all, at the beginning of the very word in which it is embedded in the MT; but in any case it is safe to conclude that in the LXX's *Vorlage* the letters בית stood together. I do not doubt but the original reading from which our מבית is descended was מְתִי רָשָׁע מְתִי (so to be vocalized) means the same thing as אנשי רשע (Job 34:8) or מתי שוא (Job 11:11; Ps 26:4).

But in light of the parallelism ראש 'מתי' רשע // קדקד צריך in Hab 3:13b, we must transfer the מת of מתהלך before 'רשע' so as to obtain the parallelism [מתי רשע] קדקד // ראש איביו in Ps 68:22; and in light of the parallelism מחצת // רעות in Hab 3:13a the הלך which remains in Ps 68:22 must be corrected to הלם (// ימחץ), cf. Jud 5:26b. Cf. further the verb.

*hlm* (4 times) in a Ugaritic epic fragment (III AB A) describing Baal's belaboring of Yamm-Nahar' (with whom the [Chaldean] enemy is compared by Habakkuk — 3:8, 15) with magic clubs. — The remaining puzzler in Ps 68:22, באשמי, can then be emended with the help of the context and of Hab 3:14aa (here read במטיך) to במטיו 'with His bludgeon' (the י is radical and the word singular, as in many similar cases; the plural would be במטותיו); cf. further Hab 3:9 and the two *šmdm* 'clubs' of the Ugaritic text just cited.

To sum up, Hab 3:3b as restored reads thus : מחצת ראש (סלח) (מתי רשע, רעות קדקד צריך (סלח) and Ps 68:22 as restored, thus: אך אלהים ימחץ ראש איביו, קדקד מתי רשע הלם במטיו.

**72:16.** To heal this verse entirely is beyond my powers. It is fairly certain, however, that כרשא is a mutilated כרים, and possible that הרים is a corruption of כרים. The sense of v. 16aa will then be : 'May the ... of corn in the land be like the grass of the hills (or pastures).' For דשא // בר cf. בר // 'הציר' Ps 65:14; which comparison likewise suggests that either כרים is to be substituted for הרים in our passage or the latter for the former in 65:14 (// עמקים). The rest of 72:16 perhaps originally read something like this וכיער לבנון עצי פרי ועמיר כעשב הארץ 'and like the forest of Lebanon fruit-trees, and harvests like the herbage of the earth.'

**92:16.** A reference to Deut 32:4b should suffice for the initiate : not צורי but צדיק is evidently what the context demands and the text originally had. — In most of the Lachish ostraca the letter ק (with no vertical line running thru the circle at the top) bears a sufficient resemblance to the contemporary ף for confusion to have been possible; so that צדיק could have become צדין, and this in turn צורי. Conversely, in Zeph 2:2 an original תרחו לא<sup>5</sup> became לרת חק perhaps while still in the ancient script.

<sup>5</sup> See *JBL* 69 (1950) : 57-8 n. 5.

**104:3.** Read בַּשָּׁמַיִם 'in the heavens' for בְּמִים; cf. Amos 9:6. The corruption probably took place in the Old Hebrew script, where ש resembled מ sufficiently to have been lost before it by haplography. It is not YHWH's chambers which are built in the (upper) waters but the (upper) waters which are stored in YHWH's chambers; cf. v. 13a, also 13b as corrected in the following paragraph.

**104:13.** For מַעְלִיּוֹתַי read מַעְלִיּוֹתֶיךָ. For מִפְּרֵי מַעֲשֵׂיךָ read מִרְעַף שָׁמַיִךְ 'from the dripping of Thy heavens'; cf. Isa 45:8. Previous writers have realized that this is the sense the context calls for, and have got שָׁמַיִךְ right, but not רְעַף. The verbs רְעַף and עָרַף meaning 'to drip' are well known; our verse contained some substantive meaning 'dripping' from one or other of these roots.

**114:7.** The difficulties (and there's nothing one can do for those who do not feel them except feel sorry) are two. (1) אֲדֹנָי is impossible. Altho in principle the article can be dispensed with in poetry, אֲדֹנָי alone never means 'the Lord' with reference to the Deity; nor for that matter does הָאֲדֹנָי, tho one can say הָאֲדֹנָי יְהוָה 'the Lord YHWH' (Exod 23:17) or הָאֲדֹנָי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת 'the Lord YHWH of Hosts' (Isa 1:24). That difficulty could be met by emending to אֲדֹנָי, but there would still remain (2) the extreme weakness of a *command* חוּלֵי אֶרֶץ 'quake, O earth' as a reply to a series of questions which can be summed up as a single question, 'Why quakest thou, O earth?' Some versions render as if the text read חָלָה אֶרֶץ 'the earth quakes,' and that is certainly an improvement. Still, one would have expected the answer to be given by those to whom the questions are addressed, namely the sea, the Jordan, the mountains, and the hills; that is to say, one would have expected it to have the form 'we tremble.' In view of all the foregoing I propose with considerable confidence emending מִלְּפָנֵי אֲדֹנָי חוּלֵי אֶרֶץ to מִלְּפָנֵי אֲדֹנָי כָּל הָאֶרֶץ 'before the Lord of all the earth.' Cf., in a similar context, 97:5; also Micah 4:13b; Zech 4:14; 6:5.



To be sure, this emendation makes v. 7 differ from every other verse in the chapter in that its second hemistich no longer contains an ellipsis to be supplied from the first hemistich. But then, v. 7 differs from the other verses even as it stands, since the element which is virtually repeated in the b-verse stands here at the end of the a-verse instead of at its beginning. It is therefore clear that the writer, for deliberate effect, varied the structure of this verse; and I submit that the breathless excitement and awe which he wished to suggest are conveyed more effectively by the wording I have proposed, and that this is more likely to have been the one he employed.

**116:12.** The ending וְהִי of תַּגְמוּלוֹהִי is a unique and utterly unmotivated example of an Aramaic pronominal suffix in a biblical Hebrew text, and in a lyric composition at that. I have no hesitation whatever in reading תַּגְמוּלֵיהִי; cf. נְבוּרֵיהִי, Nah 2:4; מַרְגָּהוּ, Prov 19:4, 7; מַעֲלָתָהוּ Ezek 43:17.

**118:10-12.** In all three verses אֶפְרָט 'I escaped' is probably to be read for the rather dubious אַמִּילִם. That the latter can mean 'I cut them off' is far from certain, and moreover that is far less effective in the context than 'I escaped!' (One can hear the sigh of astonished relief.)

In v. 10, more particularly, כָּל גּוֹיִם is most difficult. 'All nations surrounded me' would be too steep a hyperbole even for the Jewish people, except at rare junctures in its history. Yet our psalm, tho intended for a regular ceremony of thanksgiving, expresses only the joint thanksgivings of individuals who have experienced individual deliverances. To solve the riddle, observe that the expression *kl gwym* in v. 10, like *kdbwrym* in v. 12, begins with *k* and ends with *ym*. One should ask oneself if the *k* in the former can not have the same function as in the latter, namely that of the particle meaning 'like.' In that case *lgwym* must be the mutilated remains of the name of some creatures which, like bees, sometimes surround and attack or threaten men. Well, we know that the



psalmist of Ps 22, in speaking of *his* enemies, says he is surrounded by dogs (22:17a, 21b), among other menaces; and obviously ככלבים could easily lose one כ by haplography, and the rest could then easily be misread כל גוים, a phrase which the scribe had encountered only eleven verses back, in Ps 117:1. In short, v. 10 says 'Like dogs they (the enemies of v. 7b) surrounded me : in the name of YHWH I escaped.'

In v. 12, finally, the LXX read בערו דעכו for בערו דעכו. I therefore suggest tentatively reading בָּעַר פֶּאֶשׁ עֲקָצָם 'their stings burned like fire' for דעכו כאש קוצים. (עֲקָץ 'sting' is known from post-biblical sources.)

## SOME BIBLICAL SITES IN THE JORDAN VALLEY \*

NELSON GLUECK

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

ARCHAEOLOGICAL investigations in the Jordan Valley have revealed the presence there of many ancient sites not mentioned in the Bible, in addition to establishing the locations of those comparatively few centers of sedentary settlement which do figure in the Biblical accounts. It is not particularly surprising that only a few of the villages and towns and fortresses in the Jordan Valley, as in other parts of Bible lands, which existed or developed or were destroyed in Biblical times, are mentioned in the Biblical accounts, when one considers the nature and purpose of the Bible. Throughout the long development of Biblical historiography, people and places, individuals and incidents, lore and laws and lands have been dealt with in accordance with their relationship to the all embracing role and the universal rule of God, the God of Israel, the God of History. Thus, only those sites were mentioned in the Jordan Valley, as elsewhere, which, in one way or another, fitted in with the general historico-theological purpose of the Biblical writers of using fact and fable, experience and perception, pilgrimage and conquest, wonder and word to expound and enhance the belief in the brotherhood of mankind under the Fatherhood of the one supreme God.

The occupation of the Jordan Valley, as excavations at Jericho and Beth-shân alone would have been sufficient to show, was a long and almost continuous one in historical

\* The following two abbreviations have been generally employed :

AASOR = *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

times, although with periods in which sedentary settlement was difficult to maintain. Its history began as early as that of civilization elsewhere, as for instance in the Tigris and Euphrates or Nile Valleys. An advanced and intensive agricultural civilization existed in the Jordan Valley in historical times from the Early Neolithic period on, continuing through the entire Chalcolithic period to and through the subsequent Bronze and Iron Ages. There seems to have been a period of pronounced recession during the last quarter of the Early Bronze Age, with a period of weakness in the Late Bronze Age, and a pronounced period of decline between the end of the Iron Age and the Hellenistic period<sup>1</sup>. The story of prehistoric civilization and settlement in the Jordan Valley seems likewise to be as continuous and intensive and as long as anywhere else in and along the edges of the lands of the fertile crescent.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, during the entire span of historic times, there have been no major, permanent climatic changes there, or elsewhere in Bible lands, — or for that matter, anywhere in the world, to our knowledge, — that made it impossible for sedentary, agricultural civilization to develop or prosper. Despite widespread misconceptions concerning the possibilities of early settlement and civilization in the Jordan Valley in historic times<sup>3</sup>, it may be categorically affirmed both as a result of comprehension of Biblical statements and discovery of archaeological evidence, that the Jordan Valley represents one of the first settled and richest valleys of the ancient

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BASOR 86, p. 11; 89, p. 25; 90, pp. 17-18; AASOR XVIII-XIX, p. 269; Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 66, 85-87; AJA LIII : 2, 1949, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> AASOR XVIII-XIX, pp. 268-269; Joan Crowfoot in Sukenik, *Archaeological Investigations at Affula*, pp. 72-78; *U. of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XXII : 3-4, 1935, pp. 174-184; XXIV, 1937, pp. 35-51.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 489; E. Meyer: *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 12, (1928), p. 96; Toynbee, *A Study of History* (Abridgement), p. 58.

Near East. Neither in irrigation agriculture, nor in any of the other arts of advancing civilization, did it represent a backward and benighted part of the world.<sup>4</sup> The impression which Lot received of the Plains of Moab and of the Jericho region, may be held to apply equally well to almost all of the rest of the Jordan Valley :

« And Lot lifted up his eyes, and he beheld all the Valley of the Jordan. And lo, all of it was irrigated, — and it was like a garden of God » (Genesis 13:10).

With the exception of Jericho and Beth-shân, the other Biblical sites mentioned in the Bible as being located in the Jordan Valley could not be more or less definitely located until modern times, because of a lack of sufficient archaeological information and opportunity to rediscover them. Expeditions of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, have now succeeded in fixing with certainty the locations of most of these sites, and with probability the locations of all of them. Only Jericho and Beth-shân have retained their ancient names down to modern times. Ancient Biblical place-names have frequently moved on from ancient abodes to new homes in the course of history, particularly after the 6th century B.C., with the result that places which were never occupied before the Hellenistic or Roman periods at the earliest have in the past frequently been identified with the Bronze and Iron Age sites of the Biblical accounts. The worst that can be said of some of the new identifications proposed for most of the Jordan Valley Biblical sites is that the facts of the contemporaneity of a particular place and its location in a suitable district do not necessarily make for an absolutely correct identification. In the instances of Jericho and Beth-shân, not only have the ancient place-names remained attached to modern towns but a comparatively few meters removed from the original sites, but literature and explorations and excavations have confirmed the identifications.

<sup>4</sup> Albright, *The Archaeology of the Bible*, pp. 251-252; Glueck, *The River Jordan*, p. 12; *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 26.

With the exception of Beth-shân and Jericho, most of the Jordan Valley Biblical sites of importance, are located on the east side, that is, generally speaking, the richer and broader side of the Jordan Valley, in the upper *kikkâr* level above the *ge'ôn* of the Jordan, the Jungle of the Jordan.

In determining the locations of ancient Biblical sites in the Jordan Valley, whose whereabouts had been lost under the debris of time, both Biblical and archaeological evidence must be carefully examined and be found to be in complete harmony. The identification of the ancient site of Jabesh-gilead on the east side of the Jordan Valley was made possible by the complete agreement between the Biblical data and archaeological discoveries.

Overlooking from the north the meeting of the canyon of the Wâdî el-Yâbis with the Jordan Valley is the important double site of Tell el-Meqbreh-Tell Abū Kharaz, the latter being the fortress guarding the urban area of the former. The site occupies a most strategic position. Its strongly walled fortress commanded the approaches to and from the Jordan Valley via the Wâdî el-Yâbis. The locating of fortified settlements on easily defensible hilltops near perennial streams at the points where the streams leave the hills of their origins to flow through fertile plains or valleys was standard practice in the ancient Near East.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the location of every important site on the east side of the Jordan mentioned in the Bible fits into this pattern. The remains of surface pottery on Tell el-Meqbreh-Tell Abū Kharaz clearly demonstrate that the site was inhabited during most of the Bronze Ages, the history of which is embedded in part in Biblical records in the generally accurate historical memory of events which occurred before the pages of the Bible could possibly have been penned. These remains indicate further that this site was inhabited also during the Iron Age periods of the united and divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and their more or less immediate

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Glueck, *The River Jordan*, pp. 240-241; BASOR 91, pp. 25-26.

antecedents. To the northwest of this site, the massive mound of ancient Beth-shân can be seen on the west side of the Jordan Valley. It seems incontrovertible that the Wādī el-Yâbis was known in Biblical times as the Naḥal Jabēsh, and that the site of Jabesh-gilead would be found close to it.

Two of the Biblical accounts dealing with Jabesh-gilead are of particular importance for fixing its location. The one story in I Samuel 11:1-13 tells how the parts of Saul's army assembled at Bezeq, and (after what must have included a night's forced march) «came into the midst of the host (of Naḥash the Ammonite) in the morning watch,» defeated and dispersed the Ammonites encamped against Jabesh-gilead, and thus saved its inhabitants from the ignominy of disfigurement threatened them by Naḥash. The other story in I Samuel 31:10-13 and I Chronicles 10:11-12, deals with the *hesed* act of faithful obligation which the men of Jabesh-gilead showed Saul, when in the course of a night they journeyed to Beth-shân and back again to remove from its fortification-wall the corpses of their benefactor Saul and his sons placed there by the Philistines and carried them back to Jabesh-gilead for burning and the subsequent honorable burial of their bones.

The requirements for the location of Jabesh-gilead, to judge from these passages, are : 1) that it be near enough to Bezeq in the hill-country of Palestine, so that an army descending from Bezeq into and across the Jordan Valley, could reach Jabesh-gilead in the early watch of the morning, and launch a surprise attack against the besieging Ammonites; 2) that it be a fairly important settlement or fortress, near an open area and a good source of water, where comparatively large armed forces could encamp; 3) that it be near enough to Beth-shân to get the news within the day or almost on the same day of events in or near Beth-shân; 4) that it be close enough to Beth-shân to make a round-trip there and back possible mainly within the course of a single night; 5) that it be situated by or very near the Wādī el-Yâbis (Naḥal Jabēsh) of the territory of

Gilead; and 6) that the pottery of the proper historical periods be found on the site.

The double site of Tell el-Meqberek-Tell Abū Kharaz is the only one which meets these requirements fully. The exact location of Bezeq has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained, but it has been associated, without conclusive archaeological proof, with Khirbet Ibziq<sup>6</sup> on the east edge of the Palestine hill country, overlooking the descent to the Jordan, and on a line with the Wādī el-Yâbis. The journey of about 16 kilometers could have been made under the conditions mentioned above between Bezeq (Khirbet Ibziq) and Jabesh-gilead (Tell el-Meqberek-Tell Abū Kharaz), but could not possibly have been made in time to effect a surprise attack against the Ammonites, if Saul's troops had had, after traversing the east side of the Jordan Valley, to climb the Transjordanian hills of Gilead to get to Tell el-Maqlûb, with which Jabesh-gilead has at times been identified.<sup>7</sup> By the same token, the round-trip between Jabesh-gilead and Beth-shân could likewise not have been made under the conditions listed in the Bible, if instead of Tell el-Meqberek-Tell Abū Kharaz, Tell el-Maqlûb situated a considerable distance farther east in the Gileadite highlands and overlooking the Wādī el-Yâbis were to be identified with Jabesh-gilead.

It is this distance factor, which makes it impossible to accept as valid the assertion by Eusebius,<sup>8</sup> that Jabesh-gilead was six (Roman) miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa. In view of the position, prominence, and Bronze and Iron Age pottery at Tell el-Maqlûb, whose position would approximately coincide with this point, Tell el-Maqlûb has been identified by some with Jabesh-gilead. Tell el-Maqlûb is to be identified

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, ed. 3, p. 335; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 285; Alt, *Palästina-jahrbuch* 1926, pp. 49-50.

<sup>7</sup> Albright, *AASOR* VI, p. 41, n. 86; cf. *BASOR* 89, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 32, lines 5-7; p. 110, lines 11-13.



rather with the Abel-meḥôlah<sup>9</sup> of I Kings 19:19, where Elisha is pictured as ploughing the land with twelve yoke of oxen.

It seems quite possible that Elijah was a native of Jabesh-gilead, even as Elisha was a native of Abel-Meḥôlah. It is noteworthy in this connection, that the line of the journey which Elijah was supposed to undertake with its threefold mission from Horeb to Damascus, and only one part of which he completed, led practically directly to Abel-meḥôlah, east of Jabesh-gilead, with both sites overlooking the Naḥal Jabēsh, and then to Damascus. The possibility that Elijah was a native of Jabesh-gilead is derived from consideration of I Kings 17:1, where he is designated as «Elijah the Tishbite, of the *toshabē* Gilead.» It has never yet been possible to discover a Biblical site which could be identified as Tishbeh, nor do we think one ever will be discovered. It has been identified with the ruined site of Listib, north of the Wādī el-Yābis, on the premise of a metathesis of the Hebrew *Tishbeh* and the Arabic *el-Istib*.<sup>10</sup> There is no archaeological basis whatsoever for this particular identification, inasmuch as Listib was first established in the Byzantine period. We have wondered whether the designation «Elijah the Tishbite, of the *toshabē* Gilead» did not originally read «Elijah the Jabeshite of Jabesh-gilead.»

A site in the Jordan Valley, whose present day name is an Arabicized version of its ancient one, is Tell ed-Dâmieh, situated below the confluence of the Wādī Zerqā (River Jabbôq) with the Jordan River. It dominates the enlarged, merged Zôr of both of these streams, and commands the important crossroads which come together at this point. It has been correctly identified with the Biblical Adam of Joshua 3:16, or Adamah, as it is also known, of I Kings 4:46 and II Chronicles 4:17. Clear-cut pottery evidence from the surface of this site corroborates its contemporaneity with the periods

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BASOR 90, pp. 10-11; 91, pp. 16-17.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Naor, *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, XIII: 3-4, 1947, p. 93, n. 23.

credited to it in the Biblical evidence. It was only one of over thirty sites of related periods of occupation particularly during the Iron Age I-II, lasting from the twelfth to the early sixth century B.C. Despite misconceptions about the climate and general character of the Jordan Valley, which led to the belief that it was largely uninhabited and uninhabitable throughout historic times,<sup>11</sup> more than 70 ancient settlements have been discovered on the east side of the Jordan Valley alone, many of which were founded about 5000 years ago, and some even a millennium or two earlier, and others, as has been seen, later.

With the Biblical site of Adamah as the starting point, it is possible to fix the location of the other Biblical sites north of it, on the east side of the Jordan Valley, in addition to that of Jabesh-gilead, which has already been discussed above. The reference to Adam(ah) and Zarethan in Joshua 3:16 (I Kings 4:46 and II Chronicles 4:17) indicates in effect the south and north boundaries of a certain district in the Jordan Valley. The fixing of a given district is not uncommonly designated in the Bible by mentioning settlements marking the extreme limits of an area or district. The example which comes most readily to mind is «from Dan to Beersheba.»<sup>12</sup> Such areas as indicated for other districts in the Jordan Valley by the descriptions, for example, of «from Succoth to Zaphon,»<sup>13</sup> and «from Beth-harâm to Beth-nimrah,»<sup>14</sup> composed the *g<sup>e</sup>lîlôth hay-Yardên*.<sup>15</sup> Thus, also, the two clearly demarcated Philistine plains are known as *g<sup>e</sup>lîlôth*.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Smith, G. A., *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 489; Meyer, Eduard, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 1:2, (1928), p. 96; Toynebee, *A Study of History* (Abridgement), p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Judges 20:1.

<sup>13</sup> I Kings 7:46; Josh. 13:27.

<sup>14</sup> Joshua 13:27; Numbers 32:36.

<sup>15</sup> Joshua 22:10,11; cf. Joshua 18:17; Ezekiel 47:8; Isaiah 8:23.

<sup>16</sup> Joshua 13:2; Joel 4:4.

Although the text of Joshua 3:16 listing Adamah and Zarethan, in the sense of marking the south and north boundaries of a certain district in the Jordan Valley, is somewhat difficult, its meaning is clear :

« Whereupon the waters descending from above rose, forming a single, solid mass, very far away, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan, with the complete stopping of the waters (normally) descending to the Sea of the 'Arabah, the Salt Sea; and the people passed over towards Jericho. »

The part of the verse which reads : « *very far away, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan,* » makes little sense in its present form. The best suggestion for the proper reading of this phrase in Joshua 3:16 has been made by Albright,<sup>17</sup> who proposes « as far from Adamah as beside Zarethan. » That is obviously more nearly what the text meant to convey. It wanted to describe this great wall of water which was formed, as reaching all the way from Adam(ah) as far north as Zarethan. The consonants of the word *mšd* which occur in the Masoretic text in the vocalized form necessitating its translation as « beside, » should perhaps be vocalized as *mešad*, namely « fortress, »<sup>18</sup> occurring here in the construct form. The waters, therefore, reached, to change part of Albright's suggestion, « *as far from Adamah as the Fortress of Zarethan.* »

The text of Joshua 3:16 obviously means to convey that the wall of water damming up the Jordan extended north as far as Zarethan, leaving the bed of the Jordan dry to the south of Adamah, and thus enabling the Israelites to cross over on foot to the west bank of the Jordan. Zarethan, as Adamah, must have been a prominent landmark, well known to the public, and already a site of importance before the Israelites crossed the Jordan, in accordance with the Biblical account of the wonder of their passage from the east to the west side of the Jordan. And like Adamah, Zarethan must have been situated

<sup>17</sup> *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* V, p. 33, n. 37.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. I Chronicles 11:7; 12:9-16; Albright, BASOR 90, p. 6, n. 19.

in or close to the Zôr of the Jordan, to make it sensible to say that the wall of water extended from Adamah as far as (the Fortress of) Zarethan.

The magnificent double site of Tell es-Sa'îdiyeh, overlooking the south side of the Wâdi Kufrinjah, and from the west end of the Ghôr (the *biq'ah*) overlooking the Zôr and River Jordan, and with its history of occupation extending from the Early Chalcolithic through Iron Age II, with some intervening depression intervals, is the only possible site which agrees so completely with the Biblical data. The distance between Adamah and Zarethan was said by Rabbi Joḥanon to be 12 miles,<sup>19</sup> and that is exactly the distance between Tell ed-Damieh and Tell es-Sa'îdiyeh. There is no valid reason whatsoever, whether archaeological, topographical, philological, or exegetical, to justify the sometimes proposed equation of Zarethan with Qarn Şartabeh overlooking from its towering height the west side of the Jordan.<sup>20</sup> The suggestion, once made, of identifying Zarethan with Tell Sleikhât on the east side of the Jordan Valley is equally invalid, one of the main reasons being that the latter is a natural hill, which was never the site of a settlement or fortress.<sup>21</sup>

The identification of Zarethan depends too upon the proper understanding of I Kings 7:46 and II Chronicles 4:17. In the latter verse, according to general agreement, the reading *Şerēdah* should be changed to *Şarethân*. These verses mention that copper for the temple was cast in the Jordan Valley between Succoth and Zarethan. Difficulty of translation and understanding arises from the words *b'em'abeh ha'adamah* in I Kings 7:46, and *ba-'abî ha'adamah* in II Chronicles 4:17. The *'adamah* in these verses is generally translated as the

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Talmud Jerushalmi*, ed. Ven., *Soṭah* VII, 5; Klein, ZDPV 57, p. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Naor, BJPS XIII: 3-4, 1947, pp. 98-99; Alt, PJB XXIX, p. 44, n. 2; BASOR 62, pp. 14-18; AASOR VI, p. 47; BASOR 90, pp. 6-7.

<sup>21</sup> Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, p. 34; BASOR 90, p. 13.

place name of Adamah, it being necessary then to omit the definite article of *ha'adamah*. Whether *be'ma'abeh* or *ba'abî* is translated with «*in the foundries (forms)*,» or with a slight emendation as suggested originally by George Foote Moore with «*at the crossing of*,» the resultant translation of the entire sentence would place Adamah between Succoth and Zarethan, whereas, actually, Succoth lies between Adamah and Zarethan, although those two are on the west side of this part of the Ghôr and Succoth is on the east side. To avoid this dilemma, Albright has suggested that the text read : «*in the foundries of Succoth, between Adamah and Šaretan*.»<sup>22</sup> In reality, it is not necessary to emend the text at all. It should be translated :

«*in the earthen foundries (or, in the thickened earthen moulds) between Succoth and Zarethan*.»

In other words, *ha'adamah* is to be translated absolutely literally, as is the case in other Biblical phrases such as *ħarsê 'adamah*, «*earthen sherds*,» and *mizbah 'adamah*, «*earthen altar*.»<sup>23</sup>

The site of ancient Biblical Succoth in the Jordan Valley is generally and correctly identified with the imposing mound of Tell Deir'allā, which is about 12,5 kilometers n.n.e.-n.e. of Tell ed-Dâmieh, the site of Biblical Adamah. This identification of the site of Succoth, which is in agreement with both the Biblical and archaeological evidence,<sup>24</sup> was already made in the Talmud, according to which Dar'allah or Tar'alalah is mentioned as being the site of the Biblical town.<sup>25</sup> Dominating its wide and rich and intensively cultivated *'ēmeq Succôth* (Psalm 60:8; 108:8), the Plain of Succoth, which was formed by the union of the Jabbok Valley with the Jordan Valley, Succoth fixed the southern limit of the area between Succoth and Zaphon, as noted in I Kings 7:46, Joshua 13:27, and

<sup>22</sup> JPOS V, p. 33, n. 37.

<sup>23</sup> Isaiah 45:9; Exodus 20:24.

<sup>24</sup> BASOR 90, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> *Talmud Yerushalmî, Sheb'îth* IX, 2, 384, bottom.

served as the center and fortress guarding the gateway to and from the lands to the east of the Jordan Valley. Jacob rested there after leaving Penuel on the Jabbok (Genesis 33:16.17). A small, nearby site, called Tell el-Ekhşâş, the Arabic name for « Mound of Booths » seems to bear a memory of the original Biblical name, but could never have been more than an outlying suburb of Succoth proper, namely Tell Deir'allā.<sup>26</sup>

Succoth represented the southern of two outstanding centers and fortresses, with Zaphon being the northern counterpoint of the particular district in which they were located, as may be concluded from Joshua 13:27. The four places listed in this verse, namely Beth-harâm, Beth-nimrah, Succôth, and Zaphon, are located progressively from south to north. Indications of the whereabouts of Zaphon are contained in the story in Judges 12:1-6, which tells how Jephthah defeated the Ephraimites at Zaphon, where they had assembled threateningly against him, and how he cut off their escape westward back across the Jordan by having his forces seize the fords of the Jordan and capture the Ephraimite refugees. It is obvious then that Zaphon was north of Succoth, located near a water-source sufficient to supply the needs of a considerable number of troops, and was a prominent point some distance east of the Jordan fords. It is also safe to assume that it must have been occupied in both the Bronze and Iron Ages. Albright has pointed out that the name of the site is certainly an old one, being derived from that of *Baal-Şafôn*.<sup>27</sup> It probably had that name already in the times of the Judges.

The place that meets all the requirements for identification with Biblical Zaphon is the large hill-site of Tell el-Qôş on the north side of the Wâdī Râjeb, near its breaking out of the eastern hills to flow westward across the east side of the Jordan Valley. It is about five kilometers north of Tell Deir'allā (Succoth), and its strong position controls an important cross-

<sup>26</sup> Cf. BASOR 91, pp. 25-26; AASOR VI, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. AASOR VI, pp. 45-46; BASOR 89, p. 16, n. 52.



roads, one branch of which leads up into the hills of Gilead, where lay Mizpeh, the home of Jephthah. It had, furthermore, one of the longest histories of sedentary occupation of any of the ancient sites in the Jordan Valley, having been inhabited in Chalcolithic, Bronze and Iron Age times, as well as in later periods.

The Talmud indirectly offers a striking confirmation of the identification of Zaphon with Tell el-Qôš through its almost correct identification of Zaphon with Tell el-'Ammatā,<sup>28</sup> which was called Amathus in the Hellenistic period,<sup>29</sup> and was never occupied before then. Tell el-'Ammatā is about half a kilometer to the south, southwest of Tell el-Qôš, and is directly on the north side of the Wādī Râjeb. By the time of the Talmud, the original site of Zaphon on Tell el-Qôš had long been abandoned. The memory of its general location and of its name obviously persisted down to and through Talmudic times, and gave rise to the notion that Tell el-'Ammatā and Zaphon were to be identified with each other. The familiar practice of an ancient name leaving its original site and becoming attached to a nearby site or being remembered in connection with a nearby site is evidenced again in this particular instance.<sup>30</sup> The actual name of Zaphon is most clearly contained in that of the nearby town of Asophon, mentioned by Josephus,<sup>31</sup> which is apparently nearer to the Jordan than the site of Amathus.<sup>32</sup>

The other two sites mentioned in Joshua 13:27 as being in the Jordan Valley, in addition to Succoth and Zaphon, are Beth-harâm and Beth-nimrah. The latter two are numbered among the cities of the 'Arbôth Mô'âb, the Plains of Moab,

<sup>28</sup> *Talmud Yerushalmi, Sheb'ith* IX, 2, 38 d.

<sup>29</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 3.5; XVII, 10.6; *Wars* I, 4.2.3; 8.5; Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 22, 24-30.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. BASOR 91, pp. 25-26; *The River Jordan*, p. 155.

<sup>31</sup> *Antiquities* XIII, 12.5.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, 13.3; Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 22, 24; BASOR 91, pp. 25-26, 27; 92, pp. 26-27,



where civilized society developed as early and as actively and richly as in any of the central and northern reaches of the east side or along the west side of the Jordan Valley.

The northern boundary of the Plains of Moab is formed by the Wâdī Nimrîn, which may, possibly, in Biblical times have been known as the Naḥal Nimrîn.<sup>33</sup> The rich lowland area between the Wâdī Nimrîn and the Dead Sea and the hills which curve around the east to south sides of the 'Arbôth Mô'âb is traversed by perennial streams of water. Near their outlets from the eastern hills, fortified settlements located on hilltops developed in Biblical times. The stretch of the Jordan Valley between the Wâdī Zerqā (River Jabbok) and the Wâdī Nimrîn is a barren one, because of a complete lack of living waters, with the result that preceding and during the Biblical periods, sedentary settlement was unable to strike roots there. Because of the extraordinary pressure of population, a few small settlements were established in this stretch during the Roman-Byzantine period.

The ancient Biblical name of Beth-nimrah is undoubtedly preserved in the modern name of Tell Nimrîn, a large mound on the south side of the Wâdī Nimrîn near the east end of the north side of the Plains of Moab. Despite the attractiveness of the name associations, Tell Nimrîn cannot possibly be identified with the Biblical Beth-nimrah, because, while large numbers of Roman through mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there, not a single pre-Roman fragment could be located. However, the name had not traveled far in distance from its original site. Less than two kilometers to the e.n.e.-n.e. of Tell Nimrîn, on the north side of the Wâdī Sha'îb (as the Wâdī Nimrîn becomes known farther east), is Tell Bleibil. On top of its hill

<sup>33</sup> The « Waters of Nimrîn » in Isaiah 15: 6 and Jeremiah 48: 34 have been connected with the Seil en-Numeirah at the southeast corner of the Dead Sea; cf. AASOR XV, pp. 7.8; BASOR 91, p. 11, n. 9. The possibility remains, nevertheless, it seems to us, as indicated particularly by Jeremiah 48: 34, that the « Waters of Nimrîn » could be identified with the Wâdī Nimrîn,

were the remains of a fortress, which, to judge from the archaeological evidence, was occupied during the period extending from about the end of the 13th century to the first part of the 6th century B.C. And directly across from it, on the south side of the perennial stream of the Wādī Sha'îb is the large, Early Bronze I site of Tell el-Mustâḥ. Beth-nimrah (Tell Bleibil) is situated close to the hills to the east, from which the perennial stream of the Wādī Sha'îb emerges to flow westward, irrigating the northern end of the Plains of Moab.

Two more important Biblical sites are mentioned in Numbers 33:48-49, which read :

« And they camped in the 'Arbôth Mô'âb by the Jericho sections of the Jordan, pitching their tents along the (southernmost stretch of the east side of the) Jordan (Valley) from Beth hay-Yeshîmôth to Abel hash-Shiṭṭîm in the 'Arbôth Mô'âb. »

This passage is by no means in opposition to Joshua 13:27 which deals with another and partly overlapping division of the rich lands extending farther north in the Plains of Moab. Both Numbers 33:49 and Joshua 13:27 look at the Plains of Moab, so to speak, through different spectacles. Each pair of sites in these verses, *Beth hay-Yeshîmôth* and *Abel hash-Shiṭṭîm* in Numbers 33:49 on the one hand, and *Beth-harâm* and *Beth-nimrah* in Joshua 13:27 on the other, includes some land common to both and some contained only in one or the other. Both verses list the sites from south to north.

In attempting to determine the location of the ancient site of Abel hash-Shiṭṭîm, it becomes necessary to deal with the site of Khirbet el-Kefrein, directly on the north side of the canalized stream of the Wādī el-Kefrein. This site has generally, and we believe correctly been identified with the Abila of the Roman period. Josephus reports that Nero gave Abila and Julius (Livias) to Agrippa,<sup>34</sup> and that Placidus<sup>35</sup> « took Abila

<sup>34</sup> Wars II, 13.2.

<sup>35</sup> Wars IV, 7.6.

and Julius and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis.» It will be seen that these three places are in a line extending from the north to the south. Josephus gives the information, furthermore,<sup>36</sup> that it was a march of about 60 stadia from Abila to the Jordan, — which would be approximately the distance from Khirbet el-Kefrein to the Jordan. The position of Abila is still further fixed by Jerome's comment,<sup>37</sup> that Livias (Julias) is 6 miles from the Dead Sea, — which is also approximately correct, in view of the generally, and I think correctly accepted identification of Livias (Julias) with Tell er-Râmeh. Bezemoth has been generally and correctly identified with Khirbet Sweimeh.

The name of Abila undoubtedly reflects the transference to Khirbet el-Kefrein in the Hellenistic-Roman period of the original name of Abel hash-Shittîm from its home site, some distance away, after the latter had been destroyed sometime early in the 6th century B.C. The process of employing an abbreviated name for a full one was not unfamiliar even in Biblical times. Thus, for instance, the name of Abel hash-Shittîm appears in the Bible in the shortened form of Shittîm.<sup>38</sup> In a much later period this name was retained and slightly changed to *Abila*, the equivalent of Abel, with the abbreviation reverting to the first instead of the last part of the compound name. A corresponding series of changes and abbreviations seems to have taken place in the name of Abel-mehôlah, which we have identified with Tell el-Maqlûb, overlooking the Wâdî el-Yâbis, some 15 kilometers to the east of Tell el-Meqberek-Tell Abû Kharaz, which we have identified with Jabesh-gilead. It will be recalled that Abel-mehôlah was not only the home of Elisha, but was probably the home of 'Adri'el, the son of

<sup>36</sup> *Antiquities* V, 1.1; IV, 8.1.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, pp. 10:28; 11:27; Abel, *Revue Biblique* VII, 1910, p. 543, n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Numbers 25:1; Joshua 2:1; 3:1; Micah 6:5; cf. II Samuel 20:14-15; I Kings 15:20; II Kings 15:29; II Chronicles 16:4; Josephus, *Antiquities* VIII, 12.4,

Barzillai, the Meholathite.<sup>39</sup> It is generally agreed that the *Meḥôlah* used in this connection in adjectival form, stands for the full place name of *Abel-meḥôlah*. In the Hellenistic-Roman period, long after the destruction of *Abel-meḥôlah*, the first part of this compound name became attached to a nearby site, and has persisted down to this very day in the name of the modern Arabic village of Kefr Abîl.<sup>40</sup> Albright's happy explanation of *abel* as «brook, running water,»<sup>41</sup> enables us to translate *Abel-meḥôlah* as the *Dancing Place by a Running Stream*, — which stream we would identify with the Wâdî el-Yâbis. In similar manner, we would translate *Abel hash-Shittîm* as the *Acacia Woods by a Running Stream*, and identify this stream with the Wâdî el-Kefrein.

It seems reasonable, therefore, in the light of all the above evidence with regard to Abila in the Plains of Moab, to look somewhere in its vicinity for the original site of *Abel hash-Shittîm*. We would identify it with the great fortress-site of Tell el-Ḥammâm, known also as Tell el-Ḥammeh es-Samrî. It is situated on a long, high, completely isolated hill, on the south side of the Wâdî el-Meqta'a, as the east extension of the Wâdî el-Kefrein is known from the point of its issuing forth from the hills which rise almost immediately to the east of Tell el-Ḥammâm till it reaches a point, several kilometers to the west, approximately opposite another site called Tell el-Kefrein. This latter site has frequently in the past been identified with *Abel hash-Shittîm*, which is archaeologically possible, but not likely in view of the nature and position of Tell el-Ḥammâm. This great fortress site had a long history of occupation in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages, and experienced its greatest development during the Iron Age I-II periods, from approximately the end of the 13th to the first

<sup>39</sup> I Samuel 18:19; II Samuel 21:8.

<sup>40</sup> BASOR 91, p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 39; BASOR 89, p. 15, n. 44; 90, p. 11; 91, p. 16.

part of the 6th centuries B.C. Tell el-Ḥammâm represents the kind of site which could well have been known to many of the readers of the Bible. Tell el-Kefrein cannot compare with it, being neither as large, well fortified, prominently and strategically located, and directly situated on a natural boundary line, — in this instance that of Wâdī el-Kefrein. Tell el-Kefrein is about a kilometer removed from the stream. As in the cases of Tell el-Ḥammâm and Tell Bleibil, which we have identified, respectively, with Abel hash-Shiṭṭīm and Beth-nimrah, it will be seen that also all the other Biblical sites located in the Plains of Moab are to be found on naturally strong, strategically located, fortified hills, located on the very east side of the Plains. Their inhabitants were in a position to exercise control over the use of the perennial streams which issue forth from the hills immediately to the east of these strongholds, and over the fertile lands stretching to the west which were irrigated by the waters of these perennial streams.

To the south of the Wâdī el-Kefrein is the Wâdī er-Râmeh, which in the hills is known as the Wâdī el-Ḥesbân, whose stream is joined by that of the Wâdī el-Kefrein some 5 kilometers before the merged stream joins the Jordan. A short distance below the Wâdī er-Râmeh is Tell er-Râmeh, which has generally been identified with the Biblical *Beth-harâm*, the southernmost of the four sites mentioned in Joshua 13:27. It is undoubtedly the site of the Roman Beth-ramthâ-Livias<sup>42</sup> and still carries in its present Arabicized name a clear memory of that of the Biblical site of Beth-harâm. It cannot, however, be identified with it, because there is absolutely no evidence of any pre-Roman occupation, although there is a great deal of archaeological material testifying to its occupation from the Roman to the mediaeval Arabic periods.

The only site which corresponds to the specifications for identification with Beth-harâm is the imposing hill site of Tell Iktanû, less than half a kilometer below the south side

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Albright, AASOR VI, p. 49.

of the Wādī er-Râmeḥ. Its large, completely isolated hill dominates the plain to the west of it, as well as the approaches to the hills to the east and to the south of it. It commands also the outlet of the Wādī er-Râmeḥ (Wādī el-Ḥesbân) from the hills to the east of it. The Wādī er-Râmeḥ, with its perennial stream, is the last of its size, as one goes southward in the Plains of Moab from the Wādī Nimrîn. It forms, likewise, a distinctive boundary line in the Plains of Moab, and it was dominated by the strongly fortified site of Tell Iktanû, which was occupied, with various gaps or periods of recession, from Chalcolithic to Iron Age I-II times, aside from some occupation in the Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods. Albright's surmise that the site of Biblical Beth-harâm might be at Tell Iktanû<sup>43</sup> is unquestionably correct. The process whereby in a later period the name of a destroyed and abandoned Biblical site became attached to a later settlement in the middle of the plain, or at least some distance removed from the original site situated at the east end of the plain on a fortified hill overlooking the outlet of a perennial stream from the hills, is repeated thus again in the instance of the relationship of Tell Iktanû (Beth harâm) to Tell er-Râmeḥ, as it was, for example, in the case of the relationship of Tell Bleibil (Beth-nimrah) to Tell Nimrîn.

Only one more site remains then to be located in the Plains of Moab, that of Beth hay-Yeshîmôth, the southernmost of the two mentioned in Numbers 33:49. It has generally been identified with Khirbet Sweimeh, on the north side of the Wādī el-'Aẓimeh, and about 2 kilometers from the northeast end of the Dead Sea. The obvious reason for this identification is the similarity of the name of Yeshîmôth to Sweimeh, which is clearly its arabicized form. Josephus reports,<sup>44</sup> as we have seen above, that Placidus « took Abila, Julias, and Bezemoth. » The position of Khirbet Sweimeh corresponds also with the

<sup>43</sup> Albright, AASOR VI, p. 49; cf. BASOR 91, pp. 19-23,

<sup>44</sup> Wars IV, 7.6; cf. BASOR 91, pp. 23-24,



location of the site as given by Eusebius<sup>45</sup>, described as « Beth-simuth, which is known today as Isimuth. » It is also in accord with the position on the Mâdebā map, where it is shown near the northeast end of the Dead Sea, surrounded by palm trees, although the name itself is missing<sup>46</sup>. Nevertheless, the identification with Khirbet Sweimeh is impossible, because archaeological investigation has revealed that while there was intensive occupation from the Roman to the mediaeval Arabic periods, there was never a pre-Roman settlement of any period there.

The site which fits the requirements for identification with Beth hay-Yeshîmôth is Tell el-'Aẓimeh, nearly 3 kilometers e.n.e. of Khirbet Sweimeh. It is situated on the edge of a high, flattish, isolated bench overlooking from the south the Wâdî el-'Aẓimeh, and the powerful spring of Râs Moyet el-'Aẓimeh, which rises there. From this site, which showed evidence of Chalcolithic and Iron Age I-II occupation, aside from later Roman to mediaeval Arabic settlement, there is a splendid view over the Plains of Moab to the west, which descend in gradual stages to the shore of the Dead Sea. This site, dominating the southernmost part of the Plains of Moab, is in a position absolutely to control the flow of water westward, which stems from the upper reaches of the *wâdî* in the hills to the east and from the strong spring immediately below it. It controls an important track leading up to the highlands of the Mâdebā region in the Mountains of Moab, and overlooks the westward course of the Wâdî el-'Aẓimeh, which forms the southernmost boundary of the fertile reaches of the Plains of Moab. It is the only possible site along the Wâdî el-'Aẓimeh which can be identified with the Biblical Beth hay-Yeshîmôth. Sometime after its destruction early in the 6th century B.C., its original name became attached to the site Khirbet Sweimeh.

<sup>45</sup> *Onomasticon* 48: 6-8; 49: 5-7.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Abel, *Revue Biblique* VI, 1909, p. 230; *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 275; Mallon, *Biblica* X, 1929, pp. 218-220.



All of the four sites mentioned in the Bible as being in the Plains of Moab were located at the east side of the Plains, on easily fortified and usually isolated hills, guarding perennial streams and strategic roads and positions. The question of public security was obviously paramount in the minds of the inhabitants of the land during the centuries between approximately the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C. They chose naturally strong sites for their towns and fortresses to guard the fertile, irrigated plains from which they gained their sustenance. There were four perennial streams which traversed these plains, and four fortresses which in Biblical times guarded their eastern gates, — *Beth hay-Yeshîmôth* at Tell el-'Aẓimeh, *Beth-harâm* at Tell Iktanû, *Abel hash-Shittîm* at Tell el-Ḥammâm, and *Beth-nimrah* at Tell Bleibil.

The two best known Biblical sites on the west side of the Jordan are, of course, Jericho (Tell es-Sultân) and Beth-shân (Tell el-Ḥuṣṣn). There are others. Less than twelve kilometers to the n.e. of ancient Jericho is the low mound of Khirbet el-'Ayâsh, situated in the center of the Jordan Valley. Waters drawn from the perennial stream of the Wâdî el-'Aujâ have throughout millenia been used to irrigate the lands round about it. Pottery evidence indicates that it was intensively occupied during the 12th-6th centuries B.C. It is the first Iron Age I-II site, directly in the main, upper, generally cultivated or cultivable level of the Jordan Valley, thus far discovered north of Jericho. It is possibly to be identified with Na'arath, the southernmost of the two cities of 'Aṭarôth and Na'arath mentioned in Joshua 16:7, as marking the north and south ends of the east limits of the territory of Ephraim. It has, to be sure, been frequently suggested that Na'arath be located by 'Ain Dûq, about a kilometer and a half to the n.w.-n.n.w. of Tell es-Sultân (ancient Jericho).<sup>47</sup> This is not an unlikely spot for an Iron Age I-II site, but thus far no archaeological evidence

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, pp. 249.393-394; *Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, p. 111.

has been discovered indicating that it was occupied then. The identification with 'Ain Dûq is derived from the statement by Eusebius <sup>48</sup> that «Na'arath of the tribe of Ephraim is now Noorath, a Jewish village 5 miles north of Jericho.» This statement was arbitrarily localized by Clermont-Ganneau <sup>49</sup> at 'Ain Dûq, where the Naara of Josephus <sup>50</sup> and the Na'aran of the Talmud have also been located. If the statement of Eusebius is to be taken literally, then the distance between Khirbet el-'Ayâsh and ancient Jericho approximates that of 5 miles much more closely than that between 'Ain Dûq and Jericho.

The site of Khirbet el-Beiyâdât, several kilometers to the north of Khirbet el-'Ayâsh, has been, probably correctly, identified by some with the site of Magdalsenna, related to the name of the Biblical S<sup>e</sup>na'ah. <sup>51</sup> We are inclined to agree with this suggestion, but there is not at the present sufficient proof to make it seem certain. Some 9.5 kilometers to the n.w. of Khirbet el-Beiyâdât is the small mound of Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb, located just below the entrance of the perennial stream of the Wâdī Faşâyil into the Jordan Valley. It was occupied in the Bronze and Iron Age I-II periods, and by some has been suggested <sup>52</sup> as being possibly the site to be identified with Biblical 'Aţarôth. We think that 'Aţarôth is to be identified with Tell el-Mazâr in the plain of the Wâdī el-Far'ah.

Tell el-Mazâr is located in the Jiftlik, near the lower end of the widening plain of the Wâdī el-Far'ah, which merges with the plain of the west side of the Jordan Valley. The strong

<sup>48</sup> *Onomasticon*, 136, 24.

<sup>49</sup> *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II, pp. 20-23.

<sup>50</sup> *Antiquities* ... XVII, 13.1.

<sup>51</sup> Nehemiah 7:38; Ezra 2:35; Josephus, *Antiquities* XVII, 13.1; Guthe, *Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästinavereins* 1911, p. 68; Avi Yonah, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* V:4, p. 164; Alt, *Palästinajahrbuch* 1926, pp. 33-34; Conder, *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, p. 392.

<sup>52</sup> Alt, *Palästinajahrbuch* 1926, p. 33, n. 2; 1927, p. 31; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, pp. 58, 255.

perennial stream of the Wâdī el-Far'ah irrigates large sections of the rich fields of the merged plains of the Wâdī el-Far'ah and the Jordan Valley. This site was, as evidenced by the pottery surface finds, occupied heavily in Iron Age I-II, and in the Hellenistic-Roman to mediaeval Arabic periods. It has generally and probably correctly been identified with the Hellenistic to Byzantine Coreae.<sup>53</sup> The excellent location of Tell el-Mazâr near the entrance of an important perennial stream into a fertile valley or plain, and its strategic position by important crossroads, enhances the likelihood of its having been mentioned under its original name in the Bible. We believe it is the only possible site which can be identified with the Biblical 'Aṭarôth.

Most scholars have tended to identify 'Aṭarôth with Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb, as we have pointed out above. There can be no question, it seems to us, of the superiority of the relative merits of Tell el-Mazâr as compared with Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb, when one considers location, strategic position, and size. Tell el-Mazâr would make an ideal northern limit of the east side of the territory of Ephraim. A boundary line drawn from Khirbet 'Ayâsh to Tell el-Mazâr, the former of which we have identified with the Biblical site of Na'arath, would mark all of the east side of Ephraim, as suggested in Joshua 16:7. The position of Tell Sheikh edh-Dhiyâb is too centrally located and too far inland, comparatively speaking, to mark the northern boundary point of the east side of Ephraim.

The Biblical site of Abel-mehôlah, which we have identified above with Tell el-Maqlûb overlooking the Wâdī el-Yâbis on the east side of the Jordan has frequently in the past been identified with Tell Abū Sifrī on the west side of the Jordan.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Cf. BASOR 62, p. 14; Alt, *Palästinajahrbuch*, 1928, p. 41; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, pp. 300-301.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Abel, *Revue Biblique* X, 1913, p. 224; Moore, *Judges*, p. 212; Burney, *The Book of Judges*, p. 220; Alt, *Palästinajahrbuch* XXIV, 1928, p. 45.

It is situated by 'Ain el-Ḥelweh, and commands the junction of the Wādī el-Ḥelweh with the Wādī el-Mâliḥ, which empties into the Jordan north of Wādī el-Far'ah. The area around Tell Abū Sifrī does not correspond to the rich agricultural scene in which the Bible places Abel-meḥôlah in I Kings 19:19.<sup>55</sup> There is no evidence, so far as presently published, of this site's being occupied in the Biblical times described in I Kings.<sup>56</sup> The common identification of Tell Abū Sifrī by 'Ain el-Ḥelweh overlooking the Wādī el-Mâliḥ, goes back to the identification by Eusebius of Abel-meḥôlah with Bethmaela, ten Roman miles south of Scythopolis (Beth-shân).<sup>57</sup>

This statement by Eusebius may possibly rest in the first place upon a misunderstanding of the corrupt text of Judges 7:22 and I Kings 4:12,<sup>58</sup> and perhaps also on the same mistaken type of popular etymology which Conder<sup>59</sup> many centuries later employed in associating Abel-meḥôlah with 'Ain el-Ḥelweh. There is absolutely no philological connection between *Ḥelweh* and *Meḥôlah* of 'Ain el-Ḥelweh and Abel-meḥôlah nor any between *Mâliḥ* and *-maela* of Wādī el-Mâliḥ and Bethmaela. There is to be sure a most superficial resemblance, which creates, as Burney has already pointed out,<sup>60</sup> the suspicion that Eusebius may have considered it to be a really correct one, based on closest possible relationship.

Many more sites exist in the Jordan Valley, which figured in the history of Biblical times, but which for one reason or

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, p. 450; Alt, PJB XXIV, pp. 43-45; Albright, AASOR VI, p. 44.

<sup>56</sup> Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 234, reports the presence of pottery from the end of Late Bronze and the beginning of Early Iron.

<sup>57</sup> *Onomasticon*, p. 34.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Albright, AASOR VI, p. 47; Glueck, BASOR 90, pp. 6-14.

<sup>59</sup> *Survey of Western Palestine* II, p. 231.

<sup>60</sup> *The Book of Judges*, p. 220; cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 212. Naor, in *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* XIII: 3-4, 1947, pp. 92-93, still persists in asserting the impossible philological connection of the name of Abel-meḥôlah with 'Ain el-Ḥelweh and Wādī el-Mâliḥ.

another were not listed in the Biblical accounts. The archaeological discoveries of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, on the basis of which the new identifications of Biblical sites in the Jordan Valley have been made, have helped underline both the amazing fertility of the Jordan Valley and the faithful historical memory and records contained in the Bible.



## BELT-WRESTLING IN THE BIBLE WORLD

CYRUS H. GORDON

Dropsie College

VARIETIES of belt-wrestling are attested in the art and literature of the ancient Near East. A clear representation is provided by the Khafâje wrestlers<sup>1</sup> from Mesopotamia of the third millennium. The statuette shows each contestant grasping his opponent's belt. Plate II shows a nude third-millennium, Mesopotamian hero who, although not engaged in combat, nevertheless wears a wrestling-belt, as befits a hero. Even when fighting men bear arms or wear a helmet, in accordance with the ever-growing technological demands of warfare, the wrestling-belt may persist as the time-honored symbol of heroism; as an illustration we select an early Greek statuette,<sup>2</sup> showing that belt-wrestling extended beyond what is known as the Bible World in antiquity. The most detailed representations of wrestling-holds are from Egypt; and from Beni Hasan come numerous painted sketches of wrestlers, wearing nothing but a belt.<sup>3</sup> One of the figures,<sup>4</sup> showing a contestant holding aloft a belt, suggests that an aim of the sport was (at least in a particular type of Middle Egyptian belt-wrestling) to strip off the opponent's belt.<sup>5</sup> This is not the place to go into an analysis of ancient belt-wrestling. We must content ourselves here with the conclusion that Israel and Judah lived in a world where belt-wrestling had long enjoyed international popularity. It is

<sup>1</sup> Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> Plate III.

<sup>3</sup> Plate IV.

<sup>4</sup> Plate V, third row (from top), near center.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Enûma Eliš* I: 72, where Ea vanquishes Apsu, by stripping him of belt and crown: *ip-tur rik-si-šu iš-ta-ḥaṭ a-ga-šu*.



therefore only natural that the sport is reflected in Scripture.

In 2 Sam. 2 there is the account of bloodily rough sport<sup>6</sup> between Abner's and Joab's troops. The first phase of the contest (verses 15-16) has been so ably explained by Brigadier Y. Sukenik<sup>7</sup> that we can accept his analysis of the mode of combat without modification, and proceed to the sequel: When Joab's men were pursuing Abner's, Joab's brother Asahel had the temerity to run after Abner himself (verses 17-19). Not wanting to start a blood-feud with Joab, Abner shouted to Asahel to desist and instead pursue some other warrior<sup>8</sup> whom he could seize and strip of his חֲלִיצָה «wrestling-belt», the most prized of heroic trophies. That the חֲלִיצָה is the belt worn on the waist is indicated by Accadian *hilsu* «belt»<sup>9</sup> and Hebrew חֲלָצִים «waist», on which the wrestling-belt was worn. Asahel sealed his own fate, and ultimately Abner's,<sup>10</sup> by refusing to desist, thus obliging Abner to slay him with a spear (verse 23).

So characteristic of fighting men was the חֲלִיצָה, «wrestling-belt,» that soldiers equipped for war came to be called חֲלָצֵי הַצִּבָּה (Josh. 4:13; etc.) or simply חֲלָצִים (Num. 32:30; etc.). It is accordingly interesting to note that the חֲלָצִים «pioneers» of modern Israel are designated by the term that originally meant, in ancient Israel, «heroes equipped with the wrestling-belt». Not less interesting is the fact that «gird your loins» (in the

<sup>6</sup> The «murderous» aspect of Homeric sport is not to be explained away as simply as proposed by E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, p. 25. For the early Hebrews and Greeks, sport and bloodshed were not mutually exclusive.

<sup>7</sup> Y. Sukenik, «Let the Young Men, I Pray Thee, Arise and Play before Us», *Journal of Palestine Oriental Society* 21, 1948, pp. 110-116.

<sup>8</sup> נָעַר, in the technical sense of «warrior» appears not only as a Canaanite loanword in Egyptian, but is found also in the Ugaritic tablets, where *n<sup>cr</sup>m* designates a certain class of warriors (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, Rome, 1949, p. 124).

<sup>9</sup> See Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 323a.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Sam. 3:27.

sense of « get ready for action »)<sup>11</sup> has become an English idiom via Bible translation, so that Hébrew belt-wrestling has left its mark on the speech of the modern West.

For one reason or another,<sup>12</sup> classical scholars have failed to perceive the echoes of belt-wrestling in the Homeric epics, just as orientalist have failed to recognize the numerous references to it, not only in cuneiform literature, but even in Scripture.<sup>13</sup> Putting on a belt for wrestling is clearly stated in the Iliad 23:710 (ξωσαμένω). As in Hebrew, the expression also became a generalized idiom for « to get ready for action »; ξώννυνται τέ νέοι καὶ ἐπεντύνονται ἄεθλα (Od. 24:89) « the young men gird themselves and make ready to win the prizes ». Cf. also ξῶσαι νῦν (Od. 18:30) « gird thyself now (for fighting) ».

Hebrew has several words for « (wrestling) belt »; e.g., חליצה, חגורה, חגור. The latter is referred to as suitable for a prize in 2 Sam. 18:11 עשרה כסף וחגרה אחת « ten (shekels) of silver and one belt ». It is interesting to observe that the hero's belt is singled out, in the Gilgamesh Epic, as the most precious keepsake a man could give a woman.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> E.g., חגר מתניך (2 Kg. 4:29), var : תאזר מתניך (Jer. 1:17).

<sup>12</sup> The chief reason is that belt-wrestling is today practiced, for the most part, in areas (like Japan and Iceland) away from the main centers of philological research. However, it is remarkable that a form of belt-wrestling called *Schwingen* is known in Switzerland, where biblical, classical and oriental studies are fostered with so much distinction.

<sup>13</sup> I first observed the phenomenon on Mesopotamian seal cylinders (Iraq 6, 1939, pp. 4-5). It was not until 1948, however, that I realized (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7, p. 264) that חגרה וחגלה ויצעקו מכל חגר חגרה ומעלה (2 Kg. 3:21) « and there were mobilized from all girding a belt and above » (i.e., every man above minimum fighting age was called to the colors) presupposes belt-wrestling. In the course of time, to be sure, חגר came to apply to the putting on of swords and other equipment of war; just as חליצה may possibly have developed into « a soldier's battle-gear ». But the original meaning of « wrestling-belt » is unmistakable.

<sup>14</sup> See my explanation (*Ugaritic Literature*, p. 134) of *mi-sir-ra-šú lip-tur-ki* (*Gilg. Epic* VII:iv:5) « may he loosen his belt for thee »,

It is not my intention to exhaust the exegetical implications of our recognition of belt-wrestling among the Hebrews. But, as an illustration of how it clarifies even passages where there is no question of combat, we turn to Is. 11:5 where the Perfect King of the Golden Age is described thus: *והיה צדק אזור מתניו* «and righteousness shall be the belt of his waist; even faithfulness, the belt of his loins». As the context demands, the verse means that the Messianic King will be characterized by virtue («righteousness» and «faithfulness»), instead of violence or physical power (symbolized by the wrestling-belt) that typify the actual rulers of Isaiah's age or ours.

One application of belt-wrestling has a special bearing on our investigation: belt-wrestling as an ordeal in court. There is a Nuzu tablet recording a law-suit, wherein G. accuses his brother, M., of committing assault and battery, and inflicting injury, on his (G.'s) wife. Since M. denies the charge, the judges prescribe belt-wrestling in conjunction with the divinely sanctioned court ordeal. In the course of grappling (*ṣabātu*) with belts (sg. *qannu*), G. wins the case. Two Hurrian loan-words,<sup>15</sup> and what seems to be a scribe's or copyist's error,<sup>16</sup> plus a much-too-much abbreviated description of the ordeal,<sup>17</sup> do not make for the clarity we might wish; but enough of the sense is clear for present purposes:

- obv.) *ṁgur-pa-za-aḥ mâr ḫi-il-bi-iš-šu-uh*  
 Gurpazaḥ, the son of Ḫilbišuḥ,  
 2) *it-ti ṁma-at-te-šub KI-MIN*  
 with Mattešub, son of the same,  
 3) *i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni dayyân [i-meš]*  
 in litigation, before the judges,

<sup>15</sup> See lines 6 and 8; and 16. For the linguistic technicalities, cf. my «The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets», *Orientalia* 7, 1938, pp. 32-63, 215-232.

<sup>16</sup> In line 13 *la!* looks much like *NA*.

<sup>17</sup> All of the Nuzu court proceedings are brief digests; not full reports,

- 4) *i-te-lu-ma um-ma <sup>m</sup>gur-p[a]-za-[a]ḥ-[m]a*  
 went up. So says Gūrpazaḥ :
- 5) *aššati-ia <sup>m</sup>ma-at-te-šub i[m]-ta-ḥa-aš-mi*  
 « Mattešub struck my wife
- 6) *ù qà-ti-šú ḥu-šu-um-ma îtepuš<sup>18</sup> ù dayyânū<sup>meš</sup>*  
*<sup>m</sup>ma-at-te-šub*  
 and injured her hand. » And the judges questioned
- 7) *iš-ta-lu-uš ù um-ma šu-ú-ma*  
 Mattešub and so he says :
- 8) *aššat-zu ša <sup>m</sup>gur-pa-za-aḥ la i[r-t]a-pí-is*  
 « I did not beat Gūrpazaḥ's wife  
*ù qà-ti-šú ḥu-šu-um-ma la epuš*  
 nor did I injure her hand. »
- 9) *ù dayyânū<sup>meš</sup> a-na <sup>m</sup>gur-[pa-za-]aḥ*  
 And the judges said to
- 10) *iq-ta-bu-ú a-lik-m[i? a-na]*  
 Gūrpazaḥ : « Go! To
- 11) *<sup>m</sup>ma-at-te-šub ilâni<sup>meš</sup> i-ši-iš-mi*  
 Mattešub carry the gods!
- 12) *im-ma-ti-me-e <sup>m</sup>gur-pa-za-aḥ*  
 When Gūrpazaḥ
- 13) *a-na ilâni<sup>meš</sup> i-la!-ak-mi ù!*  
 will go to the gods, then
- 14) *<sup>m</sup>ma-at-te-šub <sup>m</sup>gur-pa-za-aḥ*  
 Mattešub will seize
- 15) *iš-ša-bat-mi ù qá-an-na-šu*  
 Gūrpazaḥ, and his belt
- 16) *i-na qá-an-ni-šu hé-is-mu-um-ma*  
 in his belt, he will (try to) wrest
- 17) *i-pu-uš ù i-na di-ni*  
 away. » And in the litigation
- 18) *<sup>m</sup>gur-pa-za-aḥ il-te-e-ma*  
 Gūrpazaḥ prevailed.

<sup>18</sup> Misplaced by the scribe or copyist after line 6,

- 19) *ù dayyânū<sup>meš</sup> ma-at-te-šub*  
And the judges sentenced Mattešub
- 20) *a-na 1 alpi a-na gur-pa-za-aḥ*  
to (pay) one ox to Gurpazah
- 21) *a-na qá-an-ni-šu it-ta-du-uš*  
for his belt.

That ordeal by belt-wrestling was also a Hebrew court procedure, though not fully demonstrable, is nevertheless a possibility in Job 38:3 and 40:7<sup>19</sup> in the showdown between God and Job, for the Book of Job frequently reflects court usages.

This paper is not meant as an exhaustive study of belt-wrestling in the Hebrew Bible. Anyone who takes the trouble to study all the references in the concordance, under אור, חנר and גלגל will find many more (but not all) of the applications. Even less does this article pretend to cover the subject throughout the art and literature of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece. The aim here is merely to identify the phenomenon so that other students may recognize it in handling the texts and monuments of their specialities. That so clearly-portrayed and widespread a phenomenon has been completely missed by both philologists and art historians is simply another reminder of how much is left for all of us and our disciples to do, even in the most familiar classics such as the Bible and Homer.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> L. N. Manross *apud* C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 134. My friend H. L. Ginsberg has convinced me that Is. 31:11 deals with expressing grief and has no connection with the ordeal as I had thought.

<sup>20</sup> W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, Washington, 1921, takes no notice of belt-wrestling in his account of wrestling on pp. 228-234. E. N. Gardiner (*op. cit.*, p. 7) goes so far as to mistake the plainly-depicted belts on the nude Beni Hasan wrestlers, as loin-cloths.

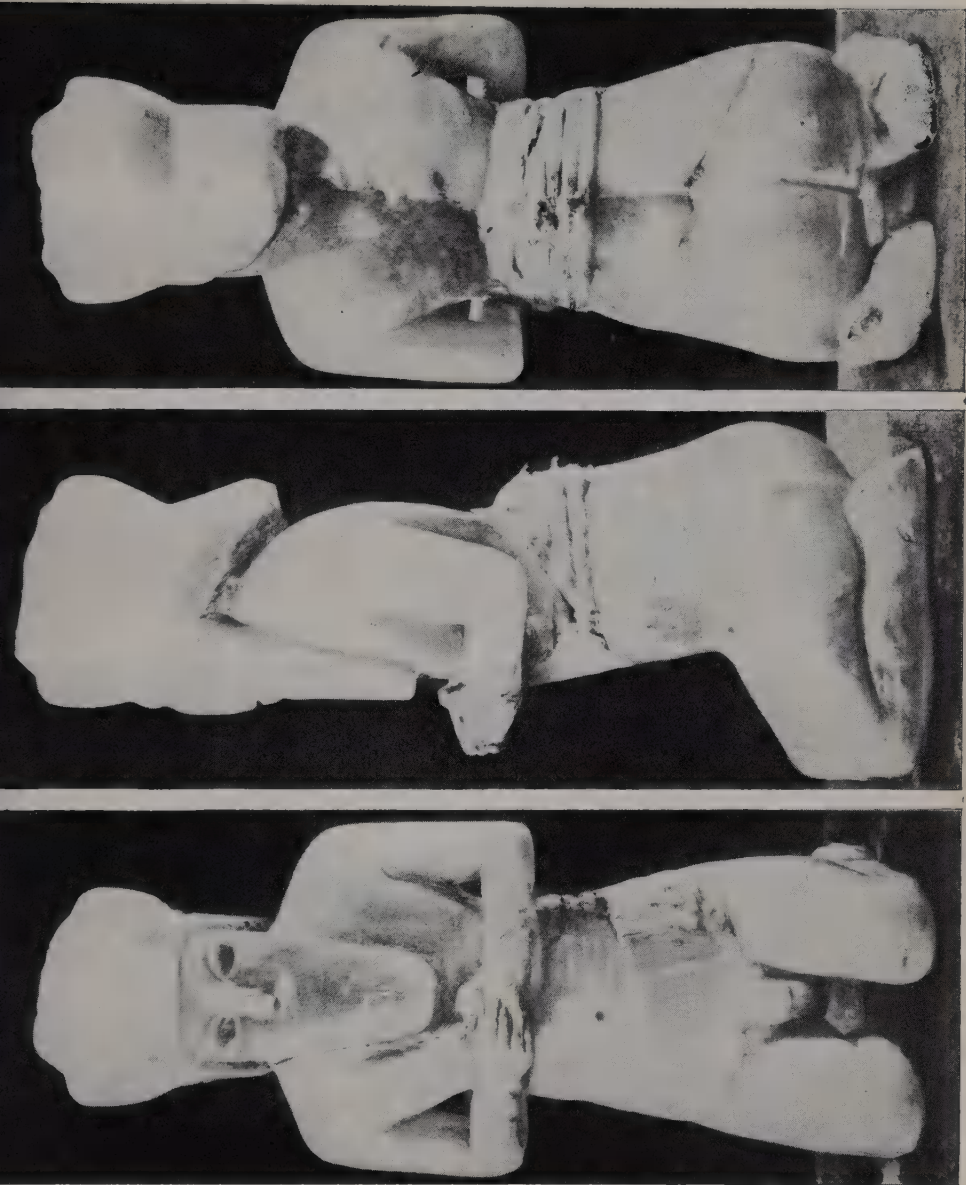


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« THE KHAFAGE WRESTLERS »

n H. Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region* (= OIP 60), Chicago, 1943, pl. 54,  
courtesy of the Joint Babylonian Expedition of the University Museum, Philadelphia,  
and the American Schools of Oriental Research.







« NUDE BELTED HERO FROM TELL ASMAR »

n H. Frankfort, *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah*  
(= OIP 44), Chicago, 1939, pl. 27,  
courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.





« EARLY GREEK WARRIOR »

From C. Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce du troisième millénaire au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère*,  
Paris, 1946, figure 48,  
courtesy of Éditions Cahiers d'Art, Paris.

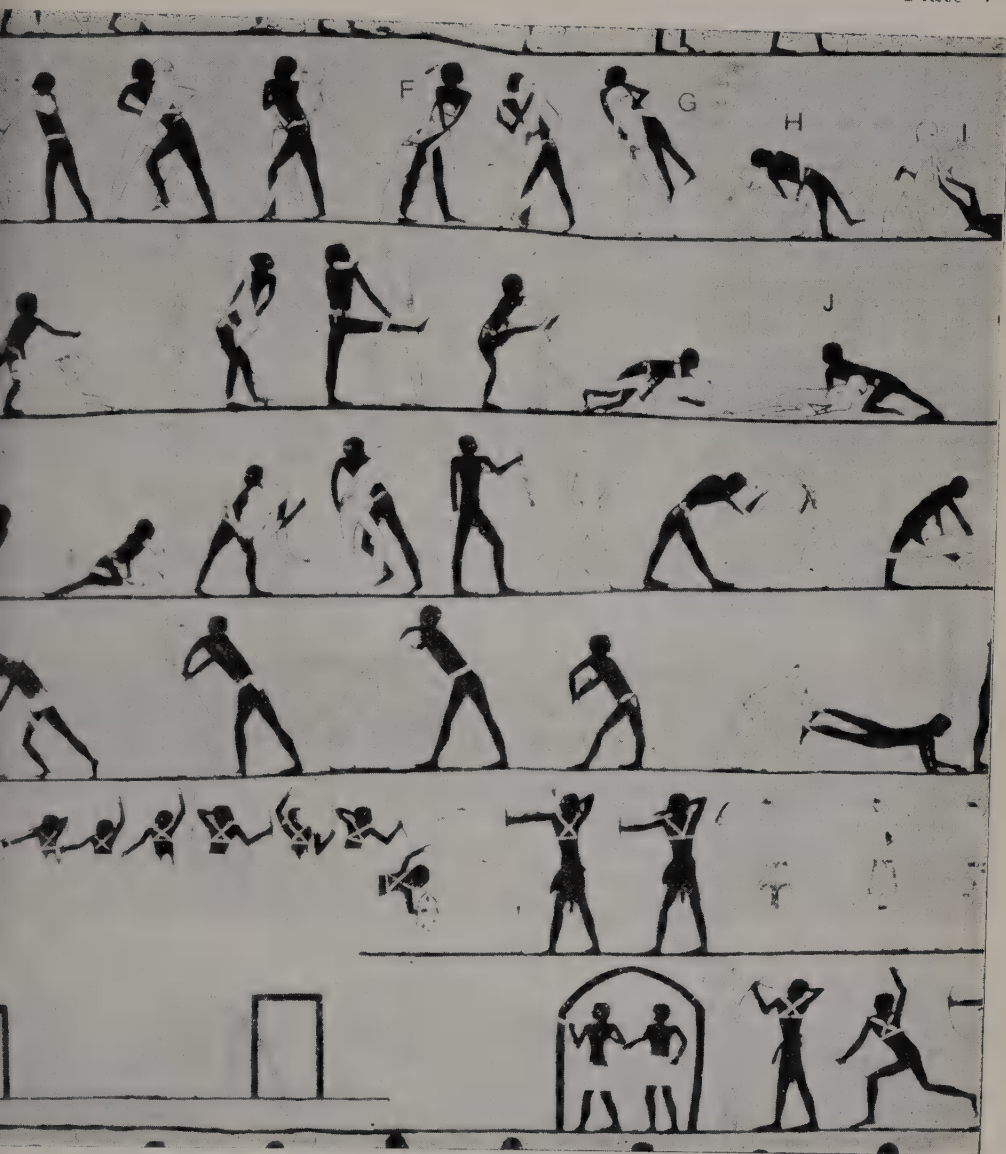




« BELTED WRESTLERS FROM BENI HASAN »

From P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, Part II, London, 1894, pl. 8,  
courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society, London,





« BENI HASAN SKETCHES »

From P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, Part II, London, 1894, pl. 15,  
courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society, London.





## BEMERKUNGEN ZUR SCHREIBUNG UND AUSSPRACHE DER TIBERISCHEN MASORA

LUDWIG KOEHLER

University of Zürich

IN neuerer Zeit durch Paul Kahle und seine Schüler, in früherer Zeit durch, um nur Einige zu nennen, Geiger, Blau, Baer und Ginzburg ist ein erstaunlicher Vorrat von masoretischem Stoff vor der gelehrten Welt ausgebreitet und mit bewundernswerter Gelehrsamkeit und erstaunlichem Scharfsinn behandelt worden. Es ist dabei nicht immer deutlich geworden, welches letzte Ziel man vor Augen hat. Will man einfach den erreichbaren Stoff vorlegen und dazu sagen, was sich im Einzelnen gerade sagen lässt? Will man den Zusammenhang der verschiedenen masoretischen Gestaltungen ermitteln und so dahin kommen, dass man eine Geschichte der Masora schreiben kann? Will man die Gesichtspunkte erarbeiten, von denen aus man eine masoretische Gestaltung als richtiger, eine andere als minder richtig bezeichnen kann, und will man auf diese Weise gar die richtige, massgebende und verbindliche Masora herausfinden, zu der alles Übrige nur Vorstufe oder Entartung wäre? Will man, wie es Kahle in der letzten Ausgabe von Kittels *Biblia Hebraica* getan hat, eine Handschrift (freilich keineswegs ohne von Kahle verfügte Abweichungen im Einzelnen) zu Grunde legen und die so erreichte Druckgestalt als die anerkannte oder anzuerkennende angesehen wissen? Wie gesagt, es ist nicht ganz klar, welches Ziel man verfolgt, sodass es auch nicht möglich ist, darüber zu reden, ob dieses Ziel wünschenswert und ob es erreichbar ist.

Doch brauchen uns diese Fragen nicht zu beschäftigen, denn die nachstehenden anspruchslosen Bemerkungen gehen grundsätzlich einen andern Weg als die Arbeiten der eingangs genannt-

ten grossen Gelehrten und so wollen sie auch nicht als im Gegensatz zu diesen Arbeiten, sondern als eine — freilich eine durchaus nötige — Ergänzung zu ihnen verstanden werden.

Was aber wollen unsre Bemerkungen? Statt von den erhaltenen masoretischen Gestaltungen und ihren Einzelheiten und Eigentümlichkeiten auszugehen, wenden sie sich der Entstehung der Masora zu und behandeln die Frage, wie es zu den sogenannten *Matres lectionis*, zu *Schwa mobile*, *medium* und *quiescens*, zu *Dagesch forte* und *lene* kam, und gewinnen aus der Bemühung um Antworten auf diese und verwandte Fragen einige Erkenntnisse, welche von Spätern sicher ergänzt und wohl auch berichtigt werden können. Es handelt sich hier in vielen Punkten um einen ersten Versuch mit all den Fragwürdigkeiten (darüber ist sich der Verfasser durchaus im Klaren), die einem solchen ersten Versuche anhaften. Um aber diesen Versuch überhaupt durchführen zu können, sind zwei Vorfragen zu klären, nämlich erstens das Verhältnis von Schreibung (Orthographie) und Lautung (Aussprache) und zweitens das Vorhandensein einer reinen Konsonantenschrift als Ausgangspunkt der Masora.

#### 1. DAS VERHÄLTNISS VON SCHREIBUNG UND LAUTUNG

In den drei hebräischen Wörtern **צִנָּר** und **לְקָרָת**, **מֵאֲזִינִים** findet sich jedes Mal ein **א**, das für die Aussprache unnötig ist. Schriebe man **צִנֶּר** und **לְקָרֶת**, **מֵאֲזִינִים**, so würde die Aussprache nicht anders sein, als bei der masoretischen Schreibung. Woher und wozu also die drei **א**? Glücklicherweise lässt sich für jedes dieser drei **א** der Grund oder richtiger die Ursache seiner Anwesenheit nennen, und dazu kommt — ein weiterer Glücksfall für unsere Darlegungen —, dass für jedes der drei **א** die Ursache eine andre ist als für die beiden andern. Bei **מֵאֲזִינִים** ist das **א** dadurch entstanden, dass man dieses Wort in volkstümlicher Etymologie von **אֶזְן** « Ohr » = « Wagschale » irrtümlich ableitete. Das **א** von **צִנָּר** ist seit der Punktation überflüssig, es war aber vor ihrer Einführung nötig, wenn man **צור** (= **צוּרָר**)

« Hals » und צוּר « Fels » zuverlässig unterscheiden wollte. Dieses **ס** ist bei der Punktation beibehalten worden, obwohl man seiner nichtmehr bedurfte. Hier sehen wir in eine wichtige Erscheinung an fast allen Orthographien hinein : Orthographien, die einmal entstanden sind, behalten Erscheinungen bei, die mit der Weiterentwicklung des orthographischen Systems überflüssig geworden sind. Orthographien sind historische Gebilde. Das **ס** von סָקַרְתָּ ist etymologisch berechtigt, weil die Form (120 mal belegt) von קָרָא « begegnen, treffen » herkommt. Dagegen ist es lautlich überflüssig, denn man hört es nicht; man hat es wohl nie gehört. Auch diese Tatsache zeigt uns eine wichtige Erscheinung der Orthographie. Die Niederschrift eines Lautbestandes ist vielfach nicht bloss vom Laut — also akustisch — bestimmt, sondern oft mischen sich in die Orthographie auch nur beim Schreiben und Lesen — also optisch — wahrnehmbare Bestandteile ein. Lautung geht vom Mund zum Ohr. Schreibung geht von der Schrift zum Auge. In die Schreibung mischen sich gern gelehrte Einflüsse. Schreiber und Leser sind ja gelehrte Leute. Die Lautung aber, Sache des Sprechers und des Hörers, ist ungelehrt, « natürlich », unwillkürlich. Sie ist darum auch viel mehr der Veränderung unterworfen. Alle Sprachen wandeln sich fortwährend. Die Schreibung aber ist beharrend, darum oft historisch. Vor Allem gilt es dies festzuhalten : Lautung und Schreibung sind zwei ganz verschiedene Welten. Dies ist auf dem Gebiet der hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft noch nicht genügend beachtet.

Der Unterschied zwischen Lautung und Schreibung ist so grundlegend, dass wir noch einige Beispiele aus den heutigen Sprachen geben. Wenn man einen Schweden fragt, was in seiner Sprache « Ich werde das tun » heisse, wird er antworten : « De ska ja jöra ». Wenn man ihn bittet, das zu schreiben, wird er schreiben : « Det skall jag göra ». Als die schwedische Orthographie entstand, sprach man Endkonsonanten noch. Wenn man den Deutschen bittet, die Mehrzahl von « Maus » und die Verkleinerung von « Frau » zu schreiben, wird er

schreiben : « Mäuse » und « Fräulein ». Wenn man ihn bittet, das auszusprechen, sagt er « Möise » und « Fröilain ». Das sind ganz andre Laute, als er schreibt. Wenn man einen Engländer nach seinem Wort für « Spinnkopf » fragt, wird er — was bei einem solchen technischen Begriff gut verständlich ist — es kaum wissen. Sagt man ihm dann, es laute « jufro », so wird er nicht sicher wissen, wie er das schreiben soll; schreibt man es ihm aber hin : « uphroe », so wird er kaum sicher wissen, wie es auszusprechen ist. Dass es der Etymologie nach gar das (metaphorisch gebrachte) holländische Wort « juffer = « Jungfrau » ist, das zu wissen, kann man von niemanden verlangen.

Der Beispiele sind schon zu viele. Für unsere weitem Bemerkungen genügen folgende Erkenntnisse. Lautung — ein akustisches Phänomen — und Schreibung — ein optisches Phänomen — sind zwei ganz verschiedene Grössen. Jede Schreibung — die streng wissenschaftlich phonetische vielleicht ausgenommen — deutet den von ihr gemeinten Lautbestand nur ungefähr, bald genauer, bald ungenauer, gelegentlich auch übergenu, an. In die Schreibung mischt sich leicht ein wirklich gelehrter (מְקַרְאֵת) oder ein pseudogelehrter (מֵאֲזִינִים) Bestandteil ein. Wenn eine Schreibung einmal eingeführt worden ist, wird sie auch dann weitergeführt, wenn sie überflüssig geworden ist (מְעֻזָּר) oder wenn die Lautung sich gewandelt hat. Lautungen sind unwillkürlich, das heisst, sie hängen (von affektiertem Sprechen abgesehen) von den Sprechwerkzeugen, aber nicht vom menschlichen Willen ab. Schreibungen sind weithin konventionell, das heisst, sie beruhen auf willkürlicher Lehre oder Verfügung. So schreibt das Deutsche « die Eltern » mit « E », obwohl das Wort von « alt » herkommt und also « die Ältern » geschrieben werden müsste, wie es auch gesprochen wird. Endlich : Schreibungen unterliegen der Mode und sind, wenigstens in ältern Zeiten, leicht regellos oder regelwidrig; man denke an Schreibungen wie מִצְתִּי Nu 11,11 und קֶאֱם Ho 10,14 und כְּוִלָּם Jr 31,34.

## 2. DIE REINE KONSONANTENSCHRIFT

An die Spitze dieser Bemerkung gehört der Satz, dass die ältesten hebräischen Texte in reiner Konsonantenschrift geschrieben waren. Das heisst zweierlei, nämlich erstens, dass nichts als Konsonanten geschrieben waren, und zweitens, dass alle Konsonanten wirkliche Konsonanten waren, also alle lautende, das ist hörbare, Laute und nicht etwa zum Teil blossе Zeichen für Vokale. Man wird sofort einwenden : Aber die *Matres lectionis!* und man wird über die Richtigkeit unseres Satzes von der reinen Konsonantenschrift erst abschliessend urteilen können, nachdem wir über die *Matres lectionis* gesagt haben, was über sie zu sagen ist.

Aber zuvor gilt es noch einen andern Punkt herauszustellen. Die ältesten Texte konnten deshalb in reiner Konsonantenschrift geschrieben werden, weil sie bekannte Texte waren. Man nehme irgend eine alte phönikische, aramäische, moabitische, hebräische usw. Inschrift. Man stelle sich vor, man lebe in der Zeit der Leute, für welche diese Inschriften geschrieben worden, das will sagen, der Zeitgenossen der Entstehung der Inschrift und ihrer Nachfahren im ersten, zweiten, dritten Glied. Denn für diese ist ja die Inschrift bestimmt und nicht für uns. Diesen Zeitgenossen nun der Inschriften waren die Namen von Leuten, Orten und Ländern, die genannt werden, geläufig, sie waren auch mit den Beziehungen und Tatsachen, um die es sich handeln konnte, vertraut. Sie konnten also, soweit sie überhaupt lesen konnten, und die Zahl der Lesefähigen war immer beschränkt, die Inschriften in reiner Konsonantenschrift geläufig lesen und verstehen. Auch wir Fernstehenden werden ja noch der Inschriften, wenn man Alles in Erwägung zieht, was uns zeitlich und sachlich von ihnen trennt, in erstaunlich leichtem Masse Meister. Zudem gab es in der Nähe der Tempel, Paläste, Denkmäler, kurz der Stellen, wo die Inschriften angebracht waren, immer Leute, die den Lesern mit ihrem Wissen Auskunft gebend zu Hilfe kamen. Die reine

Kosonantenschrift bot also für die Lesung keine Schwierigkeiten. Es handelt sich bei den Inschriften um *bekannte Texte*.

Um genau so bekannte Texte handelt es sich aber auch bei vielen und vor Allem bei den ältesten Texten des Alten Testaments. Seien es Gesetze wie der Dekalog, seien es Preislieder, wie das Mirjamlied, seien es Hymnen und Formulare, wie in vielen Psalmen, seien es alte stehende Berichte, wie die alten Mythen, Sagen, Geschichten, die Texte waren immer durch die mündliche Ueberlieferung bekannt, ehe sie noch gelesen wurden. Die schriftliche Aufzeichnung geht dem Vertrautwerden mit dem Inhalt nicht wie bei unsern Büchern, Briefen, Urkunden, Bekanntmachungen voraus, sondern sie erfolgt hinterher. Es sind bekannte Texte. Die Aufzeichnung, sei es auf Stein, sei es auf Leder oder sonst einem Stoff, geht der festen Formulierung der Texte immer hinterher. Deshalb genügt für die Aufzeichnung die reine Konsonantenschrift.

Das ändert sich erst später. Erst allmählich und später schreibt man auch Texte auf, um sie bekannt zu machen. Erst später kommt dem Leser ein Wortlaut vor Augen, von dessen Inhalt er noch wenig oder gar überhaupt nichts weiss. Auch diese Texte sind zunächst in der reinen Konsonantenschrift geschrieben. Noch heute wird im synagogalen Gottesdienst die Thora dem Leser unpunktiert vorgelegt. Nun kommt es zu Schwierigkeiten, zu Missverständnissen, zu Falschlesungen, zu Irrtümern. Nun wird es nötig, den Leser mit Andeutungen, Zeichen, kleinen Hilfen zu unterstützen und den Text vor falschem Verständnis zu schützen. Die Summe dieser Lesehilfen ist die heutige Masora. Sie ist schrittweise und allmählich entstanden. Ihre einzelnen Phasen ergänzen sich. Sie überschneiden sich auch. Aber es ist möglich, wenigstens einige Phasen noch aufzuweisen, und nur dieser Aufweis führt zum Verständnis und auch zu einem richtigen Urteil über die Masora. Dazu will das Folgende einige Bausteine liefern.



### 3. DIE REINE KONSONANTENSCHRIFT UND DIE SOGENANNTEN MATRES LECTIONIS

Die hebräische Grammatik der Humanisten hat von den jüdischen Grammatikern des frühen Mittelalters den Begriff der « Lesemütter » oder Vokalbuchstaben übernommen. Sie bezeichnet damit die Konsonanten א, ה, ו, י in denjenigen Fällen, wo diese Konsonanten, wie sie behauptet, nicht ihren konsonantischen Wert haben, sondern — offenbar auf Grund einer orthographischen Convention — für Vokale stehen, also ו für *ō* in יום, י für *i* in אדומי, ה für *ā* in מלכה, usw. Ist diese Anschauung richtig? Das sei hier geprüft.

a) Von רַעַי « Gefährte » gibt es die Suffigalform רַעַי « sein Gefährte » Jr 6,21. Daneben gibt es mit der gleichen Bedeutung die Suffigalform רַעִי Gn 11,3 (und noch 114 mal). Das Verhältnis der beiden Formen ist klar und unumstritten. רַעַי ist jünger als רַעִי; das intervokalische ה von רַעִי ist ausgefallen (eine sehr häufige Erscheinung) und e-u ist zu *ō* geworden. Wie ist dann לֶחֶם « sein Lebenssaft » Dt 34,7 zu beurteilen? רַעַי « Gefährte » und לֶחֶם « Saft » sind Wörter vom gleichen Typus. Was ist's dann mit לֶחֶם? Entspricht es רַעַי oder entspricht es רַעִי? Es entspricht beiden Formen zugleich und jeder nur teilweise, sobald man sich klarmacht, dass רַעִי am Ende mit der *mater lectionis* geschrieben ist und ohne diese רַעַי geschrieben würde. Robert Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making*, Philadelphia, 1937, list 4 (« *nouns with the older masculine singular ending* Holem He»), S. 92-94 gibt ein Verzeichnis von Fällen wie לֶחֶם. Nennen wir nur עִירָה parallel אֶתְנִי Gn 49,11. Unsre Behauptung ist die, dass die Konsonanten von לֶחֶם geschrieben wurden, als man noch לֶחֶח (wie רַעִי) sprach, dass man aber diese Konsonanten stehen liess und nicht in לֶחֶי änderte, als sich die jüngere Form \*לֶחֶי in der Lautung durchgesetzt hatte.

Dass die Vokalisation eine jüngere Aussprache voraussetzt als der überlieferte Konsonantenbestand, ist eine häufige Erscheinung.

Wenn das Moabitische ארצה « sein Land » (Mescha 5/6) und בה « an ihm » und בתה « sein Haus » (Mescha 7) schreibt, so sagt man leichthin, hier sei das Suffix -ō mit ה geschrieben oder angedeutet (*mater lectionis*!), aber woher weiss man das? Die Konsonanten des moabitischen Textes deuten auf die Aussprache *aršāhū*, *bāhū*, *bētēhū* oder *bētāhū* hin. Wir haben reine Konsonantenschrift vor uns; ה ist nicht « Lesemutter » für ō. So wird man zum Beispiel auch für כה « so » annehmen müssen, dass seine zwei Konsonanten noch die ältere Form *kāhū* « wie er, wie es » schreiben, und dass diese Konsonantenschreibung beibehalten wurde, als man nichtmehr *kāhū*, sondern *kō* zu sprechen angefangen hatte. Oder, um noch ein Beispiel anzuführen: שְׁלֹמֹה hat auch dann noch den Konsonantismus von *š'elōmāhū* bewahrt, als schon die jüngere Lautung *š'elōmō* aufgekommen war, ebenso, um ein letztes Beispiel aufzuführen, כֹּלֶה Hab 1,15.

b) Mescha 1/2 steht הדיבני. Wie hat das gelaute und wie ist es demgemäss zu transkribieren? Das erste ם ist sicher echt konsonantisch, also *had-daj*..., wie man wohl, schon wegen der Septuagintaform *Daïbon* = semitisch *Dajbon*, allgemein annimmt. Aber wie steht es um das zweite ם? Weithin nimmt man an, es sei *mater lectionis* für ein langes i. Ist das richtig? Zu נְכָרִי « Ausländer » Ze 1,8 heisst das Femininum נְכָרִיָּה Ex 2,22. Dieses Femininum lautet, worüber man einig ist: *nok-ri-j-ā*. Aber vom Maskulinum sagt man weithin, es laute: *nok-rī*. Dies kommt wohl daher, dass uns die Lautfolge *ij* fremd ist, das heisst, unsre Ohren sind nicht geübt, hinter dem Vokal i den Konsonanten j zu hören. Aber sowohl Kenner slavischer Sprachen wie Europäer, die lange in Cairo gelebt haben und das Arabische gut kennen, sagen uns, dass sie mit dem Ohr zwischen ī und ij sehr wohl unterscheiden können. Man macht

in phonetischen Dingen sehr oft die Beobachtung, dass je nach der Sprechgewöhnung eine Lauterscheinung deutlich oder überhaupt nicht gehört wird. Nun ist die Lautfolge ij (Vokal i mit nachfolgendem hörbaren Konsonant j) für das Hebräische sehr gut bezeugt. Denn נִכְרִיָּה ist *nokrij-ja*, מִיָּוִם ist *mij-jom*, צִיָּוִן ist *šij-jon*, כִּיָּר ist *kij-jor*, usw. Moabitisch הדיבני ist rein konsonantisch — ohne *mater lectionis* — geschrieben und muss *haddajbonij* ausgesprochen werden.

c) Hier wird eine Beifügung nötig. Es gibt in allen Sprachen die Erscheinung des « Verhallens ». Das heisst, dass Konsonanten am Schluss eines Wortes nicht mehr gesprochen und also auch nicht mehr gehört werden, sie sind « verhallt » (siehe das schwedische Beispiel S. 139). Der Konsonant j neigt besonders dazu zu verhallen. So heisst der Infinitiv von 'āsaj « machen » nichtmehr, wie zu erwarten wäre, 'āsōj, sondern 'āsō, geschrieben עָשָׂו so viele Handschriften Jr 4,18, oder, ebenda 17 Handschriften, גָּלָה. Aus *gāla-j* wird *gālā*, nur in *gālū-j* hält sich das j. Auch in *nokrij* und den verwandten Formen mag das j verhallt sein, sodass man נִכְרִי als *nokrī* aussprach, und daher kommt es, dass man später langes i im Auslaut eines Wortes und noch später dann auch im Inlaut eines Wortes durch ִ andeutete. *Hier haben wir also die Entstehung einer mater lectionis vor uns.* Die Lesemutter verdankt ihre Entstehung der Verhallung. Wann ִ von dieser Verhallung betroffen wurde und wann nicht, das zu entscheiden, liegt jenseits unsrer Erkenntnismöglichkeit. Ist אֲבִי Mescha 2 = 'abij oder = 'abī? Darüber können wir nichts aussagen. Johannes Friedrich sucht in der Zeitschrift für Semitistik, Band 1, 1922, S. 3-14 (Der Schwund kurzer Endvokale im Nordwestsemitischen) von ganz andern Erwägungen aus eine Antwort auf diese Frage. Wir halten es für geraten, uns bei unsern Erwägungen ganz innerhalb der Hebräischen zu bewegen.

d) יוֹם « Tag » und eine Reihe Wörter vom gleichen Typus sind jetzt als « *jōm* » punktirt und werden mit ō gesprochen.

Ebenso spricht man עָבְרָו Jr 23,9 und seinesgleichen mit  $\bar{o}$ . Aber es ist bekannt, dass יוֹם aus *jaum* und עָבְרָו aus *'abarahu* > *'abarau* > *'abarō* herzuleiten ist. Wann יוֹם nichtmehr *jaum*, sondern *jōm* gesprochen wurde, weiss man nicht. Möglicherweise standen, wie das in allen Sprachen der Fall ist, längere Zeit hindurch beide Formen neben einander im Gebrauch. Die Suffixa -*āhū* oder -*ō* der 3. sg. msc. perfecti jedenfalls tun es im masoretischen Text. Sei dem, wie ihm möge. Das וּ von יוֹם stammt aus der Zeit der reinen Konsonantenschrift, und ebenso dasjenige von עָבְרָו; es ist nicht *Mater lectionis*, als Frucht einer orthographischen Convention, sondern es ist Rest eines ehemals lautenden Konsonanten, also ursprünglich Lautung, nicht Schreibung. Übrigens ist *au*, aus dem später  $\bar{o}$  wird, in הוֹצֵא Gn 8,17 noch belegt.

e) An diesem Punkt unsrer Darlegungen muss zudem auf eine Erscheinung verwiesen werden, welche in allen Sprachen, sowohl was ihre Lautung, als was ihre Schreibung angeht, weit verbreitet ist. Das ist die Erscheinung der nachträglichen Ausdehnung einer Form. Gewöhnlich nennt man diese Erscheinung Analogiebildung. Sie besteht darin, dass eine Form, sei sie Lautung, sei sie Schreibung, auf andre angewandt wird, in die sie wesentlich nicht gehört. יוֹם wird mit וּ geschrieben, weil es aus *jaum* entstanden ist. Das ist wesentlich. Aber nun wird dieses  $\bar{o}$  = וּ auch in Formen geschrieben, in denen es nicht aus *au* entstanden ist, so in נִכְוְנִי Pr 19,29, in מוֹב Gn 2,18 und in ungezählten andern Fällen. Das ist Analogiebildung. Gerade dieses וּ für  $\bar{o}$  ist besonders häufig; und hier ist Anlass zu einer weitern Bemerkung. Warum schreibt man כָּה, aber לוֹ und בּוֹ ? Das Moabitische schreibt ja בה statt בוֹ (Mescha 7). Alle drei Formen sind gleichen Ursprungs: כָּה ist ursprüngliches *ka-hu* « wie er, wie es » = « so », לוֹ ist ursprüngliches *la-hu* und בּוֹ ist ursprüngliches *ba-hu*. Aber man bleibt bei כָּה und geht zu לוֹ und בּוֹ über, weil כָּה und בה mit כָּה und כָּה im noch nicht punktierten Text verwechselt werden konnten.

Jr 17,24 ist in **בַּה** noch die alte, wesenhafte Schreibung erhalten, und es gibt wohl noch mehr Belege dafür.

f. Wie kam es, dass man den Konsonanten **ו** benutzt, um den Vokal *u* anzudeuten? In Formen wie **וְנָלוּ** Nu 18,4 oder **נָאוּ** Ct 1,10 hat man den Beweis dafür, dass die Lautvereinigung des konsonantischen **ו** mit dem nachfolgenden Vokal *u* dem Hebräischen nicht fremd ist. Nun heisst «und» in **וְאֵת** Gn 1,1 **וּ**<sup>e</sup>, in **וְבָהּ** Gn 1,2 **וּ**<sup>a</sup>, in **וַיְהִי** Gn 1,6 **וּי** usw. Kurz, «und» heisst im Hebräischen immer Konsonant **ו** vermehrt um einen Vokal, dessen Klang sich dem Folgenden anpasst. Wie heisst nun «und» in Fällen wie **וּבַת**, **וּמַלְכָּה**, **וּפְרָה**? Man sagt, es heisse dann **וּ**, und, sagt man, dies sei der einzige Fall, wo im Hebräischen eine Silbe nicht mit einem Konsonanten anfangen; also *ūbat*, *ūmäläk*, *ūfārā*. Ist das richtig? Wenn es **וּ**<sup>e</sup>, **וּ**<sup>a</sup>, **וּ**<sup>a</sup>, **וּ**<sup>2</sup>, **וּ**<sup>ä</sup>, **וּי** heisst, führt schon das System darauf, dass es auch *uubāt*, *uumäläk*, *uufārā* heisst. Die Lautung **וו** ist ja in **וְנָלוּ**, **נָאוּ** belegt.

Aber freilich stehen sich das konsonantische **ו** und der Vokal *u* lautlich so nahe, dass ein Übergang von **וו** zu **וּ** sehr gut denkbar ist. Jedenfalls aber ist **וּמַלְכָּה** ursprünglich reine Konsonantenschrift, und erst die Analogiebildung hat dazu geführt, dass **ו** überhaupt als sogenannte *Mater lectionis* für *u* in Gebrauch kam.

g) Wie steht es mit **ה** als Zeichen des Auslautes *ā* in **פָּתָה**, **אֲדָמָה** usw.? Ist es blosses graphisches Zeichen (Lesemutter) oder ist es echter Konsonant? Man behauptet das Erstere und stützt sich dabei, bewusst oder unbewusst, darauf, dass in Formen wie deutsch «nah, Reh, froh, Kuh» das *h* nur Dehnungszeichen und nicht gesprochener Konsonant ist. Aber Formen wie **אֲהַפֵּן** Ze 3,9, **מִהֶרָכִים** Sa 3,7, **פְּדִיָּה** Nu 34,28 und **הַתְּמַחֶמְהֵנוּ** Gn 43,10 neben vielen andern zeigen, dass im Hebräischen **ה** am Silbenschluss gesprochen wird (es wird nicht wie **ה** gesprochen, sondern man beschreibt den entstehenden Laut am besten als ein Anhalten des Atems, das aber deutlich hör-

bar ist). Zeigen die Beispiele ה als gesprochenen Konsonanten sowohl nach kurzem als auch nach langem Vokal, aber immer nur im Innern eines Wortes, so zeigen ihn in הַבֵּי, הֶפֶז usw. (wo das Mappig « der Herausbringer » den echten Konsonanten in einer wohl sehr späten Phase der Masora eigens andeutet) am Wortende. Nun gibt es folgende Tatsachen, welche dafür sprechen, dass auch am Wortende in den Formen wie כֶּהַח das ה echter Konsonant ist und also hörbar gesprochen wurde :

1. J. J. Hess sagte mir, das sei bei den zentralarabischen Beduinen in gewissen Fällen von ihm selber festgestellt worden (siehe Th. Nöldeke, Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, 1904, S. 7) ;

2. In Cairo lebende sprachlich gebildete Europäer mit sehr guten Kenntnissen des Arabischen sagen, dass sie es *hören*, ob einer arabisches *malika* (= hebr. מַלְכָּה) mit oder ohne h spreche ;

3. Wright, A grammar of the Arabic language, 3. ed., revised by W. Robertson Smith a. M. J. de Goeje, Cambridge, 1933, vol. I, p. 7 : « [arabischen ה] is distinctly aspirated at the end, as well as at the beginning, of a syllable ». Man schrieb also kallāh mit einem ה am Ende : כֶּהַח, weil man einen Hauchlaut h sprach und hörte. Auch hier haben wir einen echten Konsonanten, nicht eine Lesemutter vor uns. Wann und wie weit dieser Konsonant verhalte (siehe oben unter c), lässt sich nicht feststellen; sicher ist nur, dass in spätern Zeiten ה als Lesezeichen für den Wortausgang -ā auch da benutzt wurde, wo nie ein Laut h gesprochen wurde. Hier die Grenze zwischen echtem Konsonanten h und blossem Lesezeichen ה zu ziehen und festzustellen, seit wann dieses Lesezeichen sich zeigt, das müsste Gegenstand einer besondern Untersuchung sein.

h) Das deutsche Wort « da » wird sehr verschieden ausgesprochen. In « Da waren wir angekommen » tönt es neutral und mit einem a, von dem man nicht sagen kann, ob es lang oder kurz sei. In « Der Vater ist wirklich da », ist das Wort betont und sein a lang. In « Gibst du mir nun endlich mein Geld? — Da! » ist das Wort emphatisch gesprochen, sein a ist



kurz und — darauf kommt es uns hier an — hinter dem a tönt ein kurzer Knacklaut (fast wie bei gut gesprochenem אֵט). J. J. Hess machte uns einmal darauf aufmerksam, dass auch im zentralarabischen Beduinischen gewisse Deutewörter, wenn sie emphatisch gesprochen sind, einen Schlusskonsonanten hören lassen, den man sonst bei diesen Wörtern nicht vernimmt. Wir möchten nun annehmen, dass auch im Hebräischen bei Deutewörtern wie פָּחַץ oder dem Fragewort מָה, מַה, מֶה ein solcher Schlusskonsonant hörbar war und deshalb geschrieben wurde. Dann wäre das ה der genannten Wörter ein echter Konsonant und von seiner Schreibung aus wäre später der Brauch aufgekommen, die Wortausgänge āh und ōh und analog zu ihnen wohl auch ēh (שִׁירָה, גִּלְיָה) so zu schreiben, wie es die Masora zeigt.

Einzelheiten im Vorstehenden mögen falsch sein oder sie mögen der Ergänzung bedürftig sein. Wir glauben aber gezeigt zu haben, dass die Grundlage der Masora eine echte Konsonantenschrift ist und dass das, was man *Matres lectionis* nennt, eine spätere Phase der Schrift darstellt und längst nicht in dem Umfang vorliegt, den man ihm herkömmlicherweise zuschreibt.

#### 4. AUFKOMMEN UND SINN VON SCHWA

Aus der reinen Konsonantenschrift ist der endgiltige masoretisch geschriebene Text nicht in einem einzigen, sondern in mehreren Schüben, in stufenweiser Einführung der einzelnen Zeichen geworden, und dies ist eben die Aufgabe, die sich stellt: zu ermitteln, welches diese Schübe waren und wie sie aufeinander folgten. Erst wenn diese Aufgabe gelöst sein wird, wird sich ein begründetes Urteil über richtige, über noch unvollkommene, über entartete und über mit Zeichen unnötig beladene Masora fällen lassen. Wir glauben zeigen zu können, dass Schwa und Dagesch zu den frühesten Stufen der Masora gehören, und glauben auch zeigen zu können, welcher Aufgabe diese beiden Zeichen ursprünglich dienten.



Auch den Namen Schwa und die Einteilung der Schwa in *mobilia*, *quiescentia* und *media* haben die Humanisten für ihre bis heute geltende Terminologie von den ältern jüdischen Grammatikern übernommen. Aber warum und wieso gibt es drei Arten von Schwa? Das Schwa mobile (wir können in diesem Zusammenhang die Unterscheidung von Schwa mobile simplex und Schwa mobile compositum als für uns jetzt belanglos auf der Seite lassen) ist das Zeichen für einen Reduktionsvokal. Das Schwa quiescens ist das Zeichen dafür, dass gar kein Vokal gesprochen werden soll. Wie kommt es, dass das gleiche Zeichen zwei so verschiedene Dinge bezeichnen soll und kann? Die Erklärung kann nur darin bestehen, dass beide Arten und mit ihnen zugleich auch Schwa medium von Haus aus gar nicht als mobile, medium und quiescens gemeint waren, sondern dass sie alle drei ein und dieselbe Sache ausdrückten oder andeuteten. Hier muss die Lösung liegen, und hier lässt sie sich auch finden.

Die Konsonantengruppe מַלְכָּתִי kann, wenn man sich an die einfachsten und nächstliegenden Möglichkeiten hält, auf zwei Weisen gelesen werden: als mālakti «ich bin König» und als malkāti «meine Königin». In der Regel wird der Zusammenhang den Leser nicht im Zweifel darüber lassen, was gemeint sein muss, aber es sind doch Fälle denkbar, wo man in dieser und andern, im Grunde ähnlichen Konsonantengruppen nicht leicht aus dem Zweifel heraus kam. Wenn man dann unter die entscheidende Stelle ein Zeichen setzte, war der Zweifel mit Einem Schlage und endgiltig behoben. מַלְכָּתִי hiess mālakti und מַלְכָּתִי hiess malkāti. Nun war Alles klar. Ebenso ist es, um noch ein Beispiel zu geben, mit der Konsonantengruppe בְּרָכָה. Heisst das בְּרָכָה «Segen» oder heisst es בְּרָכָה «sie segnet»? Es könnte auch בְּרָכָה «Teich» heissen, aber in den meisten Fällen wird es aus dem Zusammenhang klar sein, ob es sich um Segen, segnen oder um Teich handelt, sodass diese dritte Möglichkeit dahinfällt. Denn sicher hat die Masora mit ihren ersten Zeichen nicht alle theoretisch möglichen, sondern nur die praktisch naheliegenden irrigten Lesungen aus-

schalten wollen. Schrieb man nun בִּרְכָה, so hiess es בִּרְכָה, schrieb man aber בִּרְכָה, so hiess es בִּרְכָה. Auch hier und in allen ähnlichen Fällen behebt ein einfaches einzelnes Zeichen dadurch, dass es an der richtigen Stelle steht, jeden naheliegenden Zweifel. Man schreibe sich einmal ein paar Zeilen der Bibel nur mit den Konsonanten und mit diesem Unterscheidungszeichen. Man wird dann sehen, wie gross die Tragweite diesen einzigen Zeichens ist.

Aber wenn wir die vier behandelten Wörter מִלְכָּתִי, מִלְכָּתִי, בִּרְכָה, בִּרְכָה nebeneinanderreihen, welches ist dann die Stelle, wohin das Zeichen gesetzt wird? Die Antwort darauf darf nicht gelehrt und nicht verwickelt sein, denn die ersten Masoreten waren keine verzwickten Köpfe, sondern sie muss einfach sein. Sie ist einfach. Das Schwa wurde zuerst unter denjenigen Konsonanten gesetzt, auf den kein Vokal folgt. Mit diesem einfachen Verfahren war die Unterscheidung der oben gegebenen Beispiele und der ungemein vielen Fälle, die ihnen gleich sind, erreicht. Man muss sich also als erste Stufe der Masora einen Text vorstellen, der aus nichts besteht als aus den Konsonanten und den vereinzelt Schwa, die der eben gegebenen Regel gemäss sind. Ähnlich findet man arabische Handschriften und Drucke, die nichts enthalten als den Konsonantentext und, wo die Lesung zweifelhaft ist, vereinzelte Vokale.

In der Orthographie besteht immer die Neigung, ein Zeichen, das zunächst nur in dringend der Unterscheidung und Kennzeichnung bedürftigen Fällen gesetzt wird, häufiger anzuwenden und es auch da zu setzen, wo es wenig oder garnicht erforderlich ist. So gibt es arabische Handschriften, in denen « a ġezma is placed even over the letters of prolongation and over the alif maḳṣūra » (Wright, 1,13). In einer zweiten Phase der Masora, die ebenfalls noch nur Konsonanten und Schwa kennt, wird gemäss dieser Neigung das Schwa unter alle Konsonanten gesetzt, auf die kein Vokal folgt : וִלְכָדוּ = וִלְכָדוּ, usw.

Nur unter den Schlusskonsonanten eines Wortes setzt man kein Schwa  $\text{גַּב} = \text{גֶּב}$ . Dabei gelten für die Masoreten, was leicht zu verstehen ist, die Reduktionsvokale — also das, was wir Schwa mobile und Chatefvokale nennen — nicht als Vokale. Vokale sind für sie nur Vollvokale. Sie schreiben also nun  $\text{חֶמֶר}$  für  $\text{חֶמֶר}$ ,  $\text{אֶמֶת}$  für  $\text{אֶמֶת}$ , usw. Man wird gestehen müssen, dass als andeutende Schrift dieses Verfahren grosse Vorzüge hat. Auch möge man beobachten, dass selbst noch in Kahle's Biblia Hebraica in manchen Fällen ein Chatef bald steht, bald nicht steht. Dieselbe Schwankung findet sich in den Handschriften. Das Ursprüngliche ist dann immer das einfache Schwa. Alle Chatef sind nachträgliche Zusätze zur Sicherung grösserer Genauigkeit.

Schwa hat also von Haus aus und nach der Absicht der ersten Masoreten, die es einführten, immer und überall nur die einzige Aufgabe, die Vokallosgkeit des darüberstehenden Konsonanten anzudeuten. Mit diesem einfachen Verfahren war eine grosse Sicherheit der Aussprache erreicht. Erst die Grammatiker, welche zurückblickend die Gesetze der vor ihnen liegenden fertigen Masora erforschten, haben dann die Fülle der Schwa zu gliedern versucht. Auf sie geht die Scheidung zwischen lautenden und nichtlautenden, zwischen Schwa mobilia und quiescentia zurück. Diese Scheidung, also die Erkenntnis der Reduktionsvokale, ist richtig und wichtig. Aber im Blick jener ersten Masoreten, welche das Schwa einführten, hat diese Unterscheidung nicht gelegen.

Als viel später die Vollvokale durch die masoretische Punctuation mit Zeichen angegeben wurden, hätte man die Schwa wegfallen lassen können. Die syrische Vokalisation bietet ein Beispiel für eine Vokalisation ohne Bezeichnung der Reduktionsvokale. Aber die Masora hat die Schwa als ganz altes orthographisches Erbe stehen lassen. Die Erscheinung ist in Orthographien häufig, dass alte Zeichen stehen bleiben, auch wenn sie in jüngern Phasen entbehrlich wären. Durch diesen historisierenden Hang entsteht gelegentlich eine Überfülle von Zeichen.

## 5. DAS AUFGKOMMEN VON DAGESCH

Wie das Schwa und seine Gliederung ist auch das Dagesch und seine Zweiteilung in *forte* und *lene* von den ältern jüdischen Grammatikern zu den Humanisten gelangt. Dagesch *lene* findet sich (wir reden von der tiberischen Masora) in בְּנִדְכַּפֶּת, und zwar dort nur dann, wenn einem dieser Konsonanten nicht unmittelbar ein Vokal vorangeht. Man muss die Regel in dieser negativen Weise fassen, denn auch der leiseste trennende Akzent oder die geringste Zäsur nach einem mit Vokal endenden Wort genügt, um die Setzung des Dagesch nach sich zu ziehen. Dagesch *forte* steht in (fast) allen Konsonanten, wenn diese verdoppelt sind. Diese Verdoppelung möchten wir mit Praetorius und Brockelmann (bei Bergsträsser, Hebräische Grammatik, 1918, § 10 p) in allen Fällen als echte Geminatio ansehen, während Bergsträsser (ebenda, § 10 k) darüber in Zweifel bleibt. Echte Geminatio nennen wir diejenige Verdoppelung, bei der der Konsonant sowohl als Schlusskonsonant der vorangehenden, wie als Anfangskonsonant der folgenden Silbe, also tatsächlich zweimal gesprochen wird (Bergsträsser : « deutsch in sorgfältig gesprochenem » Annahme, Bettuch »). In der unechten Geminatio ist der Doppelkonsonant nur optisches Zeichen für die Kürze des vorangehenden Vokals (wie in deutsch « Wasser, Wetter, Koller, Kummer », in englisch « runner, cutting ») oder umgekehrt für die Länge des Vokals (englisch « all, tall, roller »). Zu der Annahme der echten Geminatio im Hebräischen bestimmen uns das Arabische (Teschdid) und die gleich zu erwähnenden Erscheinungen.

Wie kam es zur Einführung des Dagesch und welchem Zwecke diente es ursprünglich?

Beginnen wir mit zwei, drei Sätzen in der Gestalt von Formeln.

a) אִם « Mutter » verhält sich zu אִמּוֹ « seine Mutter » wie הֵן « siehe » zu הֵנּוּ « siehe ihn ». הֵנּוּ findet sich Nu 23,17 Hi 2,6 1 C 11,25; an der Echtheit des Textes ist nicht zu zweifeln.

b) אִם « Mutter » verhält sich zu אִמָּם « ihre Mutter » wie הֵן « siehe » zu הִנֵּם « siehe sie ». הִנֵּם steht Gn 40,6 und noch 37 mal.

c) אִם « Mutter » verhält sich zu אִמִּי « meine Mutter » wie הֵן « siehe » zu .....? Hier stockt die Antwort. Man möchte sagen : « הִנֵּי ». Aber diese Form findet sich nicht; ob aus Zufall nicht, oder aus sonst einem Grunde nicht, das kann niemand sagen. Wohl aber findet sich Gn 6,13 und noch recht oft הִנֵּנִי, und dies heisst « siehe mich ».

Aber mit diesem Wort kann man tüchtige Hebraisten in Verlegenheit bringen. Denn : was ist das für ein Schwa? Ist es mobile? ist es medium? ist es quiescens? Man weiss es nicht; keine Grammatik weiss es. Und was ist das für ein Suffix? wo hat es seinesgleichen, und wie ist es zu erklären? Auch das weiss man nicht.

Die Sache ist aber einfach. Das Schwa ist ein gewöhnliches quiescens. Das Suffix ist auch ganz gewöhnlich, denn es ist nicht הֵן, sondern הֵן, wie in הִנֵּנִי. In הִנֵּנִי haben wir nichts Anderes vor uns als eine andere Schreibung von הִנֵּי, der Form, die wir oben erwartet hätten, und zwar ist die Schreibung הִנֵּנִי die ältere, ursprüngliche. Es ist ja ganz selbstverständlich, dass in der ältesten Phase der reinen Konsonantenschrift man zweierlei tat : a) man schrieb nur diejenigen Konsonanten, die man sprach (darüber haben wir oben unter 2. gehandelt) und b) man schrieb auch tatsächlich alle die Konsonanten, die man sprach. Wenn man also « kal-lāh (mit hörbarem ה ! oben 2g), rak-kāb, hin-nij » sprach, dann schrieb man auch הִנֵּנִי, רַכַּב, כַּלָּה. Das Dagesch (forte) wurde in einer auf diese Phase der Schreibung folgenden Phase dann als Abkürzungszeichen eingeführt. Man schrieb den geminierten Konsonanten nur noch ein einziges Mal und deutete die Geminatio durch einen Punkt an; also הִנֵּי, רַכַּב, כַּלָּה. Dabei gewann man zweierlei : erstens sparte man Schrift (auch alte deutsche Schriften und Drucke kennen eine ähnliche Abkürzung :

« Kaṁer, koṁen » für « Kammer, kommen », aber die neuere deutsche Orthographie verpönt dieses « Faulheitszeichen »; und zweitens vermeidet man eine Unklarheit: כַּלָּה kann auch eine andre Form sein als « kallāh », כֶּלֶה ist eindeutig.

Man kennt bis jetzt nur יִשְׁכַּר Gn 30,18 und noch 42 Mal als Fall von Doppelschreibung eines Konsonanten. Aber nicht bloss הִנְנִי tritt als weiterer Beleg hinzu. Auch הִנְנִי Ps 9,14 gehört dazu, und wohl auch הִנְנִי Ps 77,18. Besonders aber möchten wir עֲמִי Ne 9,24 und חֲקִי es. pl. Js 10,1 und חֲרִי Dt 33,15 (und noch 8 mal) und חֲרִי 1. sg. sf. Ps 30,8 Jr 17,3 und חֲרִי Gn 14,6 hier anführen. Die Beispiele sind damit keineswegs erschöpft. Eine Musterung der Formen der Verba mediae geminatae möchte noch Manches zu Tage fördern. Doch dürften die angeführten Fälle zum Beweise des Satzes genügen, dass die Verdoppelung eines Konsonanten ursprünglich durch die doppelte Schreibung des Konsonanten ausgedrückt wurde und dass man das Dagesch (forte) schon in einer frühen Phase der Masora zur Vereinfachung der Schreibung und wohl auch zur Vermeidung von Mehrdeutigkeiten einführte. Die angeführten Fälle von Doppelschreibung sind nicht Neuerungen, auch nicht Fehlschreibungen, auch nicht Nebenformen, sondern Überbleibsel aus der älteren Orthographie.

Was nun das Dagesch lene angeht, so scheint es uns, dass seine Einführung viel später erfolgte und der Sicherung einer (explosiven) Aussprache auf einer Stufe der Masora diene, wo diese sich bereits mit viel feinern Fragen des Vortrags beschäftigen konnte, weil die grossen, durchgehenden Fragen der Orthographie längst ihre Lösung gefunden hatten.

Wir brechen unsre Bemerkungen hier ab. Sie mögen im Einzelnen Irrtümer enthalten, sie mögen reicher Ergänzung durch Andre bedürfen, wenn es ihnen nur gelungen ist zu zeigen, dass man die Probleme der Masora nicht bloss von der vorliegenden Überlieferung her, sondern auch von der Bemühung um Einblick in ihre stufenweise Entstehung aus anfassen muss; dann ist ihr Zweck erreicht,





# ON BIBLICAL HYPOSTASES OF WISDOM

RALPH MARCUS

University of Chicago

## I

TWO aspects of present-day study of ancient Near Eastern culture are particularly impressive. One is the great rapidity with which new documents and archeological assemblages are being discovered. The other is the great increase in the number of re-interpretations of older material which are based not only on the new discoveries but also on current anthropological and psychological theories.

It seems likely that most scholars will soon come to recognize that there are significant differences between the world-views of preliterate man and those of civilized man but that these differences are due not so much to the prevailingly pre-logical nature of primitive thought, as was held by Lévy-Bruhl and his followers, as to the differences in social structure and patterns of thought between preliterate and literate societies and to the influence of literary tradition.<sup>1</sup>

But even if such a position comes to be generally held, we shall not have solved all the problems connected with the growth of certain religious ideas and attitudes. For while we may assume with some degree of confidence that myth in primitive society had a more central place and more integrative power than did myth in civilized society, we have not yet, I think, been furnished by anthropologists, psychologists and historians

<sup>1</sup> See Heinz Werner, *Comparative Psychology of Mental Development* (Rev. ed., Chicago, 1948), 15-16.

of religion with altogether convincing explanations of the reasons for these differences.<sup>2</sup>

Among the most advanced and original interpreters of ancient Near Eastern religions have been the scholars of Scandinavia, particularly those of Lund and Uppsala, who have combined great philological learning with breadth of method. It is therefore not surprising to find these qualities in a recent study in this field by Helmer Ringgren of Uppsala<sup>3</sup>, which serves as a point of departure for the following remarks on the hypostatization and personification of certain divine attributes in biblical literature.<sup>4</sup>

Ringgren, it may be noted in passing, regards his study as a contribution to the larger subject of the origin of monotheism. In explicit disagreement with members of the « evolutionistic school of comparative religion » he does not believe that monotheism is a final stage of religious development but that polytheism has often followed primitive monotheism, largely as

<sup>2</sup> A beginning has been made by Bronislaw Malinowski, See, for example, his *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*, ed. by Robert Redfield (Boston and Glencoe, 1948), the theme of which, as he writes himself (p. 74) is « that an intimate connection exists between the word, the myths, the sacred tales of a tribe on the one hand, and their ritual acts, their moral deeds, their social organization and their practical activities on the other. » The social conditioning of the individual's thinking, especially the primitive individual's, is also stressed by Cassirer, Durkheim, George Herbert Mead and a good many other philosophers of the recent past.

<sup>3</sup> *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund, 1947).

<sup>4</sup> This subject has recently been discussed by a number of scholars, who are listed in Ringgren's remarkably comprehensive bibliography of about 25 pages. Among them are Baumgartner, Bertholet, Blecker, Boström, Box, Brock-Utne, Ceuppens, Drioton, Duesberg, Dürr, Eissfeldt, Hamp, Heinisch, W. L. Knox, Van der Leeuw, G. F. Moore, Moret, Mowinkel, Nielsen, Norden, Reitzenstein, A. Robert, Schencke, Scholem, Söderblom, Story, Vaccari, Widengren. I must confess that I have not independently consulted more than half of these authorities.

a result of the hypostatization of divine qualities and functions (pp. 7-8).

In accord with Oesterley-Box and Mowinkel<sup>5</sup>, he defines hypostasis as

a quasi-personification of certain attributes proper to God, occupying an intermediate position between personalities and abstract beings ... In fact there are cases when a divine quality is spoken of as an independent entity without it being personified, and I should like to use the term 'hypostasis' in these cases as well. But it should also be kept in mind that the result of a personification is not always an hypostasis; it may very well be an allegory or a poetical metaphor.

After giving this not too fully articulated definition of the elusive central concept, Ringgren proceeds to discuss hypostases in Egyptian religion (chap. I), in Sumero-Akkadian religion (chap. II), in West Semitic religion (chap. III), in the Old Testament and later Judaism (chap. IV) and in pre-Islamic Arab religion (chap. V). Since our present concern is chiefly with biblical hypostases, I shall summarize Ringgren's discussion of the other areas as briefly as possible.

In Egypt we find that Hu (*hw* « word ») and Sia (*šj*<sup>3</sup> « understanding ») were regarded as assistants to Re-Atum in the work of creation. Later they attained so high a degree of independence that they could be associated with any god. Somewhat similar is the history of the abstractions Hike (*hk*<sup>3</sup> « magic »), the fourteen Ka's of Re, and Maat (*m*<sup>3</sup>*t* « truth »). Of the last, Ringgren writes (p. 52)

A temple of Maat is known from the Middle Kingdom and from the New Kingdom. There are several instances of such temples. A goddess playing such a part in the cult may — it is true — be originally an 'abstraction'

<sup>5</sup> W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (2nd ed., London, 1911), 169; S. Mowinkel, « Hypostase », *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

or a hypostatized function, but she is not to religious thought 'an artificial function' [as Erman believes]. She is a goddess like other goddesses.

Among the well-known abstractions in Sumero-Akkadian religion are *Mēšaru* « righteousness » and *Kēttu* « right », which Ringgren tells us (p. 58)

are sometimes conceived only as qualities of the sun-god, or as gifts granted by him, and sometimes in a more concrete way as personal beings, even independent deities. This is a very characteristic feature, typical of what we call hypostases. Even as real deities *Mēšaru* and *Kettu* are characterized by a certain vagueness.

In addition to these Mesopotamian examples of hypostatized divine qualities which resulted in the creation of completely new gods, there are, according to Ringgren, instances of purely poetic personifications and « hypostases in the making » such as the abstractions « success, vigor, wealth » and the like qualities associated with *Nusku*.

With the Semites of Syria and pre-Israelite Palestine, about whose religion we have recently learned a great deal from the Ugaritic texts, Ringgren deals in chapter III. He suggests (p. 78) that in lines 6-8 of the Ugaritic text published by Virolleaud in *Syria* 20, pp. 129 ff. (Nr. 107 in Gordon's *Ugaritic Handbook*) the words *ḥnn 'il* « the grace of El », *nsbt 'il* « the firmness (?) of El » and *šlm 'il* « the peace of El » are probably personified or hypostatized qualities of El. He does not, however, agree with T. H. Gaster in regarding *šdk* and *yšr* « righteousness and right » in *Keret* i. 12-13 as divine hypostases. As for the daughters of Baal, who are named *Pdry Tly* and *'Aršy*, and were originally nothing but functions of Baal, they seem to have had a cult of their own.

There is little material for Ringgren's thesis in Pre-Islamic Arabia with which he deals in chapter V except for the concept of *Manat* « Fate », represented as a daughter of Allah. The author suggests (p. 185) that

Manat is Allah's aspect of Fate split off from its originator and developed into a self-existent goddess.

## II

Having briefly sketched the contents of the chapters which discuss the hypostases of divine qualities among the peoples surrounding the ancient Israelites, we may now turn to Ringgren's discussion in chapter IV, the longest in the book (pp. 89-171), on « Wisdom and Other Hypostases in the Old Testament and in Later Judaism ». His theories about biblical abstractions and personifications and his general conclusions are the main concern of this paper.

The author does well to remind us (p. 89) that the biblical concept of personified wisdom is not uniform and that various writers differed about the nature and function of *Hokmah*. He quotes (p. 95) with approval the remark of Strahan<sup>6</sup> that the writer of Job c. 28 « if he had been asked whether Wisdom was personal or impersonal would have had difficulty in answering. »

Similarly he finds (p. 119) that in the Wisdom of Solomon

It is apparent that the author's doctrine of wisdom is no carefully prepared and non-contradictory philosophic doctrine. Wisdom has an obscure position between personal being and principle. She is both, and she is neither the one nor the other.

Concerning the treatment of wisdom (Ethiopic *təbab*) in the apocryphal book of Enoch, Ringgren endorses (p. 122) the judgment of Hackspill<sup>7</sup> that « the idea of Wisdom is placed successively in the categories of divine attribute, of personification and hypostasis without being fixed in any of them. »

After carefully examining (pp. 128-149) various theories

<sup>6</sup> J. Strahan, *The Book of Job* (Edinburgh, 1913).

<sup>7</sup> L. Hackspill, « Études sur le milieu religieux et intellectuel contemporain du Nouveau Testament », *Revue Biblique* 9-11 (1900-1902).

concerning foreign influences on the biblical concept of Wisdom, Ringgren rejects the notion of an identity between *Hokmah* and the Mesopotamian, Iranian and Egyptian counterparts but he grants that «in certain details motifs can be traced which have been adopted from some god of wisdom.»

He devotes particular attention to the supposed resemblance of *Hokmah* to the Iranian Vohu Manah and comes to the conclusion that the two concepts are quite different in spite of many resemblances in detail. (Parenthetically it may be added that he could have strengthened the case against the close likeness of the two personifications if he had followed out the linguistic history of the Iranian word *xratu* which is associated with Vohu Manah and, according to Ringgren<sup>8</sup>, agrees very closely with O. T. *Hokmah*. If he had done this, he would have discovered that in the Armenian translations of Greek philosophical and theological writings the cognate *xrat* is regularly used to render *paideia* which, like the biblical *mūsār*, means «discipline» rather than «wisdom.») His further conclusion, however, is that

it is impossible to find among the Amesha Spentas a definite prototype of Wisdom. If we should have a parallel or a prototype, it is above all a typological and phenomenological one, and there is nothing to indicate a higher degree of historical dependence.

While admitting some resemblances between biblical Wisdom and the Mesopotamian Ishtar and Egyptian-Hellenistic Isis, Ringgren argues that these resemblances do not indicate wholly foreign origin. Instead, he suggests, in agreement with Widengren<sup>9</sup>, that the hypostatization of God's wisdom, associated with his glory and creative power, is the origin of the later biblical figure of *Hokmah*, though foreign influence may

<sup>8</sup> Following H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, trans. by H. H. Schaeder (Leipzig, 1938) = *MVAG* 43.

<sup>9</sup> G. Widengren, *Religionens värld. Religionsfenomenologiska studier och översikter* (Uppsala and Stockholm, 1945).



be detected in some mythological details, as shown particularly by Boström<sup>10</sup>, who stresses the features borrowed from the cult of Ishtar. These Mesopotamian influences reappear in various Gnostic concepts of *Sophia*, according to Ringgren.

As for the Egyptian origin of late biblical Wisdom, principally advocated by Reitzenstein<sup>11</sup> and Knox<sup>12</sup>, Ringgren again admits some resemblances in detail between *Hokmah* and the late Egyptian Isis, who had taken over some of the powers earlier ascribed to Thoth. But again he rejects the notion that *Hokmah* is wholly or largely of Egyptian origin, and he concludes (p. 149) the section on foreign influences as follows :

... it is not necessary to assume an Egyptian prototype of the figure of Wisdom in Job and Proverbs. But it is probable that the self-praise of Isis has been known to the author of Sirach and he has intended to make the self-praise of Wisdom in Chap. 24 an Israelitic counterpart to the Egyptian and to show that Israelitic Wisdom possessed the merits for which Isis was praised. ...

To sum up : we have as the origin of personal Wisdom a hypostatization of a divine function. The hypostasis has by and by developed into a personal being in adopting traits from Mesopotamian and perhaps general oriental and ancient Israelitic mythology. In the book of Sirach, written in Hellenistic Egypt [*sic!*], we found the influence of Isis propaganda. And in the Book of Wisdom, which claims to be more philosophic, there are traces of Greek philosophy.

Since this paper is not primarily concerned with the other hypostases, such as Word and Spirit, discussed by the author

<sup>10</sup> N. G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien. Die Weisheit und das fremde Weib in Spr. 1-9* (Lund, 1935) = Lund Universitets årsskrift N. F. Avd. 1, Bd. 30:3.

<sup>11</sup> R. Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen nach ungedruckten Texten etc.* (Strassburg, 1901).

<sup>12</sup> W. L. Knox, « The Divine Wisdom », *Journal of Theological Studies* 38 (1937), 230-237.



in the latter part of chap. IV, we shall pass on to his Conclusion (pp. 190-193), of which the following statements are most relevant to the themes of this critique :

The phenomena that have been the subject of our investigation may be grouped into two main categories : 1. divine qualities and functions, which have been freed from their source of origin and owner, and become independent deities, and 2. cult names of some god or goddess, which, as time went on, were conceived as names of particular deities. ...

In Israelitic religion and in Islam the strict monotheistic belief did not allow the hypostases to become real deities. In other religions, where this obstacle is not extant, nothing prevents the creation of new gods in this way. ...

But there is also another current in the history of religion, which crosses the tendency towards « Götterspaltung, » that of « Göttervereinigung » by fusion of two or more deities into one, or by conceiving several divine beings as different forms of the same deity. ...

Thus we have obtained further conviction that the evolutionistic theory of a uniform development from belief in mana to monotheism does not hold good. The life of religion is of such variety that it cannot be contained in one formula. The course of development must be judged from case to case. But as a result of our investigation we may certainly maintain that the hypostatization of divine functions has played a considerable part in the origin and growth of polytheism.

### III

The foregoing is the barest outline of the theories which Ringgren has expounded with notable objectivity and impressive philological learning. In the following section I shall comment briefly on two points of his discussion of Wisdom in late biblical literature on which I think that a different interpretation leads to a partial revision of one of his main conclusions.

In his discussion (pp. 95-106) of the hypostatization of Wisdom in the book of Proverbs, Ringgren naturally gives special attention to the passage, viii. 22-31, beginning

יהוה קנני ראשית דרכו

After commenting on the meaning of the key-words, Ringgren concludes (p. 104) that

Wisdom is here not an abstraction or a purely poetic personification but a concrete being, self-existent beside God.

He then notes that in Proverbs ix. 13-18 «the foolish woman» appears as Wisdom's rival and opposite number, and goes on to say that

the description of this adversary of Wisdom reminds us very strongly of the «foreign woman» (אשה זרה) against whom there is a warning in other passages in Prov. 1-9.

This figure of the «foolish» or «foreign» woman probably reflects some features of the Ishtar cult, as Ringgren, following Boström, is inclined to believe. But the mythological associations of Wisdom's rival should not prevent us from recognizing that «the foreign woman» is a poetic personification of pagan idolatry and foreign culture, contrasted with the Israelite way of life. No other interpretation of this contrast between the two personifications makes equally good sense in the light of Israelite Wisdom literature and the history of ancient literary forms. On some other occasion I hope to deal with the theme of The Allegory of Two Women. Here it may suffice to recall that the personifications of Wisdom and Folly or Vice and Virtue and the like as contrasted women, the one beautiful and simple, the other ugly and painted, appear in a number of ancient pagan and Jewish or Christian writers, such as Empedocles, Prodicus (*apud* Xenophon), Aeschylus, Philo, Paul, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian and Hermas. But, quite apart from

these parallels, it seems clear from the context of the book of Proverbs itself that the opposite number of « the foolish woman » is Wisdom and that Wisdom is just as fully a poetic personification as is « the foolish woman. »

Moreover, these passages in the book of Proverbs seem clearly to be in line with the later explicit identification (as in Sirach) of *Hokmah* with Torah. And the fact that in Proverbs viii. 30 Wisdom is called 'ummān « artisan »<sup>13</sup> not only does not invalidate but actually confirms the interpretation of Wisdom as a poetic personification. Finally, we may appeal to the same rabbinic testimony which Ringgren himself cites in this connection, namely the famous passage at the beginning of the Midrash Bereshit Rabba, in which Rabbi Oshaya interpreted אֱמֹן as אֱמֹן « architect » or « artisan. » « In the same way the Holy One, blessed be He, looked into the Torah [here identified with *Hokmah*] and then created the world. »

In one sense, of course, Wisdom is hypostatized in this passage of the book of Proverbs. But if we are to distinguish between significant hypostatization leading to the creation of an independent deity and mere poetic personification, as Ringgren himself does in some instances, then I see no justification for failing to make such a distinction here. Certainly there are many passages in rabbinic literature in which Torah is just as concretely personified as is *Hokmah* in Proverbs viii. 22-31, and yet, I imagine, Ringgren would hesitate to say that Torah « is here not an abstraction or a purely poetic personification but a concrete being, self-existent beside God ».

There is another conclusion reached by the author (p. 110) which, it seems to me, should be revised. The verse in Sirach iv. 14 « they who serve her [Wisdom] serve the Holy One » is interpreted to mean that « Wisdom is obviously the equivalent of God. » This interpretation is something of a non-sequitur.

<sup>13</sup> I follow Ringgren in correcting Masoretic חֲכָמָה to חֲכָמָה; the latter reading is, as he notes, supported by the description of Wisdom as πάντων τεχνίτης in Wis. Sol. vii. 21,

In view of Sirach's repeated statements that one finds true wisdom only in the Torah, it seems clear that the meaning of this verse is that they who study and observe the Torah are serving God, the giver of Torah. But this is rather different from seeing in Wisdom «an equivalent» of God. The author of Sirach is merely saying that Wisdom is the channel through which God and man come into relation as master and servant.

Although, as we have seen, Ringgren has no hesitation in saying that the strict monotheism of Israel did not allow hypostases to become real gods, he does regard some of the passages in biblical and apocryphal Wisdom literature as presenting concrete hypostatizations of Wisdom, whereas he regards others as poetic personifications and metaphors. His willingness to recognize a variety of attitudes on the part of ancient Israelite writers is commendable. In general the scholar who shows awareness of fluidity and diversity in a culture is a more reliable guide than one who insists on finding rigid uniformity and consistency.

But in this particular case, that is, in the case of biblical Wisdom literature, we are dealing with the work of a particular group of thinkers, all of whom seem to have regarded the Torah as the embodiment of divine Wisdom and the pattern of human wisdom. For this reason I think that Ringgren would have stood on firmer ground, methodologically speaking, if he had concluded that Wisdom in late biblical literature is essentially and uniformly a poetic personification.

#### IV

In the concluding section of this paper I should like to place the problem of the personification of Wisdom in broader perspective. Taking Ringgren's monograph (for which I have high regard and from which I have learned much) as a point of departure, I should like to consider briefly two larger problems which are intimately related to the problem of

hypostatization : (1) the various levels of monotheism and polytheism; (2) the relation of Israelite conceptions of divine personality to those of other ancient peoples.

In one sense « monotheism » and « polytheism » are simple and conveniently contrasted terms<sup>14</sup>. But historians of religion and ethnopsychologists ought to distinguish more carefully between primitive (in both the chronological and genetic senses) levels of monotheism and polytheism on the one hand and more sophisticated levels of monotheism and polytheism on the other. It is noteworthy that Ringgren (p. 192) mentions only the Israelite religion and Islam as examples of « strict monotheism that did not allow the hypostases to become real deities. » Perhaps, if pressed, he would include Christianity. At any rate, the theologians in the main stream of Christian thought have always vigorously and ingeniously argued that the three Persons of the Trinity constitute a single divine being. And yet in the popular, unlearned stratum of Catholic Christianity there has been an unconscious tendency to return to older patterns of belief and worship in substituting a Father-Mother-Son triad for the Trinity of the theologians, that is, by emotionally elevating the Virgin Mary to the place doctrinally assigned to the Holy Spirit.

Such an unwitting « polytheism » would not, of course, be admitted by the doctors of the Church but to non-Catholic historians of religion it would, I think, appear as an undeniable fact. And yet these same impartial authorities should be the first to admit that this popular Catholic « polytheism » is significantly different from the polytheism of the Sumerians and Egyptians and even the ancient Greeks. To this difference

<sup>14</sup> If, of course, we bear in mind the caveat of a linguistic psychologist like W. F. Leopold, « Semantic Learning in Infant Language, » *Word* 4 (1948), 173, « But it must also be emphasized that many of the working concepts of adults on an everyday level are imperfectly circumscribed and differ from a child's concepts only in degree of vagueness, »

we may apply the statement made by Heinz Werner in another connection<sup>15</sup> :

We may conclude that the « constancy fallacy » in any trait theory consists of two main factual errors. It neglects the fact that two seemingly identical traits, depending on the context of the two different cultures in which they are found, may have varying functional meanings. And further, two traits, although morphologically at variance, may function identically in two different cultures.

One might convincingly argue that even in popular Judaism of the rabbinic period (though to a far smaller extent than in the period of the Kingdom, when the prophets were kept busy denouncing Israelite-Canaanite syncretism) there are partially concealed traces of « polytheism. » But here, again, we are dealing only with morphological parallels to primitive polytheism.

For these reasons historians of religion should, it seems to me, always qualify their use of the terms « monotheism » and « polytheism » or, better still, devise more accurate terminology to describe the evolution, whether progressive or regressive, of ideas of God within a particular culture.

Moreover, it is important to try to account for the fact that personified Wisdom did not develop into a concrete deity among the Jews of the post-exilic period. Of course, one may try to account for this fact by saying, as Ringgren does, that such a development was prevented by the « strict monotheism » of the Israelites. But one would like to know further why they were so strictly monotheistic and also in what ways their monotheism was related to the personification (not full hypostatization) of Wisdom.

Perhaps the answers can be found along the following lines. The post-exilic Israelite community was unusually homogeneous and as a whole was greatly under the influence of the nomo-

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* (see Note 1 above), 13,



cratic ideas of the ruling class of priests and jurists in Jerusalem. This resulted in an educational system which, more nearly than any other ancient system, approached our modern western ideal of universal education. Consequently, through indoctrination in school and synagogue, the adult population grew up to respect and observe the Mosaic law and its prophetic development. Furthermore, the Israelite intellectuals were consistently devoted to the task of showing the people that Torah was not only the sum of human wisdom but was also the revelation of divine wisdom. Because, therefore, *Hokmah* was not only a divine quality but also the ideal of a human quality, which was to be realized in practical form, it never became sufficiently detached from either God or the Torah to become a concrete hypostasis and the occasion of a polytheistic development.

In general we may say that one of the consistent traits of late biblical speculation was the bleaching out of mythology in all forms of Judaism. In may be, as Ringgren and other believe, that *Hokmah* in the book of Proverbs and in Sirach reflects some attributes of Ishtar and Isis. But this no more proves polytheistic tendencies in Wisdom literature than Philo's frequent use of the terminology of the pagan mystery-cults proves his sympathy for pagan religion.

Moreover, even if we agree with Ringgren and others of his school that the hypostatization of divine qualities often leads to polytheism, we must add the important qualification that only those divine qualities are likely to be hypostatized which are associated with a special kind of divine personality. If a particular deity is a very powerful and complex personality, like Yahweh, it is extremely unlikely that his qualities and attributes will ever acquire enough personality of their own to be considered independent deities.

It is probably only a seeming paradox that the Israelites who went beyond all other ancient peoples of western Asia and Europe in supposing the difference between God and man to be very great had, at the same time, a feeling of closer personal



relation to God than did any of the same peoples. As I have elsewhere ventured to phrase the contrast between Yahweh and, for example, the Greek gods<sup>16</sup>,

... while Zeus and the other Greek gods are visible and knowable, they are humanly remote and seen, as it were, through glass. Yahweh is hidden in a mist or a cloud or a whirlwind, but he is known as a person.

The contrast between Yahweh and the gods of ancient Near Eastern peoples is even greater. The worshipper of Amon-Re, for example, knew what his god looked like, what food he ate, what clothes he wore, who his relatives were and what part he played in creation and natural history. But knowing all this, he knew very little about Amon-Re's personality. But the Israelite, who knew nothing of such external and biographical details about Yahweh, knew or thought he knew a great deal about Yahweh's innermost thoughts and feelings. This was one of the main reasons why Yahweh's attributes were never fully hypostatized.

<sup>16</sup> « Job and God, » *Review of Religion* 14 (1949-50), 29 n. 42,



## SOME PASSAGES BEARING ON THE DATE OF SECOND ISAIAH

THEOPHILE J. MEEK

University of Toronto

IN the year 1928 the eminent and highly revered Semitic scholar, Charles Cutler Torrey, published a book that was unique for its time, *The Second Isaiah : A New Interpretation*. For years biblical criticism had been breaking up the book of Isaiah into smaller and smaller fragments, but in his treatment Professor Torrey argued that Isa. 34, 35, 40-66 was the work of a single author, and so convincing were his arguments on this particular point that I personally was ready to follow him, but a serious obstacle loomed up when he proceeded to date all this material in the Persian period, «not long after the year 407 » (p. 109). This could only be done by the emendation of a considerable number of passages and that led me to a critical examination of those passages. It is that examination which is the subject of this paper.

### 1. Isa. 41:2a

The first passage to be examined is Isa. 41:2a. This would seem to be a very simple line, but it is remarkable how scholars differ in their translation of it. The revised version of the Jewish Publication Society, edited by Max Margolis, reads as follows :

Who hath raised up one from the east,  
At whose steps victory attendeth?

Very similar are the translations of Gesenius, Ewald, Delitzsch,

Dillman, Cheyne,<sup>1</sup> Duhm, Marti, Staerk, König, Haller, Skinner Box, Wade, McFadyen, Glazebrook, Kent, Levy, Moffatt, and Gordon. This long array of scholars all make צדק nominative; they explain יקראהו as due to the confusion of קרה, «to meet», with קרא, «to call»; and they give the preposition ל in לרננו locative force. All of this is most questionable and Torrey is quite right in rejecting it.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, is he right in his own interpretation? Following the Greek, Syriac, Vulgate, and Targum, he maintains that צדק has to be taken with the first stich as the object of העיר, and like the Authorized Version and Budde in Kautzsch's *Die heilige Schriften des Alten Testaments* he follows the Vulgate in reading the adjective צדיק in place of the noun צדק.<sup>3</sup> Hence his translation (p. 228): «Who aroused from the east a righteous one, | summoning him to his service?» (variant p. 311, «summoning him to follow»<sup>4</sup>). The line as it stands in Kittel's edition is clearly 3:3 metrically. To transfer צדק from the second stich to the first is to make the line 4:2 and I fail to see how Torrey can properly make it 3:3. To do this he has to take the two separate, distinct words מי העיר together as a single beat and he has to give the one word יקראהו two beats. Both procedures are exceedingly questionable and they make what is simple and plain very far-fetched. It

<sup>1</sup> By 1888 Cheyne in *The Prophecies of Isaiah* had changed his translation to «Who hath stirred up from the sun-rising (the man) whom Righteousness calleth to follow him?» Cf. Sidney Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL-LV: Literary Criticism and History* (1944), p. 49, «Who raised up from the east one whom 'the right' came to his feet to meet?»

<sup>2</sup> His rejection is due in part to «victory» as the translation of צדק, which he says on p. 314 is indefensible, but in his note on 51:5, p. 398, he says that this meaning is a characteristic one for צדק in Second Isaiah.

<sup>3</sup> However, it is not certain that the Vulgate did have צדיק; Jerome may have translated צדק by «justum», as he did also in 45:8, simply to emphasize the Messianic interpretation of the passage: so Edward J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah*, II (1943), 30.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted that when Torrey translates a passage in different parts of his book they are seldom identical.

is true that העיר must have an object, but is that object not the clause beginning with צדק? The word צדק itself is clearly used in the adverbial accusative of manner.<sup>5</sup> It is strange that Torrey did not see this because he draws particular attention to Second Isaiah's use of the adverbial accusative<sup>6</sup> and notes several examples which scholars have universally overlooked. In fact, he notes two examples in our verse, viz., קשתו and הרבו. In further support of his emendation of צדק to צדיק he explains the Massoretic text as due to the influence of 42:6 and 45:13, but these two references should have shown him that צדק in 41:2 is the exact equivalent of בצדק in 42:6 and 45:13, where we have the same two verbs קרא and העיר. This proves conclusively that צדק in 41:2a is in the adverbial accusative and the translation of the line without question is « Who has aroused in<sup>7</sup> the east | one whom he calls in righteousness to his service? »<sup>8</sup> Torrey's emendation would seem to be due to the fact that he can make צדיק refer to Abraham, whereas the text as it stands manifestly refers to Cyrus and is thus regularly interpreted.<sup>9</sup> This means that 41:2 must be dated in the exilic and not the Persian period.

## 2. Isa. 43:14b

Another passage bearing on the date of Second Isaiah is 43:14b, where the presence of נבבל and נשרים clearly dates the passage in the exilic period. Torrey, however, deletes the two words and so can put the verse in the Persian period. The line

<sup>5</sup> Both Skinner and Levy question this, but without justification.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., *op. cit.*, p. 314 f.

<sup>7</sup> מן here is better interpreted as expressing relationship in space, as in Josh. 11:3, rather than separation.

<sup>8</sup> So similarly R. V. and more literally for the last phrase: « Who hath raised up one from the east, whom he calleth in righteousness to his foot? »

<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the Targum, Rashi, D. Qimhi, Calvin, and Kissane, like Torrey, see a reference to Abraham.

as it stands is a perfect example of the tristich, 3:3:3, which Torrey himself notes as of frequent occurrence in Second Isaiah.<sup>10</sup> To delete the two offending words, בָּבֶל and כַּשְׂדִּים, is to make the line irregular, 2:3:2. Hence there is nothing in the meter to support Torrey's emendation, but everything to oppose it. Furthermore, his emendation turns poetry into prose; the meter is irregular and parallelism is altogether lacking, as is apparent in his translation (p. 46): «For your sake I will send, | and bring all the fugitives, | exulting, in their ships.» On page 234 he translates somewhat differently, «For your sake I will send, | and cause all the fugitives to embark, | with shouts of rejoicing, in their ships.» It is true that the line has occasioned difficulty to the commentators, with Duhm, Marti, Box, Skinner, Haller, and others giving it up as hopeless, but it is really not so difficult. The verb הוֹרִיד, «to bring down», is to be understood as used in the sense of «to cast down, to cut down, to destroy», just as it is in Isa. 10:13; 63:6; Ps. 56:8; 59:12; or it may be understood as an ellipsis for הוֹרִיד לַשָּׂאוֹי (cf. e.g., Isa. 5:14; 14:11; Ezek. 31:16; Ps. 55:24) with the same meaning.<sup>11</sup> The noun בְּרִיחִים is to be taken as another instance of the adverbial accusative, «as fugitives», and the *waw* with כַּשְׂדִּים is explicative, «namely.» In the last two words we have a compound expression, with the suffix attached to the second element, as regularly in Hebrew, but belonging to the compound as a whole;<sup>12</sup> hence not «in the ships of their joy», but «in their ships of joy,» or more freely, «in their pleasure ships.» Thus the whole line reads quite smoothly and with good sense, «For your sake I have sent to Babylon, | and I will bring them all down as fugitives, | namely, the Chaldeans, in their pleasure ships.»<sup>13</sup> That is, the

<sup>10</sup> See *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.

<sup>11</sup> For ellipsis as characteristic of Second Isaiah see Torrey, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>12</sup> See T. J. Meek, *JBL*, LXVII (1948), 239.

<sup>13</sup> So similarly R. V., «For your sake I have sent to Babylon, |

verse is a prediction of the overthrow of Babylon preparatory to the release of the Hebrews described in the following verses and there seems to be no good reason for any deletion.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Isa. 44:28

Another passage that conflicts with Torrey's date for Second Isaiah is 44:28, and he gets rid of the difficulty by deleting the whole verse. It is true that vs. 28b has long been suspect, but the fact that Duhm, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti, and others have regarded the line as secondary is no argument for making the whole verse secondary. In fact, if the verse is considered in the light of its context, its secondary character pretty much disappears. The whole context runs as follows :

	האמר לירושלם תושב	26b
וחרבותיה אקומם	ולערי יהודה תבנינה	26c
ונהרתוך אויבי	האמר לצולה חרבי	27
ובל-חפצי ישלם	האמר לכורש רעי	28a
והיכל תוסד	ולאמר לירושלם תבנה	28b

It is to be noted immediately that vs. 26b lacks a stich and that vs. 28b, where we should of course read האמר for לאמר with the Greek and Vulgate, is strikingly similar to vs. 26b and must be a variant reading of it.<sup>15</sup> This means that the stich which is lacking in vs. 26b must be taken from vs. 28b, and when that is done everything is in order :

and I will bring down all of them as fugitives, | even the Chaldeans, in the ships of their rejoicing.»

<sup>14</sup> On p. 49 Torrey maintains that ברח , « to flee », could scarcely be applied to the deliverance of the Hebrews from Babylonia, but on p. 339 he says that the prophet uses the word here and in 48:20 « simply in order to carry out his much-used parallel with the deliverance from Egypt : see the verses which immediately follow. That no real flight was thought of is sufficiently evident from 48:20; 52:12; 60:9; 49:22; 66:20, etc. This is merely a literary touch. » Hence בריחים cannot be used as an argument against the text as it stands in 43:14.

<sup>15</sup> So also Duhm, Marti, Box, Skinner, McFadyen, and others.



Who says of Jerusalem, « She shall be repeopled » ;  
 and of the temple, <sup>16</sup> « It shall be refounded » ;  
 And of the cities of Judah, « They shall be rebuilt,  
 and its ruins I will restore » ;  
 Who says to the deep, « Be dry !  
 Yea, I will dry up your streams » ;  
 Who says of Cyrus, « My shepherd,  
 the one <sup>17</sup> who shall fulfil all my pleasure. »

The passage is a perfect example of the 3:2 meter; it is beautifully expressed and reaches its proper climax in vs. 28b. Hence there is no good reason for the deletion of the whole verse or any part of it, and once again Torrey's date receives a severe jolt.

#### 4. Isa. 45:1a

The famous passage, Isa. 45:1a, is another that runs severely counter to Torrey's thesis, and once again he has to make a deletion. This time he deletes לְכוּרֶשׁ, almost wholly on metrical grounds, but the text as it stands in Kittel's edition is a perfect 3:3 line. It is true that it is a bit long, but if there is anything that ought to be omitted in the line, it is the unnecessary relative particle אֲשֶׁר and not לְכוּרֶשׁ. In like situations elsewhere in Hebrew poetry אֲשֶׁר is almost always omitted, and should probably be omitted here, just as Torrey omits it, for example, in 55:11a. In deleting לְכוּרֶשׁ Torrey has to give אֲשֶׁר a beat and he does this nowhere else so far as I have been able to discover. For example, he does not give it a beat in 41:9; 47:15; 55:11; 58:2; 62:8; 66:1, 13, 22; and 45:1 is no whit different. In Hebrew poetry אֲשֶׁר may or may not be given a beat, but this is not at the whim of the poet; it is governed by rule. Since parallelism in thought is basic to Hebrew poetry,

<sup>16</sup> Note the ellipsis of the preposition here, which is so common in Second Isaiah: see Torrey, *op. cit.*, e.g., p. 317, in his note on 41:15.

<sup>17</sup> Another instance of the explicative use of *waw*, lit., « namely. »

the balancing units have to be thought units. Hence each foot must express an idea, a thought; each stress unit must be a thought unit. Accordingly אֲשֶׁר can only be a stress unit when it is a thought unit, and it can only be that when it is determinative, like the Old Akkadian determinative or explicative pronoun *šu*.<sup>18</sup> When אֲשֶׁר is explicative, it expresses an idea in itself and hence is to be stressed as a foot, as in the tristich, 3:3:3, in Isa. 51:23, «I will put it in the hand of your tormentors, | those who said to you (אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ לְנַפְשְׁךָ), | ‘Bow down that we may pass’ ». Another example is Isa. 50:10, where the meter is 3:2, «Who among you fears Yahweh, | heeds his servant, || him who walked in darkness (אֲשֶׁר הֵלֵךְ חֹשֶׁכִּים), | without any light, || trusting in the name of Yahweh, | leaning on his God? »<sup>19</sup> In both instances אֲשֶׁר is explicative and so expresses an idea. On the other hand, when אֲשֶׁר is purely relative, as it usually is, requiring a suffix or another word to complete it, the particle does not express an idea in itself and hence cannot be a foot. That is the case in Isa. 45:1; אֲשֶׁר is completed by the suffix of בְּיָמִינוּ; the one word completes the other and hence the two cannot be given beats. The deletion of לְכֹרֶשׁ spoils the meter, and it also spoils the parallelism. As emended by Torrey, the line is nothing but prose: «Thus says Yahweh to his anointed, whose right hand I have grasped.» On the other hand, the text as it stands is poetry, marked by climactic or ascending parallelism: «Thus says Yahweh to his anointed, | to Cyrus whose right hand I have grasped.» Hence there would seem to be nothing in the text to suggest any emendation and לְכֹרֶשׁ remains an integral part of it. By deleting לְכֹרֶשׁ Torrey is able to identify מְשִׁיחוֹ, «his anointed,» with the Hebrew nation and put the passage in the Persian period, but that clashes with the statement in vss. 4 and 5 that the

<sup>18</sup> For this pronoun see, e.g., A. Ungnad, *ZDMG*, LXIX (1915), 379 ff.; T. J. Meek, «The Explicative Pronoun *šu-ša* in the Code of Hammurabi,» in the forthcoming volume, *Symbolae Hrozniý*, Part IV.

<sup>19</sup> Other examples are Lam. 1:10c; Mic. 7:20.

person addressed did not know Yahweh. Once again Torrey's emendation has to be rejected and the passage remains in the exilic period.

#### 5. Isa. 48:14

In our fifth passage, 48:14, Torrey makes several emendations. He of course has to delete **בבבל** and **בשרים**, as he did in 43:14, but he goes further than that : for **את-אלה** he reads **האל** and takes the second word with the second line. He finds support for this in the use of **זאת** elsewhere in Second Isaiah in similar contexts (e.g., 42:23; 43:9; 45:21; 48:16, 20) and in the use of **האל יהוה** in 42:5. It is true that **את-אלה** is quite unexpected : it is used nowhere else in Second Isaiah and only a few times in the whole Old Testament,<sup>20</sup> whereas **זאת** is quite common and regular. Hence Torrey may be right in his emendation of **את-אלה**. On the other hand, the very unusualness of the expression ought perhaps to give us pause. However, it matters little whether we make the change or not. It does not alter the sense at all, but it does make the meter more regular. When Torrey deletes **בבבל** and **בשרים**, he is assuredly not on such secure ground. It is true that the deletion and the emendation of **את-אלה** make the line a regular 3:3, but the deletion destroys the parallelism and turns poetry into prose : « The God Yahweh loves him ; he will execute his pleasure and his might. » It also leaves the last clause incomplete since it is not said upon whom God will execute his pleasure and his might. It is probable that **אֶהְבֵּהוּ** should be pointed as a participle, **אֶהְבֵּהוּ**, with the Greek and Old Latin, making the first clause circumstantial, with subject first and verb as participle. However, there seems to be no valid ground for deleting **בבבל** and **בשרים**. With the slight emendations suggested, the verse fits perfectly into its context, as the translation of vss. 14 and 15 shows :

<sup>20</sup> Nine times in all; viz., in Gen. 46:18, 25; Lev. 11:13, 22; 21:14; Num. 15:13; 28:23; Isa. 48:14; Ezek. 4:6.

Assemble, all of you, and listen!

Who among them foretold this?

Since the God Yahweh loves him,

he will execute his pleasure on Babylon,

his might on <sup>21</sup> Chaldea.

It was I, I who spoke, did indeed call him;

I brought him forth and I will prosper <sup>22</sup> his way.

The reference is assuredly to Cyrus and this precludes any date in the Persian period. The meter of the second line of vs. 14, reading  $\text{האֵל}$  for  $\text{אֵלֶּה}$  and taking it with that line, is 3:3:2. If we leave the text as it stands, the meter is 2:3:2. Both of these are variant forms of the 3:3 meter, as I have shown elsewhere. <sup>23</sup>

Another possible interpretation of vs. 14 is to leave  $\text{אֶת־אֵלֶּה}$  as it is, omit  $\text{יְהוָה}$  with the Greek and Old Latin, for  $\text{אֶתְּבוֹ}$  read  $\text{הִבְאוּ}$  with Klostermann and Cheyne, and for  $\text{מְרִינֹו}$  read  $\text{מְרִינֵי}$  with the Greek and Old Latin. In that case the verse would read as follows :

Assemble, all of you, and listen!

Who among them foretold these things,

Brought him in to execute his pleasure

on Babylon and the people of Chaldea?

This gives us a regular 3:3 meter, but the parallelism and the sense are not nearly so good as in our first interpretation. However, even if we accept it, a date in the Persian period is definitely precluded.

<sup>21</sup> The preposition is omitted here, but is to be understood, as so often in Second Isaiah; see Note 16 above.

<sup>22</sup> For the interpretation of the verbal form see Torrey, *op. cit.*, p. 378, who notes that two variant readings,  $\text{וַיֹּאצִּיחֵם}$  and  $\text{הִצִּיחֵם}$  are combined in MT  $\text{הִצִּיחֵם}$ .

<sup>23</sup> *Journal of Religion*, IX (1929), 533 f., 544.

## 6. Isa. 48:20

Another passage that Torrey has to emend is 48:20. The metrical structure of this verse is not easy to see. As set up in Kittel's edition, it lacks both parallelism and meter, being 2:2, 2:3, 1:2, 2:3, which is no meter at all. Some scholars have tried to read this as 2:2 throughout, but the effort is most unsatisfactory. The 2:2 meter is rare in the Old Testament and Torrey is unquestionably right in maintaining that it is found nowhere in Second Isaiah.<sup>24</sup> He is also right in arguing for a 3:3 meter in 48:20, but his deletion of מכשדים and מכבל and of אמרו do not accomplish this. He arranges the text as follows :

הגידו השמיעו זאת	צאו ברחו בקול רנה
נאל יהוה עברו יעקב	הוציאוה עדיקצה הארץ

Go forth, flee, with a shout of joy; | proclaim this,  
make it known;

Bring it forth to the end of the earth : | Yahweh redeems  
his servant Jacob!

Torrey scans this as 3:3, 3:3, but I fail to see how he does it. The lines are clearly 4:3, 3:4, which is no kind of meter for Hebrew. Furthermore, the lines lack parallelism, which is so essential to Hebrew poetry. For its metrical structure the verse has to be considered along with the following verse to which it belongs, and this requires the retention of מכשדים, מכבל and אמרו. These two verses run as follows :

צאו מכבל	ברחו מכשדים	בקול רנה
הגידו השמיעו זאת	הוציאוה עדיקצה הארץ	
אמרו נאל יהוה	עברו יעקב	ולא-צמאו בחרבות הוליכם
מים מצור הזיל-למו	ויבקע צור	ויזבו מים

Go forth from Babylon, | flee from Chaldea | with a  
shout of joy!

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 164 ff.

Proclaim, make this known; | send it forth to the  
end of the earth!

Say, « Yahweh redeemed | his servant Jacob, | so that  
they did not thirst in the deserts through which he  
led them; <sup>25</sup>

He made water from the rock flow for them; | he cleft  
the rock, | and water gushed forth. »

The meter of the passage is 2:2:2, 3:3, 3:2:3, 3:2:2; i.e., the lines are all tristichs except the second and the tristichs are variants of the 3:3 meter, as I have shown in another place. <sup>26</sup> As elsewhere in his book, Second Isaiah is here giving encouragement to his fellow-countrymen in Babylonia. Here, as elsewhere, he is reminding his hearers of that one supreme work of rescue in past history, Yahweh's rescue of his people from Egypt, as assurance for their present deliverance. The wonders of the coming exodus are to surpass those of the old. As Torrey well says (p. 379) : « In the present passage it may be questioned whether the imaginary hearers whom he is addressing are the Jews who are soon to be saved, or the Hebrews of the time of Moses, about to flee from Egypt. The dramatic habit of the writer, and the extraordinary vividness of his imagination, make the latter supposition quite possible. » In any case there seems to be nothing to suggest, let alone require, the deletion of מַבְבֵּל and מִכְשְׁדִים in vs. 20

Our investigation, then, of these several passages in Second Isaiah has shown that Torrey's emendations have no support in the versions, as he himself recognizes; they are not required

<sup>25</sup> Other possible translations, with no change of meaning, are « so that they did not thirst when he led them through deserts, » and « so that they did not thirst, those whom he led through deserts. » Torrey, like other scholars, makes vs. 21 begin a new line and he arranges the verse in one line as follows :

וְלֹא-צָמְאוּ בְּהַרְבּוֹת הַחַיִּים      מִים מִצּוֹר הַזֵּי-לִמּוֹ      וַיִּבְקַע צוּר וַיִּזְבּוּ מִים  
He calls this a 3:3:3 line, but I fail to see how that is possible, because his arrangement makes the line 3:3:4.

<sup>26</sup> See Note 23 above.

by the contexts; they destroy the parallelism; and in every instance except one, 48:14, they spoil the meter. They are accordingly to be rejected as unwarranted. That means that Torrey's date for Second Isaiah in the Persian period has to be rejected, but his volume is still left brim-full of good things — the most stimulating volume ever produced on the book of Isaiah.



## ISAIAH 63.7-14

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

ISA. 63.7-14 has always been a source of perplexity to Biblical scholars. In the first place, its text is in a state of disorder and uncertainty far surpassing that of most Biblical passages of like or even greater length. In the second place, its relationship to the prophetic writings immediately adjacent to it is exceedingly problematical and permits a considerable range of hypothesis in the solution of this problem. And in the third place, even when what would seem to be a reasonably correct and intelligible text shall have been reconstructed, and likewise when the question of the relationship of this brief passage to its environment shall have been answered with a reasonable measure of assurance, it will be found that the precise meaning of the passage is still somewhat uncertain because of the ambiguity resulting from the use of a succession of seven participles in vv. 11-13 and the attendant doubt whether they refer to Yahweh or to Moses, or perhaps some refer to the one and the remainder to the other. All these questions must be considered responsibly and positive answer to each secured, before we may venture an opinion as to the nature and meaning of the passage.

Until the present moment scholars have assumed quite naturally that Isa. 63.7-14 is a piece of prophetic writing and a unit with at least what follows, and perhaps even with what immediately precedes. If they hold, as did the scholars of a generation and a half ago and as does Torrey still today, that at least Isa. 40-66 is a literary unit, the writings or utterances of a single, exalted prophet, whom they call Deutero-Isaiah, then, of course, they must conclude that 63.7-14 is the work

of this prophet and endeavor to the best of their ability to coordinate it with the thought and writings of that illustrious figure. Thus Dillmann held that 63.7-65.25 constitute a single, well unified prophetic utterance, of which 63.7-14 is a prayer by the prophet and the worthy introduction to the entire address. This seems to be an opinion growing out of sheer desperation, for it can scarcely be denied that it is difficult to see or feel anything whatever of the nature of a prayer in these verses. Equally far-fetched and desperate is Torrey's theory that these verses record the meditation of the servant, of whom the prophet speaks, although not in this nor in any immediately adjacent passage.

Cheyne, Marti and Duhm, of course, assign these verses to Trito-Isaiah and hold that they are a well-knit unit with the remainder of this chapter and the whole of chapter 64. Marti is of the opinion that within this larger unit 63.7-14 constitute a subordinate unit. He bases this conclusion chiefly upon considerations of meter. Duhm is of the opinion that this subordinate unit within the larger unit consists of 63.7-16 rather than 7-14, and that this subordinate unit is closely linked to the prayer which begins with 63.17 and continues through 64.11. But it is utterly incomprehensible that a scholar as authoritative and keen as Duhm should not have perceived at a glance that the prayer begins with v. 15, and not with v. 17, and that in fact vv. 15-16 constitute the extremely moving and worthy introduction to that agonized supplication.

At least there seems to be a consensus of opinion among modern Biblical scholars that vv. 7-14 do constitute, in relation to their environment, a literary unit of some kind. And indeed even the most cursory reading of chapter 63 can not but suggest that. Just what the nature and what the import of this literary unit may be, it will be our task to determine.

As has been said, the text of these eight verses is in a greatly disturbed state. A simple reading establishes this fact convincingly. Unfortunately, the versions help even less than

usual in the task of reconstruction. Recourse must therefore be had to conjecture. In no case is the conjecture thus necessitated either difficult or far-fetched. Nevertheless it must be admitted that a text reconstructed primarily by conjecture must always be regarded as uncertain and must therefore be accepted with more or less reservation. The reasonableness of the conjecture and the resultant light which it throws upon the interpretation of the entire passage as a unit will determine the degree of acceptability of each proposed textual emendation.

V. 7. Despite the recent attempts of Nyberg<sup>1</sup> and G. R. Driver<sup>2</sup> to read a very far-fetched meaning into כַּעַל, it seems best to emend it to מַעֲלֹם. For the חֲסִדֵי יְהוָה cf. Ps. 89.2, 50; 106.7, 45; 107.43; Lam. 3.22, 32; for חֲסִדֵי יְהוָה מַעֲלֹם cf. especially Ps. 89.2; 103.17; also Ps. 89.50. For the תַּהֲלֹת יְהוָה cf. Ps. 78.4. Perhaps גַּמְלָנוּ should be emended to נַמְלֵם in the light of לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל which follows quite soon in the same v. and also in view of the fact that throughout this passage the people of Israel is referred to in the third person. However, this is not absolutely essential. וְרַב must, quite plainly, be vocalized וְרַב; cf. Ps. 5.8; 69.14, 17; 106.7, 45; Lam. 3.32; Neh. 13.22. And טוֹב must certainly be emended, with S, to טוֹבוּ; cf. also Ps. 31.20; 145.7; Neh. 9.35. For the stylistic use of אוֹכִיר here cf. Ps. 71.16; 77.12; 87.4; also 45.18. These stylistic considerations suggest strongly that this little passage must have close affinities with the Psalm literature. Likewise near the end of the v. כִּרְחֲמִיו וְכִרְבַּח חֲסִדָּיו should, it is almost self-evident, be emended to כִּרְחֲמִיו וְכִרְבַּח חֲסִדָּיו. Moreover, the ending of the v. is impossibly abrupt and the thought manifestly incomplete. Furthermore, metrical considerations, as will become clear very soon, suggest strongly that, not a two-beat, but a three-beat, stichos is required here. Quite plainly a word has

<sup>1</sup> « Studien zum Religionskampf im Alten Testament », *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 35 (1938), 329-387.

<sup>2</sup> « Hebrew 'al ('High One') as a Divine Title », *The Expository Times*, 49 (1937-38), 92 f.

been lost at the very end of the line<sup>3</sup>, which was likewise the end of the distich and of the verse, some word which would have provided the proper and effective parallelism within the two stichoi. It must accordingly have been a verb whose meaning paralleled or complemented **השיבם** or **שלמם** closely. **השיבם** or **שלמם** immediately suggest themselves; however **גאלם** seems on the whole the most probable reading because of its close similarity in form and sound to **גמלם**; cf. Isa. 59.18, 20.

Vv. 8b-9. Certainly, with practically all modern scholars, **בכל-צרתם**, at the beginning of v. 9, should be linked with the last three words of v. 8 in order to regain the proper stichos, and **צָר וּמִלָּאךְ** should be vocalized **צִיר וּמִלָּאךְ**. And inasmuch as **פָּנִיו** thus becomes the subject of the next clause, we should vocalize **הוֹשִׁיעֵם**<sup>4</sup>. In 9b we should, with the recently discovered Isaiah manuscript, transpose the two verbs and so read **וַיִּנְשָׂאם** וַיִּנְטֵלֵם, « and He lifted them up and transported them ». This reading offers a much better and more logical consecution of thought.

V. 10a. It is absolutely necessary to supply **בו** after **מרו**. Both metrical and linguistic considerations require this, for **מרה** is used regularly with the preposition **ב'** to indicate against whom the rebellion is directed.

V. 11a. Various attempts, mostly far-fetched and desperate, have been made by scholars to bring some meaning into the present meaningless **משה עמו** of *MT*. Cheyne, with characteristic daring, would omit the two words and substitute for them **שנות רור ורור**. Marti would regard **משה** as a gloss explanatory of **רעה** and **עמו** as playing the same role in relation to **צאנו**. Duhm follows Marti in this and goes one thoroughly

<sup>3</sup> Cf. « Two Prophecies from 520-516 B.C. », *HUCA*, XXII (1949), 365-431.

<sup>4</sup> For **פָּנִים** in the connotation, « Thou, Thyself », used of Yahweh and followed by a plural verb, cf. Ex. 33.14-15; cf. « The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch », *HUCA*, IV (1927), 42-47; cf. also Ps. 16.11; 89.15; 140.14; Prov. 7.15.

logical step farther and holds that an entire stichos, consisting no doubt of three words, has been lost here, and that משה עמו was inserted by some glossator to fill the space thus made vacant. A much simpler, more reasonable and more probable emendation is to assume that only a single word has been lost here, and to insert some such word as נִהַג or נִהָה, a word which would provide the expected parallelism with רעה in the corresponding stichos of the next distich.

V. 11b. Oort, Klostermann, Gunning, Duhm, Marti, König and Torrey would emend המעלה to המעלם on the ground that the final 'ם of המעלם is the result of dittography, and also and even more compellingly because it violates a rule of Hebrew grammar, that a participle introduced by the article may not have a pronominal suffix. However, the validity of this so-called rule is open to challenge. There seems to be no logical reason whatever why, when the pronominal suffix is objective rather than possessive in character, and likewise the article has the force of a relative pronoun, «he who», as it has here, the combination of article, participle and objective pronominal suffix should not occur. At least there are enough instances of this usage in post-exilic Biblical writings to warrant the retention of המעלם here; cf. Isa. 9.12; Deut. 8.14, 15, 16; 13.11. Likewise in v. 11b for the first את we should read, with *Targ.*, איה. Whether בקרבו should be emended to בקרבם, certainly a minimal change, will depend entirely upon the proper interpretation of the v.

V. 13. The masoretic arrangement of the v. is clearly incorrect, as metrical considerations disclose. The v. is manifestly a 3/3 distich. Most scholars have solved the problem here very simply by setting the caesura after כסום. This may be correct. But it can not be denied that the resultant picture, of Yahweh leading His people through the depths of the sea as a horse is led, is confused and far-fetched, inasmuch as a horse is ridden or driven, but is seldom led. A much more graphic and effective figure of speech would result if כסום and במדבר were transposed

and the latter word were emended to כבמדבר. The occurrence of precisely this same thought and figure of speech in Ps. 106.9b confirms this rearrangement of the two words here.

V. 14. Finally, following a suggestion of both *G* and *Syr. Hex.*, and in agreement with most modern scholars, תניהנו should probably be emended to תַּנְהֵנוּ.<sup>5</sup>

With these textual emendations, none of them at all drastic, the following results as our reconstruction of the original reading :

3/3	7 חסדי יהוה אזכיר / תהלות יהוה מעולם
3/3	כל <sup>6</sup> אשר-גמלם יהוה / ורב טובו לבית-ישראל
3/3	אשר גמלם ברחמיו / וברב חסדיו גאלם
3/3	8 ויאמר אד-עמי המה / בנים לא ישקרו
4/4	ויהי להם למושיע בכל-צרתם / לא-ציר ומלאך פניו הושיעם <sup>7</sup>
4/4	9 באהבתו ובחמלתו הוא גאלם / וינשאים וינטלם כל־ימי עולם
3/3	10 והמה מרו בו / ועצבו את־רוח קדשו
3/3	ויהפך להם לאויב / הוא נלחם בם
3/3	11 ויזכר ימי עולם / משה נהג עמו
3/3	איה המעלם מים / איה רעה צאנו
3/2	איה השם בקרבם / את־רוח קדשו

<sup>5</sup> Or תַּנְהֵנוּ, inasmuch as נחה is used in both *Kal* and *Hif'il* with precisely the same connotation, «to lead».

<sup>6</sup> For the sake of the meter the word must have a beat, and so must be read כַּל.

<sup>7</sup> It is tempting to read this line as a tristich, thus: 4/3/2 ויהי להם למושיע בכל-צרתם / לא ציר ומלאך / פניו הושיעם. To put a caesura between וּמִלֶּאךְ and פְּנֵיו would certainly bring out the contrast in the thought at just this point very effectively. Also it would be fitting to give לא a full beat, since the negation here is undoubtedly emphatic. However, 9aβb can be read only as a 4/4. And beyond any question we have here a 4/4 double-distich. Therefore we have practically no alternative and must read the line as a 4/4, just as we have arranged it. We shall see that the poem, as it stands here, consists of eight double-distichs; that, in other words, the double-distich is the basic metrical unit of the poem.



3/2	12 מוֹלִיד לַיְמִין מֹשֶׁה / זְרוּעַ תַּפְאֲרָתוֹ
3/3	בֹּקֵעַ מִיָּם מַפְנִיָּהֶם / לַעֲשׂוֹת־לּוֹ-שֵׁם עוֹלָם
3/3	13 מוֹלִיכֶם בְּתַהֲמוֹת כְּבִמְדַּבֵּר / כְּסוּם לֹא יִכְשְׁלוּ
3/3	14 כְּבַהֲמָה בִּבְקָעָה תֵּרַד / רוּחַ יְהוָה תִּנְחַנּוּ
3/3	כֵּן נִהְנֶת <sup>8</sup> עִמָּךְ / לַעֲשׂוֹת־לָךְ שֵׁם תַּפְאֲרַת

The faithfulness of Yahweh<sup>9</sup> will I rehearse,  
 The praiseworthy acts of Yahweh from of old;  
 The whole manner in which Yahweh requited them,  
 And His abundant goodness to the house of Israel;  
 How He requited them in His love  
 And in His abundant faithfulness<sup>9</sup> redeemed them.  
 For He said : Yea, My people are they,  
 Children who will not deal deceitfully.  
 And so He was a deliverer unto them in all their trouble;  
 Neither angel nor agent (but) He Himself delivered them.  
 In His love and His compassion He redeemed them;  
 He took them up and transported them all the days of old.  
 But they acted rebelliously with Him,  
 Yea, they grieved His holy spirit,  
 So that He turned to be an adversary to them;  
 He Himself fought against them.  
 Then He remembered the days of old,  
 Moses, the leader of His people.  
 Where is he who brought them up from the sea?  
 Where is the shepherd of His flock?  
 Where is he who implanted within them  
 His holy spirit?  
 He did cause to go at Moses' right hand  
 His glorious arm.  
 He did split the sea before them,

<sup>8</sup> The Pi'el, to express the intensive idea of constant or oft-repeated action.

<sup>9</sup> For this rendering of הִסְדִּי יְהוָה cf. Glueck, « Das Wort *hesed* im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch », *BZAW*, 47 (1927), 43-52.



So as to make for Himself<sup>10</sup> an everlasting name.  
 He did cause them to go through the depths as through the  
 [wilderness;

Even like a horse they did not stumble.  
 Just as cattle descend into the plain,  
 The spirit of Yahweh did guide them.  
 So didst Thou lead Thy people,  
 So as to make for Thyself an illustrious name.

The poem consists of eight double-distichs, of which twelve distichs are 3/3's, two are 4/4's and two are 3/2's. This regularity of metrical form, and especially this use of double-distichs, imparts to the poem a marked dignity of form and movement, which constitutes one of its major literary merits. It is apparent, too, that the poem falls into two equal halves, of four double-distichs each. The first, which extends through v. 10, constitutes the introduction of the poem. It recounts, in summary but very effective manner, the essential antecedents in Israel's history upon which the appeal, implicit, rather than definitely expressed, in the second half, is based. It tells of Yahweh's faithful dealing with Israel and His manifold deeds in their behalf through all the days of old, especially of His deliverance of them from Egypt and His firm initial trust in them; their ingratitude and rebelliousness towards Him and His quite natural reaction thereto, which prompted Him to allow misfortune and defeat in war to befall them, defeat which the poet interprets as Yahweh Himself fighting against His people.

The passage goes on to say that Yahweh then remembered the days of old and bethought Himself of Moses, the leader of His people. The transition of thought is abrupt indeed. We would have expected the full meaning of the statement that Yahweh Himself fought against Israel to be developed in some detail. However, the full implication becomes clear by comparison with Ps. 106.40-43. There the thought is expressed

<sup>10</sup> Or the suffix may perhaps refer to Moses.

that, because of their disloyalty and disobedience, again and again did Yahweh turn against His people and deliver them into the hands of their enemies. The reference is undoubtedly to the experiences recounted in the Book of Judges, particularly as these are integrated and motivated in the Deuteronomic framework of that book. V. 10b here seems to refer, in summary manner, to this very same series of unfortunate incidents in the early history of Israel.

Moreover, Ps. 106.43-46 goes on to say that in each case of conquest by a foreign people, after He had disciplined them adequately, Yahweh remembered<sup>11</sup> His ancient covenant with Israel, was filled with compassion towards them and delivered them from their enemies in His abundant faithfulness. That Ps. then concludes with a moving petition to Yahweh to deliver Israel from its enemies and gather them together once again, so that they might praise His holy name. The manifest implication of this chain of thought is that at the moment Israel is in a state of conquest and subjugation by some powerful enemy; its people are scattered far and wide throughout the earth and are no longer resident in Palestine, the only place, so it is clearly implied, where they can properly worship Yahweh and sing His praises. Precisely this same thought, expressed, however, much more concisely, is the theme of our passage here.

But here the question arises : What is the relation of vv. 11b-14a to 11a? Is Yahweh represented as uttering these words; are they the record of what He remembers? This can scarcely be the thought; for certainly in vv. 12-13 Yahweh is the subject of the successive participles, and in v. 14b Yahweh is addressed, manifestly by the author of this passage, in the second person singular. Certainly these last verses do not record the thoughts of Yahweh, all that He remembered in v. 11a. But if these verses do not record the thoughts or memories of Yahweh, then certainly v. 11bc does not do this either.

<sup>11</sup> ויזכר, precisely the same verb as here.

This analysis makes one thing perfectly clear, viz. that the one who utters the thoughts expressed in vv. 11b-14 is not Yahweh at all, but rather the author of the passage, and none other. His realization that upon numerous previous occasions in Israel's history, when Yahweh had, quite justifiably, become angered with His people and had, as it seemed, turned against them and become their enemy and had even delivered them into the hands of some oppressive, foreign nation, He then remembered His covenant of old with Israel and His faithfulness in fulfilling all the conditions thereof and so reversed His attitude towards them and delivered them from their conquerors, impels him now to believe that, under closely similar circumstances, Yahweh might be induced to act in the same way once again.

The clear implication is that here, too, just as in Ps. 106. 43-46, Israel is in a state of oppressive and humiliating subjection to some foreign power, and, without divine assistance and redemption, is helpless and doomed. Accordingly the author pleads with Yahweh that once again He might remember the days of old, might bethink Himself of Moses, the leader of His people. And, in order to stimulate Yahweh, as it were, to remember, he, the author of this passage, asks the series of questions which follow: «Where is he who brought them up from the sea; where is the shepherd of His people? Where is he who brought within the midst of Israel Yahweh's holy spirit?»<sup>12</sup> If only he, Moses, were present now to plead with Yahweh, then he might persuade Yahweh to alter His present plan and purpose with Israel and bring an end to its present, unhappy situation.<sup>13</sup> Beginning with v. 12, however, the

<sup>12</sup> The reference is unmistakably to the incident recorded in Num. 11.16-17, 24-30, and particularly, so it seems, to vv. 26-29.

<sup>13</sup> For the role of pleaders with Yahweh, so efficient in this task that they can normally induce Him to alter His plan and purpose in dealing harshly with Israel, cf. Jer. 15.1; Ezek. 14.14-20; Isa. 63.16; cf. also «Moses with the Shining Face», *HUCA*, II (1925), 20-27.

thought of the author shifts slightly. No longer does he think of Moses and his possible intercession. Now his thought turns spontaneously to Yahweh Himself, and of what He had Himself done for Moses and for Israel in the days of old, how He had caused His majestic arm to support Moses, how He had split the sea before His people and thereby had brought luster to His name; how He had led them through the depths of the sea, just as through the wilderness, safely and steadily even as the gait of a horse, so that they did not falter nor stumble upon this perilous journey. Then once again his thought shifts slightly and he addresses Yahweh directly, in the second person: Even as cattle descend from the highlands into the low country, walking together as a single, close-knit herd and following their cowherd and guide in search of new and more abundant pasturage, so didst Thou, O Yahweh, lead Israel; and so hast Thou constantly led Thy people, and thereby made Thy name glorious throughout the entire world.

Here the poem breaks off abruptly. Manifestly it is not quite complete; something essential is lacking. The unmistakable implication is that at this very moment Israel is in dire distress, helpless and subjugated before its enemy, some powerful foreign nation, and unable through its own efforts alone to deliver itself. Therefore the plea of the author, precisely like the plea of Ps. 106.47, is for Yahweh's intervention on behalf of His people, just as repeatedly in days of old, and its deliverance at His hands. Just this conclusion, however not necessarily of great length, perhaps, just as in Ps. 106.47, not more than a single verse, is missing here.

With this the full and true nature of Isa. 63.7-14 becomes perfectly clear. It is not a piece of prophetic writing at all, despite its present position in the Book of Isaiah. It is a psalm, shorter and more concise than, but of precisely the same character and theme as, Ps. 106, with which, as we have seen, it has such close affinities. Like that psalm, it, too, must have reached its climax and end in an appeal for divine intervention and deliverance.

This concluding appeal, as has been said, is missing. It can hardly have been the agonized prayer in Isa. 63.15-64.11. That is an altogether different type of literary composition. That is indeed a prayer which springs spontaneously and irresistibly from a heart grief-stricken and yearning and strained to the very point of bursting. That is a cry of anguish sincere and moving in extreme degree. It has naught of the somewhat artificial and conventional literary form of the psalm. It is not built according to a pattern. Moreover, it denies the very principle which this psalm seems to affirm, that the intervention of the heroes of Israel's past, even such heroes as Abraham and Israel, who certainly may vie with Moses here, and their supplication of Yahweh on behalf of their descendants can avail at all.

Furthermore, that passionate prayer gives the decided impression of having been uttered very soon, in fact almost immediately, after the tragic episode in Israel's history which is basic to it had occurred. The picture of the catastrophe, in 63.16-19a; 64.5-10, is vivid and immediate. The events which it records are very recent and their distressing effects are still persisting and are bitterly felt. On the other hand, 63.7-14 gives the decided impression of remoteness. Like Ps. 106, and to a certain extent like Ps. 78 also, it surveys the catastrophe in perspective. It cites no details thereof. The effects of the catastrophe are still felt. Israel is still scattered throughout the world. But in comparison with the supplication in 63.15-64.11, 63.7-14 and also Ps. 106 manifest only the merest minimum of emotion and passion. Their approach to their theme is reflective and philosophical. They rehearse objectively and dispassionately the whole, long course of Israel's history. What Yahweh has done for His people repeatedly in the past, He may be persuaded to do once again, particularly if Moses might be induced to act as intercessor and voice the appeal of the people to Him.

Stylistically, too, this little poem is altogether different from the prayer which follows; and, on the other hand, as we

have already noted, it is in this respect strikingly similar to Ps. 106 and to other psalms as well.

All these considerations, and they are very cogent, establish one fact with unchallengeable certainty, viz. that Isa. 63.7-14 can under no condition be a literary unit with the prayer which follows in 63.15-64.11. That is a true prophetic utterance, a characteristic piece of prophetic writing. In very plain contrast Isa. 63.7-14 is a psalmodic composition, a characteristic piece of psalm writing; in other words, a psalm or the fragment of a psalm.

In all likelihood, yes almost in all certainty, it was originally an independent psalm, which had its own climactic expression in a prayer or supplication of the same conventional character as Ps. 106.47. Quite plainly some late editor inserted this psalm in its present position, but with the omission of its own original appeal for divine intervention and deliverance, in order that it might serve, as he thought, as the fitting introduction to the prayer of anguish which follows. Not at all improbably he felt, and undoubtedly correctly, that this psalm referred, though at a distance, to the very same historical incident as did the prayer itself. But be this as it may, both the literary and spiritual sensitivity and judgment of this editor are open to question. Whatever the literary merits of this psalm may be, it is certainly not a fitting companion-piece and introduction to the passionate, prophetic prayer which follows.

It remains now merely to consider the date of composition of this psalm and its historical setting. This task is not at all difficult. This psalm has so much in common with Ps. 106 in thought, spirit, purpose and historical background that it is impossible not to deal with them together. Both psalms, as we have seen, envisage a condition when Israel has been conquered and devastated by some powerful and ruthless enemy. Its people have been scattered far and wide. Apparently, too, they are unable to worship Yahweh freely, or at least in a manner which they regard as proper and adequate. This may well imply that the Temple has been destroyed, or at least damaged so badly



that proper worship within it is impossible. Some time has elapsed since the catastrophe, a time sufficient for the people to have recovered somewhat from their initial grief and despair and to begin once again to dream and hope for deliverance from their foes, through God's help, and for the return of their exiles and the restoration of the Temple and its cult.

The catastrophe in question is certainly not the overthrow of the nation and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple by the Babylonians in 586 B.C. Internal evidence within the psalm, as we shall soon see, points to a date considerably later than that event, one well within the post-exilic period. The catastrophe in question must have befallen the people at some moment within the post-exilic period. It can have been only the very same catastrophe to which unmistakable and vivid reference is made in Obadiah; Joel 4.2-8; Ps. 44.10-15; 74.1-10;<sup>14</sup> 79; 83.1-10 and in other psalms and likewise in other prophetic writings.<sup>15</sup> This catastrophe resulted in the ruthless slaughter by the conquering enemy of very large numbers of the Jewish people, the capture and sale of very many others in the slave-markets of the Mediterranean world, the destruction of Jerusalem and its walls and the burning of the Temple. The people in Palestine were left so pitifully few in number and in such abject circumstances that in 445 B.C. Nehemiah could speak of them only as «the remnant left from the captivity».<sup>16</sup> The captivity in question could have been only

<sup>14</sup> Note that Ps. 74.2, precisely like Isa. 63.11 and Ps. 106.45, appeals to Yahweh to remember the days of old and His redemption of Israel then, and so to redeem it once again from the effects of its present catastrophe; cf. also Ps. 79.8 and likewise Isa. 64.8.

<sup>15</sup> Upon some other occasion, which, I trust, will not be too long delayed, I hope to be able to complete a study, begun some seven or eight years ago, and rather far advanced in manuscript form, entitled «Jerusalem... 485 B.C.», in which I treat all the Biblical evidence bearing upon this great catastrophe, reconstruct the incident in all its details and discuss its antecedents and far-reaching consequences,

<sup>16</sup> Neh. 1.2-4,



that implicit in the capture and sale of these masses of the Jewish people in the slave-markets of the western world. It is to this very same bitter catastrophe that Isa. 63.15-64.11, with its graphic and anguished picture of the defiling and burning of the Temple and the destruction and devastation of the cities and towns of Judaea, and especially Jerusalem, likewise refers. As we have suggested, Isa. 63.15-64.11 must have been uttered very soon after the catastrophe had happened, not improbably, since the catastrophe reached its climax within the first three months of the year, within the course of the very same year, 485 B.C.

Isa. 63.7-14, and likewise Ps. 106, on the other hand, must have been composed, as we have said already, sufficiently long after the tragedy had befallen the people for them to have adjusted themselves to the new situation and to begin to hope for the restoration of Yahweh's favor and protection, for the return of their dispersed ones, the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of the cult. However, the effects of the catastrophe are still persisting. All these considerations point indubitably to a date somewhere between 485 and 444 B.C., the year of Nehemiah's return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the walls. Quite probably these psalms were composed even before the return of Ezra and the restoration of the Temple by him. A date close to 460 B.C., approximately twenty-five years after the actual catastrophe itself, would satisfy all these conditions.

Internal evidence confirms this conclusion admirably. We have noted that both Isa. 63.10 and Ps. 106.34-46 refer unmistakably to the various episodes in the history of the tribes of Israel recorded in the Book of Judges, particularly as these are interpreted in the Deuteronomic framework of this book. This represents all the calamities which befell Israel, conceived, not as a loose federation of tribes, as it actually was at the time and as it is constantly depicted in the narratives which are the manifest nuclei of that book, but as a united nation and people, as having been sent upon it by Yahweh as the well-deserved

punishment for its faithlessness to Him, and as the effective discipline which would in the end turn Israel to Him once again and justify His forgiveness of it and its attendant redemption. In fact, careful study of this Deuteronomic framework of the Book of Judges suggests very strongly that this simple scheme of Israel's history in the earliest period of its residence in Palestine is much more than a mere Deuteronomic philosophy of history, or at least of Israel's history. Far more than this, it is a theory of Israel's history and an implicit and stirring plea to the Israel of the period of these Deuteronomic historiographers, to turn, in the midst of a present national calamity, which in all its essential features parallels very closely the pattern set in the days of the judges, from their presumptive evil ways, which have aroused Yahweh's wrath against His faithless people, and return whole-heartedly unto Him in the eager hope and the fairly confident expectation that He will then forego His well justified wrath and forgive them and deliver them from the power and oppression of their victorious enemy and restore them as His people and as an independent, respected nation.

The literary activity of these Deuteronomic historiographers fell well within the post-exilic period. Once again the calamity which had befallen Israel and the effects of which they themselves were obviously experiencing and which they hoped might be terminated through the lesson which they sought to teach, can not have been the national catastrophe of 586 B.C. It must have been a much more recent catastrophe, one very close to their own day. It could have been only the catastrophe of 485 B.C. Very plainly their thought, their theology and their hope were set against the background of precisely the same historic incident and bore precisely the same message as the thought, theology and hope, voiced in prayer, of Isa. 63.7-14, Ps. 106 and many other Biblical writings whose historical setting is beyond all question this great and tragic national catastrophe of 485 B.C.

Ps. 106.8 tells that Yahweh delivered Israel « for His name's sake ». This is a statement of deep significance. It reaffirms the doctrine which finds graphic expression in Ezek. 36.16-38. I have discussed this doctrine in considerable detail elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> and designated it as the doctrine of « for His name's sake ». The doctrine affirms that because of Israel's faithless and defiling sin Yahweh was compelled to discipline it by sending it into exile in a foreign land. But it was unavoidable that the nations should misinterpret this procedure of Yahweh. Reasoning from their standpoint of nationalism, they could not but regard Israel's exile in a foreign land as the ultimate evidence that Yahweh was an utterly impotent deity, totally unable to protect His own people in its native land, and that therefore He did not merit the slightest consideration and respect on their part. By this situation, necessitated by Israel's unworthiness, Yahweh's reputation had suffered; His name had been defiled. Therefore, « for His name's sake », even though Israel did not merit it, or at least did not merit it adequately, He has no alternative but to restore it again to its native land and take it again unto Himself as His people. This very act of bringing back His people from exile to native land and its national rehabilitation there, certainly a much more difficult undertaking, even for a powerful deity, than the mere protection of his people in its native land from the attacks of its enemies, will of necessity convince the nations that He is indeed a powerful deity and will regain for Him their respect and awe; and thus will His reputation be redeemed and His name glorified among the nations. The all-essential, indispensable element in this doctrine of « for His name's sake » is the return of Israel, through Yahweh's intervention and under His unfailing guidance and regardless of all opposition and all obstacles, from exile or captivity to its native land. This will prove conclusively

<sup>17</sup> « Moses with the Shining Face », *HUCA*, II (1925), 18-20; « Psalm 48 », *HUCA*, XVI (1941), 26-38; « Psalm 23 », *JBL*, LXV (1946), 20 ff.

that He is indeed a great and powerful deity and that He even has the stature of a world-god.

But with a people confessedly sinful and unworthy an august deity, such as Yahweh was and is, can not possibly have and maintain intimate and beneficent relations. Therefore Yahweh, of His own accord, as an act of sheer grace, and not at all because Israel has itself merited it in any way, will purge and purify and will change the nature, the soul and the spirit of His people. He Himself will remove from their bosoms their old heart of stone and in its stead will put a heart of flesh, a new heart, through which they shall henceforth comprehend and know Him truly and serve Him loyally as His people forever. And He will restore them to their own land, will renew their prosperity and will deal beneficently with them, so that never again will they need to be disciplined and come to know suffering, calamity and exile. It was a message of vast hope. It was conceived and proclaimed by the prophet Ezekiel in his reaction to the conditions of the Babylonian exile.

During the entire exile and in the years thereafter this doctrine, despite its one-sided and illogical theology, flourished strongly within the Jewish people and found repeated and striking expression in the literature of this period. Quite naturally the tragic national catastrophe of 485 B.C. imparted to this doctrine renewed and enlarged meaning and force. It is not at all surprising therefore that it should find such positive affirmation in Ps. 106.8. But it finds expression likewise, perhaps not quite as clear and positive, but implicit none the less, in Isa. 63.12, 14, in the thought that through His splitting the Red Sea in order to deliver His people from Egypt, and in the manner in which He led them through the desert, safely and steadily and with generous provision for all their needs, in order to bring them at last to the land of their future abode as a nation, two procedures which, it is clear, parallel in every way His expected deliverance of His people from exile, and again from captivity in far-distant lands, and restoration of them

to their native land, He brings luster to His name and establishes His reputation firmly, establishes it, of course, among the foreign nations, even among Israel's most ruthless conquerors and oppressors. Quite plainly both Ps. 106 and Isa. 63.7-14 are later than Ezekiel and directly dependent upon this doctrine of «for His name's sake», first enunciated by him.

All this internal evidence establishes with certainty the post-exilic date of both Ps. 106 and Isa. 63.7-14 and confirms, within a reasonable range, our dating of both psalms to about 460 B.C.



TRADITIONALISM  
AND PERSONALITY IN THE PSALMS

SIGMUND MOWINCKEL

University of Oslo

THE presupposition on which the following study — a chapter from a forthcoming book on the Psalms — is founded, is the validity of the principles of Gunkel's type- and form criticism, his « Form- und Gattungsgeschichte », which are set forth in Gunkel and Begrich's *Einleitung in die Psalmen. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, Göttingen 1933. This does not mean that Gunkel in every respect has found the right interpretation of the Psalms; in how many important points the present writer disagrees with Gunkel, the reader may see in my *Psalmenstudien I-VI*<sup>1</sup> (now out of print); cf. also H. Birke-land, *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmen-literatur*, Oslo 1933, who has given the necessary corrections of my very one-sided view in *PsSt* I. But Gunkel's main principles are sound; without paying proper attention to his formal criteria a right interpretation of the Psalms is impossible. The proton pseudon of Gunkel's Psalm exegesis is that he has failed to realize the fundamental importance of his own « cultic principle » not only for the *origin* of the psalm poetry, but also for the existing psalms of the present Psalter. These are not private poetry of the hypothetic « quiet ones in the land » in postexilic times, but — with very few exceptions, mostly didactic « psalms » — real cult psalms, belonging to the different types of public ritual service in the temple, most of them from preexilic time. Gunkel and his followers have also failed to see the element of truth in Smend's theory of the

<sup>1</sup> In *Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, II. K1, 1921-24.



« collective Ego », viz. that the speaking « I » — the worshipper — in many psalms is the king as the « incorporation » and the cultic representative of the « corporate personality », the « Gross-ich », of the congregation, cf. Birkeland's above mentioned book, and my *Psalmstudien II* passim.

A description of the different types of psalms — which can not be given here — will certainly demonstrate to what great extent the whole of this poetry is bound by tradition. The content, the formal language and the thoughts are determined by purpose and custom. To write poetry was, one may say, to put together the details, thoughts and phrases which were presented by tradition, in the form which, according to custom and tradition, corresponded to the purpose. The personal contribution by the poet consisted, in a way, in finding new variations of the fixed forms, a new turn in the call to praise, another expression for confidence, a new picture of the fury of the enemy and the hardship of suffering. In this way they created many original, individual pictures of the noblest kind which later became classical.

The creating of the psalms differs also in another way from what we moderns instinctively expect from poetry. The experiences and emotions that the psalms give expression to were not only those of an individual, but common events, general experiences and feelings, which were such as custom demanded them to be in the particular situation. The poet who wrote a psalm for use for instance at the purification rites, placed himself in a common situation and expressed that which one and all then were expected to feel, and accordingly say.

But this does not necessary imply that the personal element was lacking. To the old Israel personality with the quality of originality and uniqueness was neither an ideal<sup>2</sup> nor a reality. But through the common experiences and emotions, the per-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Gunkel und J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, p. 11 f; W. O. E. Oesterley, *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms*, London 1937, p. 146 ff.

sonality became conscious of itself. The Israelite was entirely merged in them. And the religious experience which lies behind the cult-psalms, behind the enthusiasm and exaltation and adoring surrender, behind the agony of the lamentations and behind the grateful testimony of the thanksgiving psalms all this the poets themselves also felt. It is their own, just because it belonged or ought to belong to the whole body.<sup>3</sup>

Just for this reason many of the psalms loudly proclaim that which has been personally experienced and accepted, that God had become the poet's own God :

The Lord is my shepherd, I lack for nothing;  
     he makes me lie in meadows green,  
 he leads me to refreshing streams,  
     he revives life in me.

He guides me by true paths,  
     as he himself is true.  
 My road may run through a glen of gloom,  
     but I will fear no harm.

For thou art (always) with me, [nay  
     thou wilt protect me, Lord],<sup>4</sup>  
 thy shepherd's club, thy (strong) staff —  
     they are my (firm) comfort.

(Ps. 23,1-4).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Oesterley and others are of course wrong when they seem to believe that personal piety in a psalm or a prayer proves that they can not have a cultic (liturgical) connection. Both in « Common Prayer Books » and the hymnbooks of the different churches we meet the personal piety and religious experiences of the reformers and of the hymn poets of all times almost on every page, although we almost never are faced with their formal «I»; and that they very often have written their poems with the conscious purpose of writing for the cultic use, is a matter of fact.

<sup>4</sup> As the metre (qina) shows, some words are lacking in v. 4a, r. [וַאֲתָהּ מְחַסֵּי] וְכִי-אַתָּה [יְחִוָּה] עִמָּדִי, or something like that.

<sup>5</sup> Translation partly in accordance with Moffatt.

Here the traditional picture of the shepherd and the sheep is applied to the individual believer, who confidently knows himself to be under the protection of the Lord, and it is completed in concrete, realistic details in a way, which is both personally experienced and felt, as well as artistically perfect. The picture of the lamb is not abandoned for a moment, and yet, no reader has the slightest doubt that it is the relations between the praying poet and God in his own physical and spiritual everyday existence, which is expressed. The traditional translation «in the valley of the shadow of death» instead of «in dark ravines» («a glen of gloom») is incorrect in so far as it confuses the picture; but behind the picture lies also the thought of God's protection in mortal danger and death agony.

It is a significant fact that this psalm actually breaks all the patterns of «form-history». Being a pure psalm of confidence it cannot immediately be classified under any of the «categories» or «types» of the history of style. A real poet using the traditional cultic forms of style has here created a poem which has its own type. It is an expression of the religious traditions of the people of the covenant. It is also an expression of the conception of God with which they were entrusted. It also expresses the personal experiences of God in their own lives and the attitude of life, which all this had created in them.

When God thus becomes man's safe and only possession and refuge, he may also experience that everything else disappears and becomes of no importance. This happened to the writer of the thanksgiving psalm 73, who had gone through hard travails of mind about the apparent arbitrariness and absurdity in the ruling of the world, but who experienced in the worship in God's sanctuaries that the old faith stood the strain. He now confesses both his sin and the faith he had regained :

As long as my heart was bitter  
and pain pierced my kidneys

I was a dull, stupid creature,  
no better than a brute before thee.

Yet I am always beside thee,  
thou holdest me by my right hand,  
with thy counsel art thou guiding me,  
into glory thou takest me at last.<sup>6</sup>

Whom have I in heaven but thee?  
On earth I care for nothing else.  
My body and my soul may fail,  
but God is my portion for evermore.

(Ps. 73,21-26).<sup>7</sup>

The poet has not in mind eternal life beyond death. It is here and now that God is his God and it is here he knows it is good to keep near to God (v. 28). For this reason the impression of an unbreakable confidence which can carry one through all life's difficulties becomes still stronger.

These singers have known what it meant to be in the great depths and call on God :

Out of the depths I am crying unto thee,  
O Lord hear my voice!  
Let thy ears be listening now  
to the voice of my supplications.

He knows that sin is the cause of the unhappiness and that, if God will keep account according to merit, no one can stand in his judgement :

If thou shouldest mark iniquities  
who, Lord, can then stand!

But he knows too that the Lord is a gracious and merciful God, longsuffering and rich in friendliness :

<sup>6</sup> i.e. thou restorest me to my former glory. « Glory » « honour », (kâbod, pondus) is the normal state of the « right » man; as slain by disaster (illness?) the worshipper has been in a state of « dishonour ».

<sup>7</sup> Translation partly in accordance with RV, partly with Moffatt.

But there is forgiveness with thee,  
that thou mayest be feared.

But it is hard to wait, and many times the question of :  
How long, Lord? has risen to the lips of the god-fearing; with  
deep longing he is waiting for the Lord and his acquitting and  
promising word :

I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait,  
and in his word do I hope,  
more than the watchers are waiting for dawn,  
my soul is waiting for him.

But he also knows that he dares wait in confidence and  
assurance for the answer to his prayer :

For with the Lord there is mercy  
and full redemption with him  
and he will redeem Israel  
from all its iniquities.

(Ps. 130).<sup>8</sup>

When we know that the worshipper here speaks on behalf  
of the congregation and about the redemption of Israel, we  
get a still greater impression of the depth and reality of the  
poet's strictly personal conviction of sin and belief in God :  
No one can speak like this unless he has personally experienced  
it.

Therefore these poets also know something about patience,  
contentment and the self-forgetting sure confidence in God :

Lord, my heart is not haughty,  
nor mine eyes lofty,  
I do not undertake matters  
too wonderful for me.

<sup>8</sup> Del. אֲדַנִּי 2 ; יְהוָה v. 1 c. v. 2 conj ; קוֹתָה v. 5 transp. ante v. 6 ;  
del. 6b β (dittogr.).

Surely I have stilled and silenced my soul  
 like a suckling child with its mother.<sup>9</sup>  
 So wait for the Lord Israel  
 from hence forth and for ever.

(Ps. 131).<sup>10</sup>

They have perhaps, at least in imagination, tried to lift their eyes to the mountains and the many holy places and powers there in order to get help :

I lift mine eyes unto the hills;  
 from whence is help to come?

Such might the Jew in the half-pagan environment, in which he lived often be tempted to ask. The many sanctuaries « on the hills » could refer to ancient traditions, and often it might seem as if Yahweh was powerless or would not help, as if Israel's watchman was sleeping. But the poet knows also — and here he builds on the foundation both of what he himself had experienced and the faith of the fathers — that no one can ask these questions in earnest :

My help comes from the Lord, from him  
 who made both heaven and earth.

And the worshiper gets the answer proclaimed in the very words of the blessings of the cultic liturgy :

Never will he let thee slip,  
 thy keeper never sleeps.  
 Behold the keeper of Israel  
 neither slumbers nor sleeps...

May the Lord guard thee from all harm,  
 may he preserve thy life.

<sup>9</sup> V. 2 b is an explanatory gloss.

<sup>10</sup> Transl. partly RV, partly Eerdmans, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms*, Leiden 1947.

May he protect thy going out and coming in  
from now and for evermore.

(Ps. 121,1-2.4.7-8).

The congregational psalm 137 has distinctive stamp as compared with the conventional style, and has also sprung from a genuine poetical ability to identify oneself with the former time of enslavement, with its bitter experiences, burning longings and savage thirst for revenge :

By the rivers of Babylon yonder  
we sat down, yea we wept;<sup>11</sup>  
Upon the willows there we left  
our harps silent hanging.

For there those who ravaged us required  
a joyful song from us  
and those who plundered us asked there :  
« Sing for us a Zion-song! »<sup>12</sup>

Commentators, more learned than poetical, have asked why they had to sit on the river banks, and why the harps had to hang on the willows : when they did not wish to use them, they might as well have left them hanging on the walls at home. Well, so one may say. But just through this conventionalized, not realistic image, the poet has given an uncomparably touching expression to the elegiac sentiment which grips him, when he pictures to himself the emotions and situation of those who were forcibly evacuated to the land of the enemy. Just so, he himself, the player of harp and composer of psalms in Zion could imagine that he might have been sitting, if he had been one of them. This is the way they must have been feeling. The poet himself has not been among those carried

<sup>11</sup> As the metre (qina) shows, v. 1 b is an explanatory gloss, quite unnecessary for the meaning.

<sup>12</sup> A new « colon » begins with ותוללינו ; then both metre and parallelism require that שמה be placed behind שיר.



away — the psalm is considerably younger than the « return » — but he identifies himself wholly with his people both in the past and the present (« we »). For this reason he can also personally relive the most bitter memories of the people. In his imagination he has been there and he describes what he then felt, in a fancied situation, just as a man of his occupation then might have experienced it. He sees himself as a wandering player of the harp. Both in the old Orient as well as in the new it was nothing unusual that both prophets and people connected with the temples appeared as wandering « men of God », on « the road ». If he had been in Babel he would have been one of the breadless « levites » as long as the temple lay in ruins. And where can the wanderers in the Orient sit down to rest except by springs and river banks? In arid Palestine one had much to tell about the rivers of Babel. And just there one might easily think that one of the tyrants had asked them to sing to them. But in such a case he knows well what he must have rejoined :

How could we on a strange soil  
     sing the songs of the Lord!  
 If I forget thee, Jerusalem,  
     may my right hand wither!  
 May the tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth  
     If I do not remember thee,  
 if Jerusalem be not to me  
     more than my greatest joy.

(Ps. 137,1-6).

Here religion and love of country had melted together into a personal harmony which is unique in ancient oriental poetry. This is also a testimony to the strong historical element in Israelitic religion and carries a note which we now understand particularly well.

If we compare the biblical psalms with the Babylonian, we are struck by the fact that the former are much fresher, more

varied and original than the latter, while the monotony of the Babylonian psalms often proves both tedious and dull. And if one first have become aware of how firm and general the rules of style are, also in the biblical psalms poetry, it comes as a surprise to discover how rich and diversified the traditional rules after all are. The schematic hymn-style which is the rule in the Babylonian psalms is the exception in the Israelitic ones. Generally they are fresh, independent poems like Ps. 8 with the praise of man as God's image or the mythologically colored psalm 19, the «sunhymn»; the living descriptions of Yahweh's coming with victory and salvation in Ps. 46 and 48; the enthronement hymn with its peculiar character etc.

The most monotonous impression is produced by the psalms of lamentation, but even here there are many poems of a distinguished stamp, which have made use of the conventional fundamental rules with great personal freedom. We can point to Ps. 11 with the apostrophising of the friends as a form of lamentation and expression of confidence; Ps. 36 with all the traditional elements but with a free, and rich formation; Ps. 90, where the «motif of compassion» («Mitleidsmotiv») <sup>13</sup>: the shortness of human life, is put in relief against the hymnic contemplation of God's eternity; Ps. 137 where the lamentation which motivates the prayer for revenge, is formed as a historical *peinture de genre*, trembling with love for the homeland; Ps. 139 where the «motif of innocence»: God's knowledge of the worshipper, gets a general background in contemplation of God's omniscience, and omnipresence; Ps. 62 where the «motif of confidence» («Vertrauensmotiv») is set forth as the exhortation of the worshipper to his own soul about waiting quietly upon God, etc.

The thanksgiving psalms are often richly varied, s. below p. 229 f. Sometimes it is confession of sin (Ps. 32), at other times it is the religious problem (Ps. 73) which has become

<sup>13</sup> «Motif» is here used in Gunkel's meaning: «Erhörungsmotive», motivations which will make God grant the prayer.

the main topic, and the fundamental emotion, gratitude, finds many expressions.

The contributions from the temple prophecy and the thoughts and forms of the prophetic movement<sup>14</sup> also bring a rich variation. In Ps. 2 the oracle of enthronement is attributed to the king himself and connected with the concept of the king's first proclamation to his subjects. In Ps. 110 it has been worked into the pattern of the ritual of anointment itself.<sup>15</sup> Peculiar is Ps. 82, Yahweh's reproof of the unrighteous rule of the other gods, which is put into the framework of the old oriental cultic conception about an assembly of the gods at new-year's time in order to determine the destiny of the year. In Ps. 50 we see the peculiar prophetic development which the idea of epiphany has had in Israel. It has namely become the background for the religious-moral teaching and admonition.

We must admit that many of the psalms only can be characterized as artistic handicraft or in a few cases perhaps only as handicraft products.<sup>16</sup> But the predominant impression is much more, that we meet a reality which is personally experienced and felt, and which is depicted with genuine poetic inspiration.

For this reason we also see that there have been poets who have been on the point of bursting the old forms, at least have been able to refashion them in such a way, that they really give expression to an individual experience. One has to look very carefully to be able to recognize the conventional scheme of style (the pattern) in the psalm about God's eternity and the brevity of human life (Ps. 90), or in order to perceive that

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the writers *Psalmenstudien III. Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen*. On the cult (temple) prophets cfr. also A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1944.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. G. Widengren, *Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungadömet i Israel*, Uppsala, 1938.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. M. Loehr, *Psalmenstudien (Beit. z. Wissensch. von A. T., N.F. Nr. 3)*, 1922, p. 3 f.

the profound considerations of God's omniscience and omnipresence in Ps. 139 actually is a new form of the motif of innocence: the reference to the fact that the God who knows everything and from whom nobody can flee also must know that the praying one (the worshipper) is without guilt in relation to his enemies.

The « psalms of protection »<sup>17</sup> and thanksgiving have at times moved so far away from the particular style type that it has been suggested that we ought to separate some of them into a special group of « psalms of confidence ». To these belong some of the highest ranking ones both in a religious and poetic respect in the whole collection, for instance, Ps. 23; 73; 130.

The exaltation of the hymn writer sometimes has lifted him to heights, where the whole universe has revealed its secrets to him, so that he heard the songs of the spheres and the wordless praise of the days :

The heavens proclaim God's splendour,  
the firmament speaks of his handiwork.  
Day after day takes up the tale  
and night after night sheweth (its) knowledge.

Without speech, without words,  
and yet their voice is (always) heard,<sup>18</sup>  
their sound goeth out through all the world,  
their words unto the ends of the earth.

(Ps. 19,2-5).

Or the eye of the poet has been opened to the glory of all that is created, but especially he has been moved by the thought of

<sup>17</sup> On the difference between « psalms of lamentation » in the cultic service *after* a catastrophe and the « psalms of protection » *before* the catastrophe, when it is still looming as a danger, s. Birkeland, *Feinde des Individuums*. Gunkel's « psalms of confidence » (« Vertrauenspsalmen, » s. Gunkel-Begriff, *Einl. i. d. Pss.* p. 254 ff), belong mostly to this latter category.

<sup>18</sup> For this interpretation s. Eerdmans, *Hebr. Book of Psalms*,

the nobility of man as the lord of creation. But all this still more gives testimony to the majesty of God, and in relation to him man himself, this god on earth, is only dust and ashes. In spite of the fact that the most wonderful song of praise is as little children's bable in relation to the God to whom he lifts his heart, still he must sing about the work of creation, about the stronghold of Heaven which Yahweh raised as an unconquerable protection against his enemies after having overcome them in the struggles of chaos; but also the grateful song of exaltation about man who in his wonderful unity of greatness — «almost a god» — and unworthiness more than any other created being gives witness to the glory, power and goodness of his creator. (Ps. 8).

## 2.

If it therefore is so that the psalms have in the main originated among the temple singers<sup>19</sup> and are intended for use by a king, a popular leader or a private person, who in connection with the public worship should present a psalm of prayer or praise, it is also evident that we have to distinguish between the poet and the praying one («I») who speaks in the psalm. The psalm has been composed and put on the lips of the one who was to use it. «I» is in this respect not the composer himself, but the person for whose use he has made the psalm, and who was to present it in the temple. Most often, if not always, we shall probably think that the one, for instance the sick person, has let the acting temple functionary (the priest, the singer) present the psalm on his behalf.

That a psalm has been used by and for David or another king<sup>20</sup> of course does not mean that it actually was composed by the king concerned. It was not for everybody to be so

<sup>19</sup> Cpr. the writers *Psalmenstudien VI. Die Psalmdichter*, p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> On this interpretation of the expression *lēdāwīd* cf. *Psalmenstudien VI*, p. 72 ff.

familiar with the old psalm-style that he could compose the proper cult-psalm in the right way. We have also from Babylonia-Assyria copies of the same psalm, which has been supplied with different royal names : « I Nebukadressar » or « I Ashurbânaplû, pray to thee », etc. according to the use which has been made of the psalm by some king on a certain cultic occasion. The original may perhaps have been composed for use by an entirely different king, whose name accidentally is not found on any of the copies that have been thus far discovered, or it has been made with an open space for the king's name : « I N.N. the son of N.N. » as we sometimes see.

In other words the poet has entered into the situation, feelings and needs of the man for whom he composed the psalm. This « cult-seeking man » in certain cases has been a definite person, for example *that* king who just on this occasion was to present the psalm of lamentation as the representative of the congregation (the people). On other occasions the psalm has been composed for use by « anybody », who for instance was to submit to the purification ritual after a sickness. — It ought to be evident when among the psalms we have royal psalms from very different times, younger and older, that not all these kings have been poets, who themselves were able to compose the ritual psalms which then were to be recited — no more than the oriental kings themselves have « penned » their inscriptions, even though they appear and speak in first person.

But this does in no wise exclude a really personal element in the psalm. A real poet always is personally engaged in that which he writes. — Even if the task of the psalm composer was to enter into the situation he composed for, in such a way that he could give expression to that which the ill-fated king then felt and ought to feel and say, still the poet was a part of it. The king represented *his* people, the disaster was also *his* disaster and the faith in Yahweh, the god of the covenant, and the relationship the praying one held to him, was also the faith and religious conditions of the poet. Here again we must



have in mind the ancient Israelite's view of society and of himself. He was a part — in certain cases the fully representative part — of a « corporate personality ». He is himself only when he is one with his family, his tribe, his people. He has no wish to be « original »; he wishes to realize Israel's ideal, Israel's human type. It is « good and pleasant » not only that « brethren dwell together », but also that they have « one heart » with each other and feel, think and will the same thing. When the hearts beat in unison then the Israelites are themselves. When he speaks for himself, « the fact that he is an Israelite, that he is a member of the fellowship, of God's people, that his God is Israel's God is never far below the horizon of his consciousness », to quote one of his modern compatriots.<sup>21</sup> When the Israelitic psalm-composer speaks in the name of the people or its leader there is room for his own individuality, for his own piety, his own faith, his own conviction of sin, his own gratitude, his own confidence in the God of the fathers, his own thanks for the blessings of the past and God's great miracle. The Israelitic poet holds exactly the same relationship to his subject as for example the poet who wrote : « God bless our precious father land » or « God bless the land of Norway ».<sup>22</sup> That the psalms have been written by professional temple-singers for use at cult activities, in no way implies that they are « degraded » to « formulas » as some people have maintained.

But the personal element also appears in another way. Many of them have been composed for use in situations which are so humanly common and familiar — for example disease — so that we can take for granted that also many of the professional

<sup>21</sup> C. C. Montefiore, *The Old Testament and After*, p. 282; here quoted from H. Wheeler Robinson in *The Psalmists*, ed. by D. S. Simpson, Oxford 1926, p. 83.

<sup>22</sup> The first lines of a hymn in the Hymnbook of the Norwegian Church, No. 791 (by E. Blix) and of an hymn by the norwegian poet Arne Garborg, respectively.



temple-singers had had similar experiences. We can safely assume that many of these poets had themselves passed through so much, that they knew what they were talking about. They could of course compose on the basis of a personal experience even if they wrote in the name of some one else. They knew both the « agony of death » and the joy of salvation in themselves. And there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that on such occasions they composed for their own use. That applies perhaps not so much to the psalms of sickness and those in mortal danger. On such occasions the Israelite felt so « dead », his « soul » was to such a degree « emptied », « poured out on the ground », he was so pressed into the dust, paralyzed by the fear of death, thrown into She'ol, swallowed up by the waves and breakers of death etc.,<sup>23</sup> that it is difficult for us to imagine that he had spiritual power enough left to compose poetry.<sup>24</sup> But he knew what it meant to be thrown into the depths of Hades. For that reason he could write about it when later on he was to compose a psalm to be used by one who was in that situation. But in the thanksgiving psalms he had a greater possibility of giving expression to that which he spontaneously felt at the time of writing. He may himself once have passed through the agony of death and salvation and for this reason have been able to express his gratitude both in a jubilant hymn to the God of salvation and in personal testimony before the assembled congregation.

But whether the poet wrote about his own experience or that of the congregation or anybody else, he had in any case the same possibility of giving expression to his own personal piety, the view of God and God's relationship to the people and the individual, which was his own, even though he shared it with most others who belonged to his circle and nation. The fact that, as a rule, he wrote on behalf of somebody else or with a typical constantly recurring situation in mind, does not

<sup>23</sup> S. Gunkel-Begrich, *Einleitung i. d. Pss.*, p. 185 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Psalmstudien VI*, p. 13 f.

exclude the personal elements, no more than the prevailing traditions of style could prevent the real poet from showing that he was one.

For this reason we should also be aware of the fact that the distinction between the praying one (the worshipper) and the poet in reality is only one which *we* make in order to make clear to ourselves the actual place in life of the psalms and their function and purpose in the cult. To the ancients themselves the fact was that the poet under no condition appears or should appear. He is completely anonymous and hides behind the worshipper, whether this is the congregation or its representative or the typical individual in a typical universal situation. Modern commentators and preachers often speak of «the psalmist» and of what he thinks and says and does. «The «psalmist» does not do the slightest thing except lend his word and his art to the praying, praising or thanking congregation or individual. He identifies himself wholly with the one in whose name and for whose use he writes and never appears on his own behalf as a cooperator in that which «happens» in the cult. The commentators speak for example of how the «voices» ought to be distributed in Ps. 2 and find in some cases that at first the poet speaks in v. 1-5 and conclude by referring to Yahweh in v. 6 whereupon the king speaks in v. 7b-9 and the poet finally speaks in v. 10-12 (so e.g. Barnes, *The Psalms*). This is a completely modern conception and without any connection with old Israelitic mentality and cult-poetry. The poet-prophet in no case appears directly. He has here made a poem which is to be recited by the king himself or on his behalf at a certain point in the liturgy of anointment, and consequently is supposed to be spoken out of and by the king. It is the king himself not the poet who quotes the election- and appointment oracle on which he bases his right.<sup>25</sup> The commentator here has

<sup>25</sup> What has confused modern exegetes is the corrupt text of TM in v. 6, which makes the verse a word spoken by Yahweh; the correct text, which is warranted by analogous proclamations in the Ugarit texts, is

the task of realizing the feelings and thoughts of the king not those of the poet.

When the poet says : « I will sing, I will thank » etc. he does not do so on his own behalf, but on that of the hymnsinger or the bringer of thank-offerings.

This of course does not prevent him from backing his own words or the sentiments and feelings to which he gives expression. On the contrary, as one who belongs to the congregation he knows that what he feels and says is what everybody in an ideal and normal way thinks or ought to think and speak in the typical situation before the face of Yahweh. He knows himself to be the normal and typical representative. For that reason he can let the psalms of gratitude and lamentation peal with full register in the way he knows he would have felt in a given situation, or the way he actually has felt when he has happened to be in the same situation, as a sick person seeking purification and help or as the healed one who is bringing his offering of thanksgiving. Just in the thanksgiving psalm with its express appeal to the congregation and the people with witness and admonition based on the personal experience of the worshipper — and that of the poet — it was natural that the worshipper appears more distinctly in person :

I will instruct thee and teach thee  
in the way which thou shalt go,  
I will fix my eye upon thee  
and guide thee with my counsel.

(Ps. 32,8; <sup>26</sup>; cf. 34,12).

In such cases the poet himself may at times also in a formal

found in LXX and partly in Jerome (s. *BHK*<sup>3</sup>); in this text the king himself speaks.

<sup>26</sup> V. 8 is obviously too short, some words are lacking For אִיעֶצָה LXX has אִיעֶצָה, cf. Prov. 16,30; but the context demands *both* conceptions; r. LXX and then : [בְּעֵצָתִי] וְאִיעֶצָה.

way for a moment appear and give a glimpse of himself without using the worshipper as his médium.

There is a close connection between the psalm poets and the temple prophets.<sup>27</sup> The temple prophet had a definite task in the cult liturgy and he was also to a certain extent a psalm-poet. He had to form in rhythmic words and stanzas the message from Yahweh which he should proclaim to the congregation at the festivals. Here the poet himself actually appears in the liturgy itself. But strictly speaking only in the introductory formula, not in the contents of what he says. He is distinctly not an independently appearing person, but the mouth-piece of Yahweh. He brings a message which he has received, whether it is as an observer and interpreter of the «signs» at the sacrifice or through a more or less ecstatic inspiration. He identifies himself wholly with Yahweh — not in the sense of the primitive «identity-mysticism», but in a moral sense; he makes himself one with Yahweh, surrendering his emotions and his will to him. On the basis of tradition, history and experience «he knows Yahweh» to be «the Lord of the covenant» and the king and watcher over Israel who has revealed his thoughts about his people through the events of history, and now again has pointed to them through the oracles of the festival and the ideas and the religious demands which are expressed through the progress of the liturgy. This «knowledge» having become actual and living through the experiences of the festival and the idea embodied in the liturgy, he proclaims the message. Then he speaks in the name of Yahweh, and even when he refers to Yahweh in the third person, he actually is speaking with the authority of Yahweh, and it is His message he proclaims or interprets.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cf. above p. 212 and n. 14 and further *Psalmenstudien VI*, p. 48 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten*, Leipzig 1914, p. 147 ff. — H. exaggerates the «identity» of the prophets with Yahweh and in connection with that also the ecstatic element; cf. Mowinkel, *Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den alttestamentlichen Profeten*, Oslo 1941, pp. 8-28.

Here it happens at times that the person of the prophet-poet appears in a short introductory formula like: « I will hear what the God says » (Ps. 85,9a). And it may be extended to become an introductory phrase of a more lyrical and personal nature; as in the combined adoration and benediction poem, Ps. 45, where the poet-prophet points to the inspired and efficacious words that he is going to proclaim :

My heart overfloweth with a goodly matter  
I say a (wonder-working) poem to the king.  
My tongue is the pen of the ready writer.

In spite of the I-form the emphasis here is not on the person of the poet but on the character of the efficacious words he now is going to proclaim implying that he is charged with it by Yahweh.

In the latest « didactic » mostly non-cultic psalm poetry of « the learned », the *hākāmim* of the type of Sirach, which is continued in the postcanonic times, e.g. in the « Psalms of Salomon », <sup>29</sup> the influence from the style of the « wisdom poetry » (Proverbia etc.) is strongly felt. It was a didactic poetry, in which the teacher of « wisdom » also refers to his personal experiences in the school of life. The subject of this poetry is to a large extent the basic religious problem of the Jews, the justice of God in relation to the distribution of happiness and suffering in the world. It becomes problem-poetry in which the individual's reflections, experiences and attempts at solutions play a prominent part.

It is then unavoidable that this puts its stamp on the style and that the person of the poet appears more clearly. He becomes the one who through his inspired authority has something to say to those who worry about the same problems. In the wisdom psalms the beginnings made in the « witness » of the

<sup>29</sup> Cf. H. Ludin Jansen, *Die spätjüdische Psalmdichtung* (Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II kl. 1937, No. 3).





« emancipation from the cult », should have produced more individualistic and newer poetic forms. That did not happen. Through the influence of the wisdom style in the psalms of the learned admonition and reflexion brought about a dissolution of the old styles of writing, because the poets no longer had the support which was offered by the connection with definite cultic situations. This led to an uncertain and styleless mixture of the old types of composition, which sometimes makes one uncertain about the actual meaning of the writer. Thus it is not immediately clear whether the writer of the art product, Ps. 119, intends to write a hymn about the law or a psalm of lamentation and prayer for help, using his love of the law as « a motive for being heard ». The last is really the fact. The new contribution of the psalm poetry of the learned has essentially been didactic and problem psalms. A really new type of psalms they have not created. As they had no more connection with the cultic life, the real « Sitz im Leben » of the psalm poetry, they have failed to realise what a psalm really is. Then — at least in my opinion — a « didactic psalm » is a *contradictio in adjecto*.

As a matter of fact, such exceptions as Ps. 73 and 49 with the other cases of the « I » of the poet, confirm the observation that the psalm writer is most of all himself and most genuine when he hides wholly behind the worshipper and enters completely into him and his situation, whether the worshipper represents the congregation (the people) or the individual Israelite in the typical life-situation of sorrow or joy.

When he then calls in agony out of the deep or jubilantly thanks for the experienced salvation, he *is* the worshipper. Just then he is completely personal and gives expression to his innermost I, exactly because he is a representative of a corporate personality, because his innermost soul is united with the congregation and its individual members in sorrow and joy. He knows them, lives in them, and knows what they feel, when they are themselves and correspond to the demands of the



situation. He feels the same, has perhaps many times felt it on his own behalf. Therefore he reaches the height of his artistic ability when he feels that now it is the soul of Israel and that of the typical Israelite, that vibrates in his lamentation or his praise. For this reason we also feel the personal heart-beat of this cult-poetry not less strongly in the sad melancholic « we-psalm », Ps. 90, than in the mighty expressions of God's omniscience in Ps. 139. In both cases the poet has identified himself with another, in Ps. 90 with the congregation, in Ps. 139 with a suffering sick one, or one struck with another disaster. Thereby he has found the most genuine expressions for his own personality.

Just because the poet is most completely himself when he is serving the congregation and its cultic needs, this purely personal element some times also breaks through in the outward form and makes it natural for him to use the « I » form even in a congregational hymn :

O Yahweh, *our* Lord...

When *I* consider thy heavens the work of thy  
[fingers...

(Ps. 8,2.4).

Cf. also Ps. 145,1 f. 21; 146,1 f. Just as naturally « I » and « we » sound together in « the pilgrim psalm » 122 :

*I* rejoice when they say to *me* :

« We are going to the house of the Lord ».

Now stand *our* feet, Jerusalem,  
within thy (holy) gates.

Against the interpretation of the transmitted « individual » psalms as cultic psalms, composed among the temple singers, Gunkel makes the objection that they are far too personal to have been « formulas » « like other cultic songs ». <sup>31</sup> Gunkel has here failed to realize both what the cultic psalm and what

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Gunkel-Begrich, *Eint. i. d. Pss.*, p. 282, 291.

« the personal » meant to the old Israel. The commentators who find that the cultic interpretation of the psalms reduces the psalms to « formulas » and denies them all personality has not really understood what it is all about. They represent an inherited ultraprotestant and rationalistic disregard of the important rôle of the cultic life in every religion, also in Christianity.

## 3.

Yet, in connection with the thanksgiving psalms the question arises if, perhaps, some of them after all may have been composed by the person in question. This would mean that it was not composed by the people of the cult for use by another person, who was to celebrate a feast of thanksgiving, and had not sprung out of a poetical identification with his situation. Gunkel, through his emphasis of the strongly personal experience behind the psalms of thanksgiving has pointed to something which is essentially right. The facts mentioned above p. 219 f one *might* imagine could point to a private poetry of this nature.

It is an actual fact that in the latest didactic psalm poetry of the « learned » we come across several thanksgiving psalms which without doubt are composed by the particular sufferer himself, but which were not intended for ritual use at some feast of thanksgiving in the temple (cf. Sir. 51,1 ff; 15,2 f; 39,5; 16,24 ff; Ps. Salom. 3; 10; 13; 15; 16). In the Book of Psalms we have at least one which is very similar to these learned didactic psalms of thanksgiving, and which it is most natural to look upon as a psalm of thanksgiving, namely Ps. 49 (s. above p. 225 f). As mentioned above the cause and situation of the thanksgiving are coloured by some of life's own danger and thrill. The worshipper looks back on vicissitudes involving a question of life and death. He has been all the way down into the jaws of Hades, death had already swallowed him up. In the very last moment Yahweh has drawn him out, and

jubilantly he can again breathe freely «in the land of the living» and feel life and freedom coursing through soul and body. He has been thrust down into doubt and despair, «his foot was nearly slipping». He was on the point of losing faith itself. The agony of sin — or the hardening of heart — gripped him. Darkness closed in on him — and now God has again led him into the light! Such is life, such is also the life of the pious.

Exactly with regard to psalms like 73 and 49 it is very difficult to free oneself from the definite impression that it is the person who himself was tried and served who has composed the psalm. Here there seems to be no reason, as so often in other cases, to distinguish between the worshipper and the person of the poet.

This personal element rings strongly behind the traditional and conventional form. — But it has here, oftener than in the other types of psalms, transformed itself and been on the point of breaking the traditional patterns.

In the thanksgiving psalms we perhaps meet with most deviations from the common style. In some of them the suffering and lamentation are very pronounced (Is. 38,10 ff; Ps. 116, 3.10 f; Jonah 2,3b-7b; Sir. 51,3 ff), in others the hymnic element sounds most strongly (Ps. 103; 138,2b.4 f), in others the didactic (Ps. 32,1 f. 6a.8-10; 92,8.13-15). In the royal psalm 18 the story is given with pompous adornment and mythological pictures; almost in a baroque style. In Jonah 2 the picturing of the mythologic ocean deep in the netherworld appears very vividly. Ps. 32 voices strong and completely personal words about the happiness in recognising and confessing one's sin; the traditional basic type is fairly well hidden behind the personal and didactic. That Ps. 73 is, and wishes to be, a thanksgiving psalm is not so easy to see behind the general but personally expressed form of the problem poetry. Ps 116 distinguishes itself by the irregular, back and forth treatment of the traditional elements and by its Hebrew, which is anything but classic. Through

them all the terrors of death and the jubilant joy of life ring with the strongest note. — All this shows that the poets here have felt personally engaged. This does not necessarily imply that the majority of these psalms may not be composed by the professional temple poets, s. above p. 219 f. They may very well have written on the basis of a personal experience and about their own case, even if they wrote for ritual use. But when we come to the didactic « wisdom psalm », Ps. 49, or the unclassical one, Ps. 116, it is natural to think of a non-professional author. Both Jesus Sirach and the Psalms of Solomon bear testimony to the fact that poetry actually was composed — among others non-cultic thanksgiving psalms — as private poetry.

It is obvious that one may ask how we shall then explain that such private poetry was included in the collection of transmitted cult psalms or even was used in the official worship in the temple. The history of the collection of the Book of Psalms shows however that there at least remains the possibility that some poems have been included in the collection which never were ritually used, such as Ps. 1 or 127. As for the thanksgiving psalms it is easy to show how this may have happened. There is evidence for the custom of writing a thanksgiving psalm on a votic stela or on parchment and placing it or laying it down « before Yahweh » in the temple;<sup>32</sup> on this custom we may interpret the superscription. *miktâb* in Isa. 38,9<sup>33</sup>. Just in such a way personal thanksgiving psalms as Ps. 73 and 49 may have been deposited as a votiv- and memorial gift to Yahweh and a testimony to future generations, and on a later occasion have been included in the transmitted treasure of psalms, the tradition of which was the job of the temple

<sup>32</sup> The memorial book of Nehemiah too, may originally have been laid down « before Yahweh » in the temple in this way; cf. Mowinkel, *Stattholderen Nehemia*, Kristiania (Oslo) 1916, p. 109 ff, 155 f.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *Psalms and Inscriptions of Petitions and Acknowledgement*, *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume*, Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research, New York 1945, p. 159 ff.

singers and the temple poets. In this way we can imagine that they also may have come to be used ritually in the cult.

On the other hand we ought not to overestimate the difference between the personal and the professional element in the thanksgiving psalms. The main part of these psalms, « the story » of the experiences of the worshipper <sup>34</sup> is as a rule very short, and kept in general or in mythological <sup>35</sup> terms, which does not make it easy to say anything concrete about them. Neither is it here possible to distinguish quite definitely between the psalms which speak about the anguish of the congregation, where the king is speaking, and the psalms in which any private person might be speaking, for instance about healing from sickness. The expressions are usually so general that they may be applied to all cases.

The personal element does not, as we have seen, exclude the possibility, that a psalm may be composed by people belonging to the temple cult. Suffering and hardship, sickness and mortal danger may be experienced by everybody. In the social organisation and the political life of that age they were much more common visitors than we had become accustomed to reckon with in the comparatively idyllic nineteenth century, before the great Ragnarok. The « professional » psalm poets have also been able from personal experience to speak about mortal danger and God's miraculous salvation. Great poets who, partly from their own experience, partly from poetic identification, have been able to sing with jubilant and entranced gratitude about the great and glorious deeds of God when he delivers the pious from death, may of course also have been among *them*. That which is personally felt, and genuine is not necessarily opposed to the cultic and that which is bound and regulated through cult agenda and office. The individual thanksgiving psalms are also on the whole ritual psalms and composed by the cult's own people.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Güntel-Begrich, *Einl. i. d. Pss.*, p. 268 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Ps. 9,14; 30,4,10; 40,3; 71,20; 103,4; 116,3; Is. 38,10 f. 14; Jon. 2,3 ff.



## THE UNITY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL <sup>1</sup>

H. H. ROWLEY

University of Manchester

WITH imposing unanimity critical scholars seem to be moving away from the once common belief in the unity of the book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> There are still conservative scholars who maintain the unity of the book and ascribe the whole to a sixth century author,<sup>3</sup> but of critical scholars who have dealt with the book in recent years few have defended its unity.<sup>4</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read as a Presidential Address to the Society for Old Testament Study in London, January 1950.

<sup>2</sup> The following abbreviations are used in this article: A.J.S.L. = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*; C.I.S. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*; C.Q.R. = *Church Quarterly Review*; G.G.A. = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*; J.B.L. = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; J.T.S. = *Journal of Theological Studies*; P.E.F.Q.S. = *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*; P.R.E. = J. J. Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed., edited by G. L. Plitt; 3rd ed., edited by A. Hauck; R. B. = *Revue biblique*; R.G.G. = *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1st ed., edited by F. M. Schiele and L. Zscharnack; 2nd ed., edited by H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack; R.H.P.R. = *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*; S.B.U. = *Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk*, edited by I. Engnell and A. Fridrichsen; T.C.A. = *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*; T.G.O.S. = *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*; Th.R. = *Theologische Rundschau*; Th.Z. = *Theologische Zeitschrift*; T.S.K. = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*; Z.A.W. = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; Z.K.T. = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*.

<sup>3</sup> So E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 1949, pp. 19 f.; also W. Möller, *Der Prophet Daniel*, 1934, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>4</sup> They include G. Luzzi, *Gli Agiografi*, 1925, pp. 255 ff.; R. H. Charles, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1929, pp. xxx ff.; H. L. Willett, in *The Abingdon Commentary*, 1929, p. 747;



true that the unanimity with which the unity of this book is denied dissolves into a chorus of discordant voices as soon as it is asked what view is to replace it, and there is no positive view which can claim anything like a consensus of opinion. It is also true that none of the divisive theories can offer an answer to the case for the unity, or avoid greater difficulties and embarrassments than those it seeks to remove. It may not be inopportune, therefore, to restate the case for the unity of this book, and to expose the weaknesses, as well as the variety, of the rival views. Since the rival views on this question current to-day all place the completion of the work in the Maccabaeae age, as also the present writer does, there would seem to be no need to argue the case for this here. Moreover, the discussion will be limited to the parts of Daniel which are accepted as canonical by Jews and by all varieties of Christians, and the extra-canonical, or deuterocanonical, parts not preserved in Hebrew or Aramaic will be left out of account.<sup>5</sup>

The *prima facie* grounds for a theory of at least two authors are obvious enough. The first half of the book consists of simple stories about Daniel, that any child could remember and repeat in substance, while the second part consists of visions seen by

G. H. Box, *Judaism in the Greek Period*, 1932, pp. 210 ff. (but cf. p. 207); H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, 1935, pp. 176 ff.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1941, pp. 760 ff.; B. Balscheit, *Der Gottesbund: Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 1943, pp. 198 ff.; *La Bible du Centenaire*, iii, 1947, p. xxv; *The Westminster Study Bible*, 1948, p. 1236; G. G. Hackman, in Alleman and Flack's *Old Testament Commentary*, 1948, p. 779. Oesterley and Robinson do not commit themselves to the maintenance of the unity of the book, though they plainly incline to it. Cf. *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, 1934, p. 336. In *C.Q.R.*, cx, 1930, p. 124, Oesterley had suggested that chapters i-vi may be somewhat older than the rest of the book, and may have been regarded as canonical before the later chapters were written by the same author.

<sup>5</sup> For a magnificently documented survey of recent work on every side of Daniel study, see W. Baumgartner, «Ein Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung,» in *Th.R.*, N.F. xi, 1939, pp. 59-83, 125-144, 201-228.

Daniel, becoming increasingly complicated and detailed, and impossible to be similarly repeated after being merely heard. Again, the first part of the book makes no pretence to have been written by Daniel, whereas the second part would appear to have come from his pen. Yet again, the first part of the book, with the exception of the opening chapter and a few verses of the next, is written in Aramaic, while the rest stands in Hebrew. There is thus an inner division within the book on grounds of language, of the character of the sections, and of pseudonymity or anonymity. If only these three tests yielded the same results, the case against unity would indeed be a strong one. Unhappily they do not. For the division of languages does not coincide with the division into stories and visions; nor does the transition from anonymity to pseudonymity coincide with either. We have not, therefore, a threefold cord which cannot be broken, drawing us to accept the division of the book, but three separate strands pulling us in different directions. We may proceed, as some have done, to import yet more authors to evade the difficulties; yet we find that the maximum number yet proposed does not escape them all, and involves fresh difficulties that cannot be resolved.

The dissection of the book is no new phenomenon, and before we come to the twentieth century divisive theories we may glance at some of their predecessors. In the seventeenth century Spinoza<sup>6</sup> already postulated a separate author for the last five chapters, which he held to be earlier than the first seven. In the following century Newton<sup>7</sup> supposed that the last six chapters were the work of Daniel and the first six were a later creation, and a similar view was held by Beausobre.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See B. Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1670, p. 130 (E. Tr. by R. Willis, 2nd ed., 1868, p. 209).

<sup>7</sup> See Sir Isaac Newton, *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, 1733, p. 10 (= *Sir Isaac Newton's Daniel and the Apocalypse*, new ed., by Sir Wm. Whitla, 1922, p. 145).

<sup>8</sup> See I. de Beausobre, *Remarques historiques, critiques, et philologiques sur le Nouveau Testament*, 1742, p. 70.

Towards the end of the same century, Eichhorn<sup>9</sup> maintained that the first six chapters had a different origin from the last six, which he too assigned to Daniel himself at first, but later<sup>10</sup> to an author in the Maccabaeen period. He thought that the section ii.4b-vi was drawn from a separate source, and that chapter i was written when the two parts of the book were combined.

Bertholdt,<sup>11</sup> at the beginning of the nineteenth century, postulated no less than nine authors. In this he was followed by Augusti.<sup>12</sup> Such a view is declared by Montgomery to indicate

<sup>9</sup> See J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, 2nd ed., iii, 1790, pp. 361 ff. (The writer has had no access to the first edition.)

<sup>10</sup> See *id.*, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., iii, 1803, p. 421: «Ein früherer Jude zeichnete auf, was die Tradition von Daniel und seinen drey Freunden meldete; ein späterer Jude aus den Zeiten kurz nach Antiochus Epiphanes, der den von seiner Nation erlebten Drangsalen der frühern und spätern Zeit ein prophetisches Gewand umwerfen wollte, stellte sie der Täuschung wegen seiner Kunst-Composition voran, und band sie durch die früheren Lebens-Nachrichten vom Daniel der Geschichte zu einem Ganzen.» This is repeated in the 4th ed., iv, 1824, p. 515, save for the correction of «Geschichte» to «Gesichte» at the end.

<sup>11</sup> See L. Bertholdt, *Daniel neu übersetzt und erklärt*, i, 1806, pp. 49 ff., 83 ff. Bertholdt held that chapter i was written in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or shortly after; chapter ii after the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus; chapter iii appreciably later; chapter iv at the beginning of the Maccabaeen period; chapters v and vi somewhat later; chapter vii in the time of Antiochus, shortly after the desecration of the Temple; chapter viii after the death of Antiochus; chapter ix somewhat later, its author being a Jerusalem priest; chapters x-xii most probably last of all. J. D. Michaelis had earlier hinted at a similar view of a variety of authors (*Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek*, i, 1771, p. 190), and then proposed the curious division of chapters iii-vi from the rest of the book, holding the remainder to be the authentic work of Daniel and these chapters to belong to the Greek period (*ibid.*, iv, 1773, pp. 28 ff. and *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments*, x, 1781, *Anmerkungen zum Propheten Daniel*, p. 22).

<sup>12</sup> See J. C. W. Augusti, *Grundriss einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung in's Alte Testament*, 2nd ed., 1827, pp. 319 ff.

a bankruptcy of criticism,<sup>13</sup> and it is not surprising that it secured so little following. When in 1822 Bleek<sup>14</sup> demonstrated the unity of the book he dealt all this criticism what Stuart<sup>15</sup> believed to be a deathblow from which it was unlikely to recover. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, accordingly, the unity of the book continued to be generally held, both by those who maintained the traditional date and by critical scholars who accepted the Maccabaeon dating.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, divisive theories were again beginning to appear. Lenormant<sup>16</sup> distinguished between the two parts of the book, and postulated a long and complicated history for it. He supposed the first part to have been composed in the time of the Great Synagogue, and the second part to have been written by an author who was acquainted with the first part. Later, he supposed, part of the text was lost and replaced by an Aramaic translation, into which he believed a number of glosses had crept. Quite different was the view of Havet,<sup>17</sup> who held that the first part of the book was to be differentiated from the second, which dated from Herodian times. He supposed that while the later chapters ostensibly point to Antiochus Epiphanes, he was merely a prudent substitute for Herod.

In a series of publications Meinhold<sup>18</sup> presented the view

<sup>13</sup> See J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1927, p. 92.

<sup>14</sup> See F. Bleek, « Über Verfasser und Zweck des Buches Daniel, » in Schleiermacher, de Wette and Lücke's *Theologische Zeitschrift*, Heft 3, 1822, pp. 171-294.

<sup>15</sup> See M. Stuart, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1850, p. 399.

<sup>16</sup> See F. Lenormant, *La Divination et la science des présages chez les Chaldéens*, 1875, pp. 169-227.

<sup>17</sup> See E. Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, iii, 1878, pp. 304-311; and in *Revue des deux mondes*, xciv, 1889, pp. 825-828.

<sup>18</sup> See J. Meinhold, *Die Composition des Buches Daniel*, 1884, p. 38; *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Daniel*, 1888, pp. 68 ff.; *Das Buch Daniel* (in Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*), 1889, p. 262.

that the Aramaic part of the book was composed in pre-Maccabaeen days by a different author from the writer of the Hebrew sections. He believed that chapters ii. 4b-vi were written *circa* 300 B.C., and that chapter vii was later added as an appendix, while the Hebrew beginning and end of the book date from the Maccabaeen period. Strack<sup>19</sup> adopted a similar view, though he subsequently expressed it more cautiously.

Shortly after the first of these publications of Meinhold's appeared, Lagarde<sup>20</sup> argued for a theory of the compilation of the book from several disconnected sources, and maintained that some of them were composed as late as the first century A.D., and were unknown to Josephus. He is thus one of the rare advocates of a post-Maccabaeen date for any part of the book.

In view of these new challenges, the defence of the unity of the book was once more undertaken, and when in 1895 von Gall<sup>21</sup> published his treatise on the question, the issue appeared once more to be firmly settled. Von Gall allowed, however, as many other advocates of the general unity of the book have allowed,<sup>22</sup> that the prayer of Daniel in ix. 4-20 was unoriginal.<sup>23</sup> So firmly did the issue appear to be decided that Cornill<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See H. L. Strack, in *P.R.E.*, 2nd ed., vii, 1880, p. 419 (cf. 3rd ed., ix, 1901, p. 748); in Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, i, 1883, p. 165; and, less confidently, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th ed., 1895, pp. 145 f., 5th ed., 1898, p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> See P. de Lagarde, review of Havet's *Études d'histoire religieuse*, in *G.G.A.*, 1891, pp. 497-520.

<sup>21</sup> See A. Freiherr von Gall, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel*, 1895.

<sup>22</sup> More recently von Gall has weakened his maintenance of the unity of the book. Cf. *Basilea tou Theou*, 1926, p. 266 n.: « Mag der Grundstock des Buches auch im 3. Jahrhundert entstanden sein, sein jetziges eschatologisches Gepräge hat es erst in der Zeit der Religionsverfolgung unter Antiochos IV erhalten. »

<sup>23</sup> This question will not be discussed in the present article.

<sup>24</sup> See C. H. Cornill, *Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 1905, p. 243 (E. Tr. by G. H. Box, 1907, pp. 390 f.).

could declare that hardly any other book of the Old Testament is so uniform or written in so single a strain.

Scarcely was the ink on von Gall's page dry, however, before fresh attempts at dissection were made. Before the century was out Barton<sup>25</sup> postulated a number of authors for the work. In addition to three original authors (responsible for chapters ii, iv, v, vii, viii; chapters ix and vi, composed in that order; and chapters x-xii) he distinguished a possible fourth hand in the author of chapter iii, and a redactor who composed chapter i and the concluding verses of the book, and who sprinkled editorial additions through the rest of the work. More simply, Dalman<sup>26</sup> argued that the first six chapters were from a different hand from the last six, and that the editor who combined the two parts translated the beginning of each into the language of the other. A similar position was taken up by Preiswerk<sup>27</sup> in a doctoral dissertation at the beginning of the present century.

From all of these challenges no pattern was even beginning to appear, and Bevan<sup>28</sup> had felt it to be unnecessary even to review their arguments, since the discordance between them sufficiently proved their arbitrariness. While it is disconcerting to find so little agreement as to where the book is to be divided, this somewhat contemptuous brushing of these theories aside was an inadequate reply. To-day it is even more inadequate, since the attacks on the unity of the book have continued to be made with fresh zeal during the present century, though with no more agreement. The attackers do, however, fall into groups with a measure of agreement within the group.

<sup>25</sup> See G. A. Barton, «The Composition of the Book of Daniel,» in *J.B.L.*, xvii, 1898, pp. 62-86.

<sup>26</sup> See G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 1898, p. 11 (E. Tr. by D. M. Kay, 1902, p. 13).

<sup>27</sup> See H. Preiswerk, *Der Sprachenwechsel im Buche Daniel*, 1902, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See A. A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1892, pp. 8 f.



Quite early in the century Torrey<sup>29</sup> argued, in a paper which has had great influence on subsequent writers, and which has much in common with the view of Dalman, that the first half of the book dates from the middle of the third century B.C., while the second half was composed in the Maccabaeian age, the author of the second half turning the beginning of the earlier work into Hebrew and composing the first part of his own work in Aramaic in order to dovetail the whole firmly together. This view has found a number of adherents who follow it more or less closely. Kent<sup>30</sup> found it quite convincing, and saw a sharp contrast between the first six chapters and the last six, both in literary style and in the representation of Daniel, and held that whereas the first half of the book contained no reference to Antiochus he occupies the central place in the second half. Similarly Montgomery<sup>31</sup> declared Torrey's solution the only one which recommended itself to him, but was doubtful<sup>32</sup> whether chapter vii should be regarded as a distinct composition standing between the writing of the first six chapters and that of the last five. Eissfeldt<sup>33</sup> similarly believed the first six chapters to have been an older work, dating from the third century B.C., while the last six were written by an author in the Maccabaeian period as a continuation of the older work, the first chapter of this half being written

<sup>29</sup> See C. C. Torrey, «Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel,» in *T.C.A.*, xv, 1909, pp. 241-282.

<sup>30</sup> See C. F. Kent, *The Growth and Contents of the Old Testament*, 1926, pp. 130 f.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 90. Gehman (see J. D. Davis, *The Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, revised by H. S. Gehman, 1944, p. 129) does not commit himself on Montgomery's view, though he observes that problems of authorship do not disturb the unity of the book, and would seem to reject it. He allows that Daniel 'could very easily be assigned to the second century B.C.,' but without definitely accepting this date. Cf., however, *Interpretation*, iii, 1949, pp. 479 f., where he more clearly accepts it.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>33</sup> See O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1934, pp. 574 ff.



in the language of the older work, and the rest in Hebrew. Vriezen,<sup>34</sup> too, adopts a similar view, though without committing himself to a date for the first half of the book.

An even more influential paper than Torrey's was written by Hölscher,<sup>35</sup> who argued that the division of the book should be made at the end of chapter vii, the first six chapters dating from the third century B.C., and the seventh being an appendix of slightly later date, while the last five chapters are of Maccabaeian date. Hölscher also maintained that Maccabaeian glosses had been added to the pre-Maccabaeian sections which he distinguished.<sup>36</sup> This view is in substantial agreement with that already briefly presented by Sellin,<sup>37</sup> and Meinhold<sup>38</sup> withdrew his earlier view in its favour. It is followed substantially by Obbink,<sup>39</sup> who thinks the acceptance of the unity of the work would give rise to inexplicable difficulties, and who divides the book at the end of chapter vi, but thinks the author of chapters vii-xii used an older basis for chapter vii. Gressmann,<sup>40</sup> Kuhl,<sup>41</sup> and Bentzen<sup>42</sup> also gave Hölscher's

<sup>34</sup> See Th. C. Vriezen, *Oud-israëlitische Geschriften*, 1948, pp. 230 f.

<sup>35</sup> See G. Hölscher, «Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel,» in *T.S.K.*, xcii, 1919, pp. 113-138.

<sup>36</sup> In *E.H.P.E.*, ix, 1929, p. 108, Hölscher speaks of «le premier livre des Maccabées, connu et utilisé par Daniel.» From this it would appear that he had changed his view and transferred the book of Daniel to a much later date.

<sup>37</sup> See E. Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1910, pp. 129 f. In the later editions Sellin observes that Hölscher affords convincing proof of the correctness of his hypothesis. So in the English translation by W. Montgomery, based on the 3rd German ed., 1923, p. 234, and in the 7th German ed., 1935, pp. 152 f.

<sup>38</sup> See J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., 1932, p. 355.

<sup>39</sup> See H. W. Obbink, *Daniël*, 1932, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>40</sup> See H. Gressmann, *Der Messias*, 1929, p. 346.

<sup>41</sup> See C. Kuhl, *Die drei Männer im Feuer*, 1930, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>42</sup> See A. Bentzen, *Daniel*, 1937, pp. vi f.; *Inledning til det Gamle Testamente*, I i, 1941, p. 176; *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii, 1949, p. 203.

view their adhesion, and Nyberg<sup>43</sup> appears broadly to follow it. He assigns chapters i-vii to the post-exilic period, but does not specify his adhesion to the view that chapter vii is to be separated from chapters i-vi, or commit himself to the acceptance of glosses in chapters ii and vii. His view is closely similar to that advanced many years earlier by Albright,<sup>44</sup> who contented himself with observing that the book of Daniel is obviously composite, and dating the first seven chapters in the first half of the third century B.C., and the last five without question in the Maccabaeian period. He thought the first part was written in Babylonia and was unknown in Palestine until the author of the second part wrote the concluding chapters.

Some other writers have contented themselves with dividing the book at the end of chapter vii, without isolating chapter vii from the preceding chapters. Thilo<sup>45</sup> followed this course, though he recognized glosses from the author of chapters viii-xii in the earlier part of the book. So, also, Welch,<sup>46</sup> though with some hesitation as to whether chapter vii belonged to the earlier or the later part of the book. He assigned the composition of the first part to a writer in Babylon. Eerdmans,<sup>47</sup> however, who also divided the book at the end of chapter vii, was convinced that the first part could not have been written before the fourth century B.C., though it embodied older traditions, while the closing chapters were Maccabaeian.

To this group belongs Weiser<sup>48</sup> also, who holds that the Maccabaeian author of chapters viii-xii found chapters i-vii in an older Aramaic work from which he extracted them, and

<sup>43</sup> See H. S. Nyberg, article on « Daniel, » in *S.B.U.*, i, 1948, col. 345.

<sup>44</sup> See W. F. Albright, *J.B.L.*, xl, 1921, pp. 116 f.

<sup>45</sup> See M. Thilo, *Die Chronologie des Danielbuches*, 1926, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See A. C. Welch, *Visions of the End*, 1922, p. 54.

<sup>47</sup> See B. D. Eerdmans, « The Origin and Meaning of the Aramaic Part of Daniel, » in *Actes du xvième congrès international des orientalistes*, 1932, pp. 198-202; *The Religion of Israel*, 1947, pp. 222 ff., 249.

<sup>48</sup> See A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1939, pp. 262 f.; 2nd ed., 1949, p. 234.

that he translated the first chapter into Hebrew to give the impression that it was all his own work. Scott,<sup>49</sup> again, held that the division of the book comes at the end of chapter vii, but maintained that chapter ii is drawn from two variant forms of the story, and that chapter vii consists of a *Grundschrift* which has been worked over. He thinks that there was first a collection of midrashic stories which consisted of chapters i-vi substantially, but that only the material from one source then stood in chapter ii, but that later the author of chapter vii introduced the material from the variant source into chapter ii, glossed chapters iv and vi, and wrote the *Grundschrift* of chapter vii. Still later another writer glossed chapter vii and added the closing chapters.

Haller<sup>50</sup> proposed to modify Hölscher's view by arguing that chapter vii is the oldest in the book, dating from the fourth century B.C., and thus antedating the section containing chapters i-vi. This was carried still further by Noth,<sup>51</sup> who argued that chapters ii and vii should both be dated in the fourth century B.C. He thought the former of these chapters was included in the collection of stories made in the course of the third century, but that the latter was glossed and added in the Maccabaeon period, after which the remaining chapters were added, still in the time of Antiochus. Baumgartner<sup>52</sup> dated the source that contained chapters i-vi in the Persian period, but believed that chapter vii in its earliest form belonged to the

<sup>49</sup> See R. B. Y. Scott, « I Daniel, the Original Apocalypse, » in *A.J.S.L.*, xlvii, 1930-31, pp. 289-296.

<sup>50</sup> See M. Haller, « Das Alter von Daniel 7, » in *T.S.K.*, xciii, 1920-21, pp. 83-87; *Das Judentum*, 2nd ed., 1925, pp. 272 f.

<sup>51</sup> See M. Noth, « Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel, » in *T.S.K.*, xcvi-xcix, 1926, pp. 143-163.

<sup>52</sup> See W. Baumgartner, *Das Buch Daniel*, 1926, p. 9; *Z.A.W.*, N.F. iii, 1926, p. 39; *R.G.G.*, 2nd ed., i, 1927, cols. 1781 f. More recently Baumgartner has assigned the first part of the book to the third century B.C. (cf. *Th.Z.*, i, 1945, p. 22), in closer agreement with Hölscher's position.

time of Alexander. He thus adhered to Hölscher's dissection of the sources, though differently dating the sections.

In one of the most recent studies of Daniel, Ginsberg<sup>53</sup> has developed the view of Hölscher, and attempted further dissection of the book as well as greater precision in the dating of the sections. He postulates a total of not less than six hands in the work. Of these the author of chapters i-vi wrote between 292 and 261 B.C., while chapter ii was glossed between 246 and 220 B.C. He ascribes the composition of chapter vii to the Maccabaeon period, between 175 and 167 B.C., though he finds later glosses in this chapter. Two further authors are postulated in 166 or 165 B.C., responsible for chapter viii and chapters x-xii respectively. Chapter ix is thought to have come from a yet later hand, and the glossing of the other parts of the second half of the book is held to have been done either by the same hand, or by one or two further writers. Here we seem to be getting back to the multiplicity of authors demanded by the view of Bertholdt, though Ginsberg's assignment of material to the various hands is quite different. More vaguely, Meyer<sup>54</sup> contented himself with supposing that the book is compiled from very different elements and has had a long history, though he shared with some of the writers noted above the view that the stories were composed within the compass of the third century B.C.<sup>55</sup>

One writer has reverted to the view that the first chapter was written by the author of the closing chapters, and that the Aramaic chapters alone are from an older source. This is the view of Beek,<sup>56</sup> who dates the Aramaic part of the book in the Persian period, and the rest in the Maccabaeon period.

<sup>53</sup> See H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 1948, pp. 5 ff., 27 ff.

<sup>54</sup> See E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 1925, p. 184.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>56</sup> See M. A. Beek, *Das Danielbuch*, 1935, pp. 91 ff.

Hertlein<sup>57</sup> belonged to the small group of writers who have brought part of the book down to a post-Maccabaeian period. But whereas Havet dated the second part of the work in the Herodian age, and Lagarde assigned chapters vii and ix-xii to the first century A.D., Hertlein assigned the first seven chapters to this late date, and held the remaining chapters to be Maccabaeian. His division of the book at the end of chapter vii agreed with some of the views already noted, though he has nothing else in common with the holders of those views. In his dating of the work he has found a hesitant follower in Stevenson,<sup>58</sup> but so far as the writer is aware he has found no other.

A few Catholic scholars have adopted a divisive theory, though most have belonged to the school that contended for the unity of the book and its composition in the sixth century B.C.<sup>59</sup> Lagrange,<sup>60</sup> Bigot,<sup>61</sup> and Bayer<sup>62</sup> went so far as to ascribe the composition of the whole book to the Maccabaeian age. Junker,<sup>63</sup> too, would date the composition of the whole

<sup>57</sup> See E. Hertlein, *Der Daniel der Römerzeit*, 1908, pp. 8 ff. For a criticism of Hertlein's positions, see K. Marti, in E. Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 3rd ed., ii, 1910, pp. 417 f.; 4th ed., edited by A. Bertholet, ii, 1923, p. 458.

<sup>58</sup> See W. B. Stevenson, « The Identification of the Four Kingdoms of the Book of Daniel, » in *T.G.O.S.*, vii, 1936, pp. 4-8, esp. p. 8.

<sup>59</sup> So still L. Hudal and J. Ziegler, *Précis d'introduction à l'Ancien Testament*, French Tr. by M. Grandclaude, 1938, p. 220, and C. Lattey, *The Book of Daniel*, 1948, pp. xxxvii ff., though less decidedly. Cf. also J. Prado, « Carácter histórico del libro de Daniel, » in *Sefarad*, iii, 1943, pp. 167-194.

<sup>60</sup> See M. J. Lagrange, *E.B.*, N.S., i, 1904, pp. 494-520; *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*, 2nd ed., 1931, pp. 62 f. B. Rigaux (*L'Antéchrist*, 1932, pp. 151 ff.) follows Lagrange.

<sup>61</sup> See L. Bigot, in Vacant and Mangenot's *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, iv, 1911, cols. 63-73. F. E. Gigot (*The Catholic Encyclopedia*, iv, 1908, pp. 623-625, is more non-committal on the date and authorship.

<sup>62</sup> See E. Bayer, *Danielstudien*, 1912, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>63</sup> See H. Junker, *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel*, 1932, pp. 101 ff.

then, but claims to establish that not only in the earlier chapters but also in the later the writer was reworking older sources. Riessler<sup>64</sup> more conservatively held that chapters vii-xii were the genuine work of Daniel in their original form, while chapters i-v were composed by a later hand in the Persian period, on the basis of written or oral traditions, and chapter vi was subsequently added from a separate source. He thought that in the Maccabaeen age glosses were added to chapters ix and xi, and the Greek words were introduced into chapter iii. Goettsberger's<sup>65</sup> view had much in common with Riessler's, though in some respects simpler. He dated the completion of the book about 300 B.C., but held that it embodied material going back to the time of Daniel himself. He therefore maintained that later glosses had been added to chapter xi. This had long been a popular view amongst those who dated the whole book before the Maccabaeen period.<sup>66</sup> Goettsberger's view has been followed by some other Catholic scholars, inclu-

<sup>64</sup> See P. Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel*, 1902, pp. xi-xiii.

<sup>65</sup> See J. Goettsberger, *Das Buch Daniel*, 1928, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>66</sup> So J. P. Lange, « Einleitung in das Alte Testament, » prefixed to *Genesis* in his *Bibelwerk*, 2nd ed., 1877, p. xxxv (E. Tr. by T. Lewis and A. Gosman, 1868, p. 38); O. Zöckler, *Der Prophet Daniel*, 1870, pp. 5, 16, 230 (E. Tr. by J. Strong, 1876, pp. 5, 17, 257); J. W. Bosanquet, *Messiah the Prince*, 1866, pp. 110 ff.; Küper, *Das Prophetenthum des Alten Bundes*, 1870, p. 395; C. H. H. Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies*, 1906, pp. 242 ff.; C. Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, 1923, pp. 3 ff. R. Cornely and A. Merk, while defending the unity and traditional date of the book, vaguely recognize the presence of glosses. See *Manuel d'introduction à toutes les Saintes Écritures*, French Tr. by Mazoyer, i, 1930, p. 744. The translator of Zöckler will have none of this tampering with the sacred text, and observes that Zöckler is inconsistent in objecting to a pseudonymous work of Scripture, but allowing interpolation. He observes 'The distinction in this respect between a whole work and a part only is too nice to escape the odium of a « pious fraud »' (loc. cit., p. 5 n.). It should be added that these writers differed widely in their definition of the alleged interpolations,



ding Höpfl-Miller-Metzinger,<sup>67</sup> while Linder<sup>68</sup> modified it to the extent of holding that chapters vii-xii in their original form came from the pen of Daniel himself, while chapters i-vi were written either by Daniel or by another in the same period, but that the editorial combination of the two parts was effected *circa* 300 B.C. Rinaldi<sup>69</sup> adopts a similar position, while Kalt<sup>70</sup> thought the work had a long history, and that parts remained separate until a late date. Nötscher,<sup>71</sup> again, dates the completion of the book in the Maccabaeian age, but believes that it was compiled from many elements which were much older. This is substantially the view of Dennefeld,<sup>72</sup> who had earlier been more non-committal.<sup>73</sup> Steinmueller<sup>74</sup> is less definite, and inclines to regard the book as of Danielic origin, but preserved for us in a later redaction.

It therefore appears that while the great majority of these scholars who believe the book of Daniel to be composite date its completion in the Maccabaeian age, or think it was glossed in that age, they differ widely as to the date of the earlier parts of the book, and as to the delimitation of its various sections. If there is so little consensus of opinion as to which were the earlier parts, we can have little confidence in the method whereby these varying results were reached.<sup>75</sup> Particularly signifi-

<sup>67</sup> See H. Höpfl, *Introductio specialis in Vetus Testamentum*, 5th ed., edited by A. Miller and A. Metzinger, 1946, p. 482.

<sup>68</sup> See J. Linder, *Commentarius in Librum Daniel*, 1939, pp. 56 f.

<sup>69</sup> See G. Rinaldi, *Daniele*, 1947, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>70</sup> See E. Kalt, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 2nd ed., i, 1938, col. 359.

<sup>71</sup> See F. Nötscher, *Daniel* (in *Echter-Bibel*), 1948, pp. 6 f.

<sup>72</sup> See L. Dennefeld, *Les Grands Prophètes*, 1947, p. 638.

<sup>73</sup> See *Introduction à l'Ancien Testament*, 1935, pp. 175 ff. J. Chaine, in A. Robert and A. Tricot, *Initiation Biblique*, 1939, p. 109, had similarly avoided committing himself, as does the Protestant writer Fleming James (*Personalities of the Old Testament*, 1939, p. 556).

<sup>74</sup> See J. E. Steinmueller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies*, ii, 2nd ed., 1944, pp. 272 f. Cf. B. Alfrink, in *Bijbelsch Woordenboek*, 1941, col. 276.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. F. Buhl, in *P.R.E.*, 3rd ed., iv, 1898, p. 451): « Betrachten



cant is the inability to decide whether chapter vii belongs to the earlier or later part of the book, or to neither, or whether to tear it apart and attach some verses to one and some to the other. Some find clear evidence that this chapter is not a unity, but comes from two hands or has been glossed, while others see nothing in it to suggest more than a single hand.

To traverse separately all the arguments advanced in favour of each of these views would be wearisome and would tend to much repetition, especially since the effective answers to many of the arguments can be found in the case for others of these divisive views. It will probably be more satisfactory, therefore, to present anew the case for the unity of the book, and to preface it by saying that none of the challengers has considered the cumulative weight of all these arguments. Account will be taken of the principal critics of the various arguments, and reasons will be offered for considering their attack unsuccessful. At the same time enough will be said to indicate the lines of the reply to all these divergent challenges.

(1) *It is generally agreed that chapters viii-xii come from a single hand, and are to be related to the events of the Maccabaeon age.*

It has been said that some have maintained an earlier date and have resorted to the assumption that these chapters have been glossed in the Maccabaeon age. No solid reasons for separating these glosses have been offered, save that the allusions are more specific than an earlier writer might be expected to make. But this is to base the case for the alleged glosses on a theory of the origin of the book and not on the evidence. Accepting, then, the view that the last five chapters come

wir zunächst die Frage nach der Einheit des Buches, so lässt es sich nicht leugnen, dass die total verschiedenen Resultate, zu welchen die Bekämpfer der Einheit gekommen sind, wenig Vertrauen zu dieser Kritik erwecken.» Cf. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, iii, 1909, p. 348 n,

from the Maccabaeon age in their present form, and that there is no evidence against their unity, we observe that the Little Horn of chapter viii took away the continual burnt offering and laid the sanctuary waste.<sup>76</sup> In chapter ix the climax comes when the sanctuary is destroyed and the sacrifices cease.<sup>77</sup> In chapter xi the great Antichrist profanes the sanctuary and takes away the sacrifice.<sup>78</sup> All of these indications appear to point to the same time, and this impression is confirmed by the obviously connected, though slightly varying, expressions found in viii. 13 (הַפֶּשַׁע שָׁמָּה), ix. 27 (שְׁחָצוֹן מִשְׁמָה) xi. 31 (הַשְׁחָצוֹן מִשְׁמָה), and xii. 11 (שְׁחָצוֹן שָׁמָּה). The irregularities in concord and in the use of the article are striking, and the view of Nestle,<sup>79</sup> that we have here an alteration, in part contemptuous and in part punning, of the expression בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם has been widely adopted. On this view שְׁחָצוֹן or פֶּשַׁע replaced בַּעַל, while שָׁמָּה or מִשְׁמָה replaced שָׁמַיִם. Some years ago the present writer suggested<sup>80</sup> that שָׁמָּה or מִשְׁמָה may have had a double reference, indicating the desolation of the sanctuary by Antiochus and the shock this gave the faithful, and also the madness of the desolator, since the root is associated with both meanings. For it is almost certain that all of these phrases pointed to Antiochus and the heathen image and altar which he erected in the Temple, and especially since 1 Macc. i. 54 tells us that what Antiochus erected on the altar in the Temple was known as the 'abomination of desolation.'<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Dan. viii. 11.

<sup>77</sup> Dan. ix. 26 f.

<sup>78</sup> Dan. xi. 31.

<sup>79</sup> See E. Nestle, « Der Greuel der Verwüstung, » in *Z.A.W.*, iv, 1884, p. 248.

<sup>80</sup> See *Z.A.W.*, N.F. ix, 1932, pp. 264 f.

<sup>81</sup> The Greek phrase βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως stands in LXX at xi. 31 and in Theodotion at xii. 11, while LXX has βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως in xii. 11, and both LXX and Theodotion have βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων in ix. 27. In xi. 31 Theodotion has βδέλυγμα ἡφανισμένον, and in viii. 13 both LXX and Theodotion have ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐρημώσεως.

(2) *Chapter vii is closely bound to chapter viii.*

The Little Horn of chapter vii had a mouth speaking great things and made war on the saints; he spoke against the Most High and thought to change times and the law, until he was judged and overthrown and the everlasting kingdom of the saints of the Most High was established.<sup>82</sup> The Little Horn of chapter viii waxed great, even to the host of heaven, and magnified itself even to the prince of the host; it stood up against the prince of princes, until it was suddenly destroyed without hand,<sup>83</sup> while, if the consummation is rightly associated with the consummation of the following chapters, its end heralded the coming of an enduring order in which the righteous should rise to everlasting glory.<sup>84</sup> In both cases, therefore, the Little Horn is portrayed as of the same character, the enemy of God and of the Law, and in both his swift end is the prelude to the setting up of the everlasting kingdom. The most natural interpretation of these passages found in the same book is in relation to the same events, and strong reasons ought to be provided before we are asked to assign them to different authors. Some of the dividers of the book assign these chapters to the same author, and others hold that the author of chapter viii was responsible for the parts of chapter vii to which reference is here made. Hence for the present purpose all of these are allied with the present writer against those who would divide the book at the end of chapter vii, without going on to dissect that chapter.

(3) *Chapter vii is also closely bound to chapter ii.*

There have been a few interpreters who have differently interpreted the four profane kingdoms of Nebuchadnezzar's vision and the four beastly kingdoms of Daniel's vision,<sup>85</sup> but

<sup>82</sup> Dan. vii. 8, 21, 25-27.

<sup>83</sup> Dan. viii. 11, 12, 25.

<sup>84</sup> Dan. xii. 2 f.

<sup>85</sup> See H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede*, 1935, pp. 64 f.

the great majority of interpreters have held firmly to the unity of the interpretation. Such fundamental differences as are sometimes emphasized belong to the forms of the visions rather than to the substance of their messages. In the first vision the four parts of the image are seen simultaneously, but the interpretation shows that they are successive kingdoms; in the second vision the animals rise successively, and again represent successive kingdoms. Ginsberg<sup>86</sup> has alleged a significant and crucial difference in that the kingdoms of the first vision were simultaneously destroyed when the image fell, whereas in the second vision the first kingdom was already destroyed, while the second and third survived to share in the destruction of the fourth. Even if this were true, it would have to be remembered that the form of the first vision involved the simultaneous destruction, though it is implied that imperial power had passed from each to its successor. It has, however, to be observed that this difference is one which Ginsberg imports by textual emendation in vii. 4. He transfers the words 'and it was made to stand upon two feet as a man' to verse 5, and then understands 'it was lifted up from the earth' to mean that it was destroyed.<sup>87</sup> Since the words cannot possibly have that meaning in the present text, it can hardly be claimed that they *must* have the meaning which Ginsberg desiderates,<sup>88</sup> and in any case the argument for a fundamental difference of conception between the two chapters is here of the weakest, since it confessedly does not rest on the text which has come down to us. Moreover, it may be added that vii. 12 is most naturally understood to refer to the first three kingdoms as surviving the fourth, though robbed of their dominion.

In both visions the four kingdoms are swept away by super-human power, and their destruction is the prelude to the

<sup>86</sup> See H. L. Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 f.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>88</sup> Ginsberg declares that this phrase « can have only one meaning : it perished » (*ibid.*, p. 65).

establishment of the everlasting kingdom. In the one a stone cut without hands brings the image down, while in the other the judgement of the Ancient of Days was apparently executed by the host of angelic ministrants who attended Him. Here we are reminded of the end of the Little Horn of chapter viii, who should be broken without hand. When we find in the same book two passages describing the establishment of an everlasting kingdom, the presumption is that the same kingdom is intended, and strong reasons are required before they can be differently understood. Here Ginsberg<sup>89</sup> points to what he holds to be significant evidence that chapter ii is pre-Epiphonian and chapter vii Epiphonian, in that chapter ii does not hint at any special position of the Jews in the enduring kingdom, whereas chapter vii does refer to the position of the saints of the Most High. This consideration, along with others whose weakness has been already exposed or will be exposed in the following sections, is held to *prove* diversity of date and origin. It is unreasonable to demand that an author must say everything he has to say on a subject every time he deals with it. There is nothing here in what is said in chapter ii that is in the least inconsistent with what is said in chapter vii. No loyal Jew, such as the author of this chapter certainly was, would be likely to think of the Kingdom of God without any relation to the Jewish people and its faith. Least of all could the author of the surrounding chapters — for Ginsberg does not differentiate the author of chapter ii from the author of the surrounding chapters — be supposed to have thought of that kingdom without relation to the Jewish people and its faith.

(4) *The emasculation of chapter ii by the removal of alleged glosses rests on no solid evidence, and merely reduces the effectiveness of the story.*

Here it is common to strike out as secondary verses 41b-43, and also the reference to toes in verse 41a, on the ground that

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

here we have elements in the interpretation which did not figure in the vision. It will be shown below that this is an argument for the originality of the verses rather than for their elimination. Torrey,<sup>90</sup> who did not strike out these verses, held them to point to a date in the middle of the third century B.C. for the whole of the first half of the book, whereas Ginsberg accepts Torrey's date for these verses, but dates the rest of this chapter and of the first part of the book earlier in the third century.<sup>91</sup> His reason for the earlier dating is not cogent, as has been already indicated. For it rests on the alleged difference between chapters ii and vii as to whether the first kingdom survives until the destruction of the fourth. Ginsberg thinks chapter ii must have been written during the period 292-261 B.C., during which a Babylonian kingdom existed.<sup>92</sup> Since the interpretation of the vision of chapter ii plainly says that the empires are successive, it is not legitimate to press the form of the vision in this way. Moreover, since chapter vii equally represents the first kingdom as continuing to exist, though robbed of *imperium*, yet is dated by Ginsberg in the Maccabaean age, it cannot be argued that chapter ii *must* have been written a century earlier on this ground. For Ginsberg's groundlessly emended translation has been shown to be insufficient to establish a difference between the chapters.

The argument for the dating of verses 41b-43, where Ginsberg is in agreement with Torrey, is that the mingling of seed which failed to unite the iron and the clay must refer to the marriage of Antiochus II with Berenice, which ended in the Laodicean war and the weakening of Seleucid rule.<sup>93</sup> The Ptolemaic power is therefore the iron on this view, and the Seleucid the clay. That others who assign chapter ii to a pre-

<sup>90</sup> See *T.C.A.*, xv, 1909, pp. 246 f.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 8 f.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>93</sup> Already Bertholdt (*op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.) took this view, and based his dating of this chapter on it.



Maccabaeon date hold these same verses to be a Maccabaeon interpolation<sup>94</sup> is enough to throw doubt on this contention. For the daughter of Antiochus III, Cleopatra, married Ptolemy Epiphanes early in the second century B.C. This union led to no real solidity between the two houses, but to war in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,<sup>95</sup> who was checked by the intervention of Rome. Clearly, then, the Ptolemaic kingdom was weak at this time, whereas in relation to it the Seleucid power was still great.

There is no solid ground for dating either these verses or the rest of the chapter before the Maccabaeon age, or for separating these verses from the rest. Without them the chapter is merely vague, and they contain the only reference to the expected time of the awaited climax found in the chapter. No evidence is offered that any Jew in the middle of the third century, when the chapter is held to have been written, or these verses to have been added, would be likely to expect that the consequences of the marriage of Antiochus II would precipitate world-shaking events.<sup>96</sup> Into the consequences of the later intermarriage the Jews were deeply drawn, and it was when Antiochus IV fell back from Egypt on Jerusalem in a mood of

<sup>94</sup> So Sellin, *loc. cit.*; Hölscher, *T.S.K.*, xcii, 1919, pp. 122 f.; Haller, *Das Judentum*, 2nd ed., 1925, pp. 279 f.; Noth, *T.S.K.*, xcvi-xcix, 1926, p. 155; Thilo, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 f.; Junker, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>95</sup> Both of these intermarriages are referred to in Dan. xi (verses 6, 17). It is therefore arbitrary for Torrey to argue that the reference in Dan. ii. 43 *must* be to the former (*loc. cit.*, p. 246 f.).

<sup>96</sup> Torrey points out (*ibid.*, p. 247) that the sequel to the first of these intermarriages made it appear likely that the Seleucid dynasty would lose its last possession, Northern Syria, before the shattering blows of Ptolemy. But that is not what Dan. ii has in mind. It speaks not of the crushing of the clay by the iron, but of the destruction of both and the inauguration of the new world power established by God. In the second century B.C., following the second intermarriage, this expectation is known to have existed, and it is recognized by both Torrey and Ginsberg. What neither has produced is the slightest evidence of its existence in 245 B.C.



chagrin after being humiliated by the Romans that he 'thought to change times and seasons,' and matched himself against the God of the Jews.

(5) *The emasculation of chapter vii by the removal of alleged glosses rests on no more solid evidence, and leaves the story with little identifiable point.*

It has been observed that there is no agreement among the dissectors of the book as to whether this chapter is glossed or not. Even those who hold it to be glossed cannot agree as to which are the glosses.<sup>97</sup> In Stevenson's view<sup>98</sup> the work of the interpolator is to be seen in verses 21 f., since they introduce particulars not already given in the vision, and then he eliminates the reference to the saints in verses 18 and 27. It will be seen below that the reason offered for holding verses 21 f. to be an interpolation is really a strong reason in favour of their originality. Riessler<sup>99</sup> rejects as glosses the four heads of verse 6, and all that relates to the eleven horns, but thinks these glosses were added at different times. That relating to the four heads he supposes to have been introduced by one who thought of the third beast as representing Alexander's divided kingdom,<sup>100</sup> while those relating to the horns he thinks were added by one who thought of Alexander as the first of the horns of the fourth beast. Sellin<sup>101</sup> contented himself with removing verses 8, 20-22, 24 f., while Hölscher,<sup>102</sup> Haller,<sup>103</sup> Thilo<sup>104</sup> and Scott<sup>105</sup> remove also the end of verse 7, and verse 11a. The purpose of these excisions is to get rid of the reference

<sup>97</sup> Cf. W. Baumgartner, *Th.R.*, N.F. xi, 1939, p. 77.

<sup>98</sup> See *T.G.O.S.*, vii, 1936, p. 7. Cf. Hölscher, *loc. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 68 f.

<sup>100</sup> H. Gressmann (*Der Messias*, 1929, pp. 344 f., 366 f.) thought the four beasts of chapter vii represented the successors of Alexander.

<sup>101</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>102</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>103</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 295 ff., 299.

<sup>104</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.

<sup>105</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 294.

to the Little Horn, or to all the Horns, and thus to leave the chapter shorn of its strongest link with chapter viii. But the reasons offered for the mutilation will not bear examination. Thus, Scott<sup>106</sup> rejects them because they are the only parts of the chapter which connect it with the Maccabaeian period, and because verses 21 f. mix up symbolic and real figures in a way that is unlike anything else in chapter vii, but precisely like what is found in viii. 9-12. It is not, indeed, surprising that if the parts of chapter vii which show this feature are removed, the rest does not show it. It is equally true that if the parts of the following chapters which point to the Maccabaeian period were removed, the rest would not give any clear reference to it.<sup>107</sup> It is similarly true to say that if the verses of chapter viii which mix the symbolic and the real were removed, that chapter could as easily as this be relieved of this feature. But if it is allowed that the author of chapter viii could mix these up, and also recognized that in chapter vii they are similarly mixed, it can hardly be claimed that the reasons offered for their excision from chapter vii are convincing.

Ginsberg<sup>108</sup> differs from the group of scholars just mentioned in retaining verses 7b $\beta$ , 20a $\alpha$ , and 24a, while rejecting the rest of the material rejected by Hölscher and Scott. Instead of holding with most of the other dissectors of this chapter that it existed first in a pre-Maccabaeian form, and that it was then glossed in the Maccabaeian age, he holds that it was first written in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and glossed a few years later in the same reign. The original writer, on this view, mentioned the ten horns, intending by them to indicate ten kings from Alexander to Antiochus. The glossator, however, is thought to have differently understood the ten horns, and to have intended the eleventh to be identified with Antiochus.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> So, e.g. Lange (*loc. cit.*) excised as unoriginal x. 1-xi. 44, xii. 5-13, and Zöckler (*loc. cit.*) excised much of xi. 5-39.

<sup>108</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 11 f.

It is highly improbable that the chapter would be misunderstood and reinterpreted so soon after its composition, and if it were, it is likely that the interpolator would have made the new meaning much clearer than it is. It should be added that Ginsberg's view of the new meaning is also highly improbable in itself. For he supposes the glossator, intended the ten horns to be understood to refer to ten contemporary kings, of whom seven were such kings as those of Cappadocia, Bithynia, Pontus, Commagene, Parthia, Sparta and Macedonia — though he does not pin himself to this particular list — while the remaining humbled kings were Artaxias of Armenia and the two young Ptolemies of Egypt. But Antiochus did not put down the two Ptolemies from the Egyptian kingdom,<sup>109</sup> much as he would have liked to do so, and it is improbable that any contemporary would think of the ruler of the Seleucid kingdom as a Little Horn in comparison with, say, the ruler of Bithynia or Sparta.

Noth is perhaps the most radical of all dissectors in his treatment of this chapter. He ascribes chapters ii and vii to the same hand,<sup>110</sup> and holds that they are the oldest parts of the book, dating from the time of Alexander. But he whittles down the chapter far more than Hölscher does, regarding verses 1-7abα as its earliest part.<sup>111</sup> The secondary verses 7bβ, 8 he believes to have been added before 168 B.C., at which time the chapter consisted of 1-8, 11b, 15, (16), 17, 19f,

<sup>109</sup> The present writer has argued (*Darius the Mede*, pp. 112 f.) that Ptolemy Philometor was one of the uprooted horns, but uprooted from the Seleucid line. Jerome tells us that there were some in Syria who favoured the claim of Ptolemy as against Antiochus (cf. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, 1845, col. 566), and since Ptolemy was a Seleucid on his mother's side, this is quite credible. But this is very different from Ginsberg's view, for which no evidence is, or can be, presented. It is not merely not known that Antiochus uprooted the Ptolemies from Egypt, but definitely known that he attempted to do this and failed.

<sup>110</sup> See *T.S.K.*, xeviii-xcix, 1926, pp. 158 f.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

23f, 25aα, 26b.<sup>112</sup> Subsequently verse 25aβb, which is dependent on the more recently appended chapters viii and ix is held to have been added, followed successively by verses 21, 22b, verses 9, 10, 13, 14, verses 18, 22a, 26a, 27.<sup>113</sup> It is not clear at what stage the remaining additions are supposed to have come in. This highly complicated literary history of the chapter is supported by no weighty arguments. The fact that 1 Enoch has several connexions with Dan. vii. 9, 10, 13, but interprets the 'Son of Man' differently is held to prove that both books draw from a common source.<sup>114</sup> It is equally simple to suppose that the author of 1 Enoch drew the idea from the book of Daniel, but reinterpreted the term in a manner not at all uncommon in apocalyptic works. The connexion of vii. 25aβb with the situation presented in the following chapters may be agreed, but that in no way proves that it is less original here than the connected verses there.<sup>115</sup>

None of this can be accepted as convincing analysis. Nor can the chapter when stripped of these alleged interpolations yield a satisfying meaning. Ginsberg leaves the chapter still Maccabaeal, but most of the other dissectors hold it to be pre-Maccabaeal, and find it to give only a vague picture of four successive kingdoms to be followed by the supernatural establishment of an eternal kingdom. As the chapter stands, it represents the succession of earthly kingdoms as reaching the climax of pride and iniquity in the moment when the divine intervention in history takes place. But the emasculated chapter leaves us with the fourth kingdom continuing for an indefinite period until the dénouement of history takes place à propos of nothing in particular. That there was a widespread expectation of four successive empires, to be followed by the crown of history, long antedating the Maccabaeal period, is not to be

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161 f.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. also Junker, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

denied.<sup>116</sup> But that it was expressed by some Hebrew writer with the measure of circumstantiality that marks the emasculated chapter, yet missing all dramatic quality by the omission of any setting for its climax, cannot be established from the fact that it contains precisely the desiderated setting. It is not self-evident that it required an interpolator to improve the chapter, and that the original writer must have told a flat and jejune story.

(6) *Despite the efforts that have been made to prove that the Aramaic of chapter vii is different from that of chapters ii-vi, no real difference can be established.*

Charles<sup>117</sup> has shown more points of contact between the Aramaic of this chapter and that of those which precede it than all the alleged points of difference. Scott<sup>118</sup> objects that the points of contact are all found within what he calls the *Grundschrift* of chapter vii, and not in the alleged interpolations. Even if this were true, it would have to be remembered that these extend to but a few verses, and no writer can be expected to exhibit his characteristics in every line. On the other hand, no differences between the Aramaic of the interpolations and that of the preceding chapters can be established.

It is not, however, the case that the points of contact do not extend to these verses. For Charles notes the use of the feminine form אַחֲרִי (for which אַחֲרָה is found in the Elephantine papyri) in ii. 39 (*bis*), and in vii.5, 6, 8, 20, of which the last two stand in supposed interpolations; also the use of רִכָּן in ii.31 and in vii.20, 21, of which the last two are held to be in interpolations; and the use of בִּאֲרִין twenty-four times in ii. 4b-vi, and in vii. 1, 11, of which the last is in an alleged

<sup>116</sup> Cf. J. W. Swain, «The Theory of the Four Monarchies Opposition History under the Roman Empire,» in *Classical Philology*, xxxv, 1940, pp. 1-21, and W. Baumgartner, «Zu den vier Reichen von Daniel 2,» in *Th.Z.*, i, 1945, pp. 17-22.

<sup>117</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. xl ff.

<sup>118</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 294.

interpolation. Especially significant is the use of דָּבָן which is peculiar to the Aramaic of Daniel.<sup>119</sup>

The weakness of Scott's case is finally exposed, however, when he notes that 'one curious difference between the Aramaic of chapter 7 and that of the previous chapters is the use of אָרָן for אֱלֹן in verses 2, 5, 6, 7, and 13. Here again is a difference from the interpolated « horns material, » where אֱלֹן occurs in verse 8.'<sup>120</sup> After having associated the *Grundschrift* with the previous chapters and having distinguished the alleged interpolations from them by the claim that community of usage was not established, he now seizes on a case where the precise opposite is found to support his case. For here the alleged interpolated material agrees with the preceding chapters, whereas his *Grundschrift* does not. This is surely a singular case of wanting it both ways. No differences between the interpolations and the preceding chapters are pointed out; the only difference that is noted is one between the supposed *Grundschrift* and the preceding chapters. So far as this is concerned, it should be observed that אָרָן is apparently a later form than אֱלֹן, since אֱלֹן is found in earlier Aramaic and אֱרִי in Mishnaic Hebrew. An interpolator in a document which already employed the later form, therefore, might be himself expected to employ that later form. There is no reason to presume that a single author could not use both forms, however, side by side in a single chapter, if he lived at the time when the transition was taking place. In Jer. x. 11 we find אֲרָקָא and אֲרַעָא side by side, and the Elephantine papyri provide us with many examples of the same thing. No difference of hand within chapter vii can be established on this ground, and still less can any difference of hand from the author of the earlier chapters be established.

<sup>119</sup> The word דָּבָן appears in one Palmyrene inscription (cf. *P.E.F. Q.S.*, 1928, p. 101, and *C.I.S.*, ii, (III i, 1926), 4174:6), but J. B. Chabot (*C.I.S.*, *ad loc.*) is doubtful whether it is to be identified with the demonstrative pronoun here.

<sup>120</sup> *Loc. cit.* Cf. Hölseher, *loc. cit.*, pp. 120 f.



(7) *Chapter vii is linked with the earlier chapters in that it is written in Aramaic, and equally with the later chapters, in that it has many links of phraseology with them, despite the fact that they are written in Hebrew.*

The fact that chapter vii is written in Aramaic has led many to divide the book at the end of that chapter; the links with the following chapters have led others to divide the book at the end of chapter vi. Yet others, as we have seen, make an inner dissection of this chapter in order to distribute the parts according to their connexions. Hölscher<sup>121</sup> declares that there are many lexical correspondences between the verses he wishes to omit from chapter vii and chapters viii-xii. What he omits to note is that there are also correspondences between the rest of that chapter and chapters viii-xii. The phrase 'the four winds of heaven' is found in vii. 2 and in viii. 8, xi. 4; there is a reference to the 'books' of judgement in vii. 10 and xii. 1; the use of 'the end' in vii. 26, 28 may be compared with that in viii. 17, 19, xi. 6, 27, 35, 40, xii. 4, 6, 9, 13; and 'the truth' in 16, 19 may be compared with the corresponding word in xi. 2. All of these bind the rest of the chapter as securely to the later chapters of the book as the links which Hölscher recognizes bind the alleged interpolations to the later chapters.

(8) *Chapter vii is linked both with the preceding anonymous chapters and with the succeeding pseudonymous chapters.*

The first six chapters tell stories about Daniel, or about his friends, without the slightest indication that they were written by Daniel. The last five chapters are written in the first person, as though by Daniel himself. Chapter vii begins in the third person, and then turns over to the first person. This transition bears no relation to the alleged glosses, which are held to stand in this chapter, and their removal would not affect this feature, which binds this chapter firmly with the chapters on both sides.

<sup>121</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 121.



This transition similarly bears no relation to the change of language, and is quite unaffected by the theory that the chapter has been translated by the author of the later chapters, or written by him in Aramaic. Since the transition from anonymity to pseudonymity takes places within the course of this chapter, it is a transition which was made by a single author, and this feature of the book as a whole does not therefore demand plurality of authorship.<sup>122</sup>

This chapter also marks a transition in other respects. It presents the first of Daniel's visions, and is therefore linked with the following chapters, while by its contents it is tied to chapter ii, with its story of Nebuchadnezzar's vision. It is still of such a character that it is suitable for popular recital, though some of its details are less easily remembered with precision than details of the earlier stories. On the other hand, it has less complexity than the following chapters. It is therefore essentially a transitional chapter.

(9) *The mental and literary characteristics of the book are the same throughout.*

In nothing is the unity of the book more clearly seen than here. The writer of the first six chapters is fond of resounding lists of words, such as the terms for the various classes of wise men, or the lists of royal officers, or the instruments of Nebuchadnezzar's band. This same feature is found in chapter vii, where we find the phrase 'peoples, nations and tongues,'<sup>123</sup> which stands also in chapter iii, and the phrase 'dominion and glory and kingship.'<sup>124</sup> This feature is effective in popular narration, for which the Aramaic chapters were written, but is

<sup>122</sup> E. Reuss (*La Bible, Ancien Testament*, vii, 1879, p. 211) observes : « La transition de la troisième personne à la première se fait de manière que le rédacteur passe de l'une à l'autre comme qui dirait par inadvertance. »

<sup>123</sup> Dan. vii. 14.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

less suited for the later chapters, which do not appear to have been written for such a purpose. Hence this feature does not mark the last five chapters in the same way.

Moreover, it is characteristic of the author that in his repetitions or interpretations he introduces new elements which were not mentioned before. It has already been said that some scholars would eliminate some verses of chapter ii on the ground that they introduce in the interpretation elements which did not stand in the account of the vision. Similarly, in chapter vii, new elements of the vision are introduced in verse 21 to prepare the way for the interpretation. In the same way in vii. 19 we find an additional touch that did not stand in the previous account, in the nails of brass. This does not stand in one of the alleged interpolations, and it is clear that the supposed canon of dissection cannot apply. Ginsberg therefore proposes to apply it in reverse,<sup>125</sup> and to insert the reference to 'nails of brass' in vii. 7 to make it agree with vii. 19. But in iv. 30 (E.V. 33), in the account of the fulfilment of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, we similarly find something which did not figure in the account of the dream, in the words 'till his hair was grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws.' Here there can be no question of an interpolator, since no point could be given to these words to explain their insertion as a reference to some historic situation, and there is no reason to insert them

<sup>125</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 69, following Baumgartner in Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, 3rd ed., 1937, *ad loc.* Hippolytus is there doubtfully cited in support of this emendation. It is true that Hippolytus has the phrase here (cf. Hippolyte, *Commentaire sur Daniel*, ed. by M. Lefèvre, 1947, p. 268), and it is possible that he found it in some MS of Theodotion, but this is very weak evidence for the insertion. Few would argue that Theodotion's omission of the words 'in the night visions' in this verse justify their omission, and a single assumed MS of Theodotion can hardly be given greater authority here than all our witnesses to the text, especially when it is by no means an uncommon phenomenon for a scribe to harmonize one text with another, and when Hippolytus himself may well be responsible for the harmonization.

into the earlier account. In all of these cases we find a common mind at work, and parallel treatment should be given to them all. As the present writer has written elsewhere,<sup>126</sup> 'Instead of striking out these afterthoughts when they point to the Maccabaeian age, and leaving them when they do not, it is better to find in them the authentic evidences of a single mind, which was untroubled by a severely logical discipline. It is the same mind which is revealed in the many inconsistencies of detail which are found in the book.'

Similarly, when it is objected to some verses in chapter vii that the symbolical and the real are confused as in some verses of chapter viii, it should not be forgotten that we find precisely the same feature in chapter iv. There we read, in the account of the vision of the tree: 'Hew down the tree... nevertheless leave the stump of its roots in the earth... and let its portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth... let its heart be changed from a man's and let a beast's heart be given unto it.'<sup>127</sup> This is surely as singular confusion as anything that can be produced from chapter vii. As Stuart observed<sup>128</sup>: 'It seems to me impossible for any one at all skilled in discerning the characteristics of writing, to read the book through attentively in the original, without an overwhelming conviction that the whole proceeded from one pen and one mind.'

(10) *The unhistorical representation of Belshazzar as king figures in chapters v, vii and viii.*

That Belshazzar was the king's son, and that he was actually left in administrative control of the kingdom for some years is beyond dispute; but that he had the title of king is inconsistent with our contemporary evidence, as the present writer has sufficiently shown elsewhere.<sup>129</sup> The overworked Persian Verse

<sup>126</sup> See *J.T.S.*, xxxviii, 1937, p. 427.

<sup>127</sup> Dan. iv. 11 ff. (E.V. 14 ff.).

<sup>128</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

<sup>129</sup> See H. H. Rowley, 'The Historicity of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel,' in *J.T.S.*, xxxii, 1930-31, pp. 12-31.

Account is insufficient to overturn the evidence of the contract tablets, which were never dated by his years, and the fact that the New Year's festival could not be held because Nabonidus was absent from Babylon. Yet in Dan. vii and viii we find events dated by his regnal years. Young<sup>130</sup> endeavours to turn this by arguing that though Belshazzar may not have had the title of king, it was proper for Daniel to date events by his regnal years, since he exercised the functions of king, even though this was not done in official documents. But this fails to meet the point that in the book of Daniel, Belshazzar is represented as really king. No one could read Dan. v, and get the impression that Belshazzar was only acting king. The dating of events by his regnal years in the second part, and the representation of him as really king in the first part, are in full agreement with one another, and carry this historical error into both halves of the book.

(11) *The unhistorical Darius the Mede also figures in both halves of the book.*

That history allows no place for Darius the Mede, the son of Ahasuerus, between the reign of the uncrowned Belshazzar and that of Cyrus, the present writer has once more demonstrated.<sup>131</sup> Here Young<sup>132</sup> confesses that secular sources are silent concerning him, and can only hope that some future discovery will account for him. This ignores the fact that our evidence against Darius the Mede is positive and not merely negative. Cyrus immediately followed Nabonidus, the father of Belshazzar, whose kingdom was annexed, and there is therefore no room for Darius the Mede, as he is depicted in the book of Daniel. This is frankly recognized by Fabre d'Envieu, one of the doughtiest of the defenders of the traditional view of the

<sup>130</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>131</sup> See H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede*, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>132</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

book of Daniel.<sup>133</sup> Lattey,<sup>134</sup> with some hesitation, revives the claim that Darius is to be identified with Cyaxares II. For the existence of Cyaxares II our only evidence is Xenophon's romance. Lattey accepts this as sufficient, and suggests that Cyrus may have appointed him to be a puppet king in Babylon. Against this it is to be observed that the book of Daniel does not represent him as a puppet king. And neither does Xenophon. According to Xenophon, it was Cyaxares who appointed Cyrus to be puppet king of Babylon.<sup>135</sup> He can hardly be appealed to, therefore, for authority for Lattey's supposition, which is a mere figment of the imagination without a shred of evidence.<sup>136</sup>

(12) *Just as the later chapters contain a clear reference to Antiochus Epiphanes, so chapter iii contains a clear indication of the same age in the Greek terms it uses.*

The mere use of Greek words might be expected at any time after Greek influence reached the east, but the particular words which stand here are not so easily accounted for.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>133</sup> See *Le Livre du Prophète Daniel*, I ii, 1888, p. 470. His own theory that Darius the Mede is to be identified with Neriglissar is, however, no more tenable.

<sup>134</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>135</sup> See Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII v. 17 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Fabre d'Envieu (*loc. cit.*) observes of this hypothesis: « Cette hypothèse n'est donc pas soutenable, et les faits qu'elle implique sont inconciliables avec les témoignages les plus dignes de respect et de foi. »

<sup>137</sup> J. Linder (*Z.K.T.*, lix, 1935, p. 544) replies to the writer's argument on the Greek words in this chapter by saying: « Ein kurzer Hinweis auf die neuesten Veröffentlichungen über die Beziehungen der Achämeniden zur griechischen Kultur mag als Antwort hierauf genügen. » That it will not suffice is plain to everyone who reads what the writer had said. For his argument, as Linder must have known, since he was familiar with *The Aramaic of the Old Testament*, was not based on general considerations, but on a study of specific terms. If Linder found a work ascribed to a date not earlier than the twentieth century on the ground that it referred to someone as a quisling, it would not suffice to reply

They are the names of musical instruments<sup>138</sup> and one of them is nowhere met in Greek literature as the name of an instrument before the second century B.C., and there it is mentioned in connexion with the festivities of Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>139</sup> As an allusion to Antiochus, it could therefore be pointed and effective here, but no comparable point or relevance has been shown for any of the earlier dates to which the chapter has been assigned. So strong is this evidence that Riessler<sup>140</sup> held these words to have been introduced by a Maccabaeian glossator. To resort to textual surgery wherever evidence is inconvenient is ruthless propaganda for a theory, rather than the scientific study of evidence. Bentzen<sup>141</sup> thought the word

by referring to evidence that words of Norwegian origin were found in English at an earlier date. And as little relevant is Linder's prudent avoidance of any attempt to answer the writer's arguments. Of the three Greek words found in the book of Daniel the writer observed : « ψαλτήριον is first mentioned in Greek literature in Aristotle, two hundred years after the alleged occurrence in Daniel, and συμφωνία first appears in Greek in Plato, some century and a half after the suggested date of Daniel, but in the proper abstract sense of *harmony*, while as the name of a musical instrument it is first found in Greek literature in Polybius, nearly four hundred years after the supposed date of Daniel. In the absence of any shred of evidence to the contrary, or of any adequate suggestion to account for this remarkable fact, we can only conclude that it is highly improbable that Greek words should appear first in literature in an Aramaic work some centuries before they appear in Greek writers... Moreover, G. R. Driver points out (*J.B.L.*, xl, 1926, p. 119) that not only is συμφωνία in the concrete sense of a musical instrument not met with until late, but such a use of the abstract term is a post-classical usage » (*The Aramaic of the Old Testament*, 1929, p. 148). Against this Linder's bland generality is futile. To Fabre d'Envieu these Greek words were so serious an embarrassment that he resorted to the desperate expedient of denying that they were Greek (*op. cit.*, I i, 1888, p. 87-102).

<sup>138</sup> Cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament*, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>139</sup> See Polybius, *Histories*, xxvii. 10, as cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, v. 193 e, x. 439 ad.

<sup>140</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xii.

<sup>141</sup> See Bentzen, *Daniel*, 1937, p. 13.



סומפניה would be read as a reference to Antiochus in Maccabaeen days, but thought this was only accidental. It would surely be passing strange for a pre-Maccabaeen work to find more point in Maccabaeen days than in its own,<sup>142</sup> and a singular circumstance that it is bound up with writings that admittedly come from the Maccabaeen age.

(13) *Point can be found for every story of the first half of the book in the setting of the Maccabaeen age to which the latter part is assigned.*<sup>143</sup>

The first chapter is the story of Jews who refused to eat unclean foods. In the time of the Maccabaeen crisis, when Antiochus sought to compel the Jews to eat swine's flesh that had been sacrificed to idols, many chose to die rather than defile themselves with unclean foods,<sup>144</sup> and Judas the Maccabee is said to have lived on herbs for fear of pollution.<sup>145</sup> So far as the second chapter is concerned, enough has been said above. It is linked by its climax to chapter vii and the later chapters of the book, and its hope of the imminent establishment of the everlasting kingdom of righteousness is one that was certainly cherished in Maccabaeen days. The third chapter is the story of Jews who refused to worship the great image which Nebuchadnezzar set up. Antiochus Epiphanes turned the Temple into a heathen shrine and set up there an idol or idols.<sup>146</sup> Since the Temple was dedicated to Zeus Olympius,<sup>147</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Cf. H. H. Rowley, *J.T.S.*, xxxviii, 1937, p. 426.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. F. Bleek, *loc. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.

<sup>144</sup> 1 Macc. i. 47, 62 f.; 2 Macc. vi. 8, 18 ff., vii. 1.

<sup>145</sup> 2 Macc. v. 27.

<sup>146</sup> See Mishnah *Ta'anith*, iv. 6, and the Gemara thereon (T.B. *Ta'anith*, 28a). H. Danby (*The Mishnah*, 1933, p. 200 n.) says nothing is known of the Apostomos of the Mishnah passage. But the Gemara makes it plain that the tradition was associated with Dan. xii. 11, and that the reference was believed to be to the 'abomination of desolation.' L. Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, ii, 1902, pp. 21 f.) identifies Apostomos with Antiochus Epiphanes.

<sup>147</sup> 2 Macc. vi. 2.



an image of Zeus would be expected, and since the king claimed to be Zeus Manifest in the flesh, it is likely that it would take the form of a statue of the king.<sup>148</sup> Jerome tells us, indeed, that an image of Zeus and statues of the king were placed in the Temple.<sup>149</sup> While these may not have been colossal in size, they were monstrous in significance in the eyes of faithful Jews, and this chapter would well stimulate men to resistance to the king's commands. The fourth chapter is the story of a king whose overweening pride is punished by madness. It is known that Antiochus, who fancied himself a god incarnate, was called by his people Epimanes, madman.<sup>150</sup> This chapter, then, might well be understood in that day as a reference to Antiochus, and bring its promise of humiliation at the hands of God. The fifth chapter tells of a king who profaned the Temple vessels, upon whom the judgement of heaven fell. Antiochus is stated to have removed the sacred vessels of the Temple with his own hands,<sup>151</sup> and to people who were filled with horror at such sacrilege this chapter could bring the hope of the outpouring of divine wrath upon him. The sixth chapter tells of the minions of a king, who both encouraged him to suppress religious freedom and treacherously spied on the loyal and denounced them to the king, only to find their plots recoil upon themselves.<sup>152</sup> In the days of Antiochus there was

<sup>148</sup> Bleek (*loc. cit.*, pp. 259 f.) already thought chapter iii had in mind the setting up the abomination of desolation — sonder Zweifel die Statue des Jupiter — in Jerusalem.

<sup>149</sup> See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, 1845, col. 569: *in templo Jerusalem, Jovis Olympii simulacrum et Antiochi statuas ponerent quas nunc abominationem desolationis vocat*. Cf. also the Gemara on *Ta'anith*, iv. 6, referred to above, which preserves the tradition that there were two images.

<sup>150</sup> See Polybius, *Histories*, xxvi. 10, as preserved in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, ii. 45c, v. 193d, x. 439a.

<sup>151</sup> 1 Macc. i. 21 ff.

<sup>152</sup> In this story Darius is presented in a much better light than the previous kings.

a section of the Jews who fawned on the king for their own advancement, who encouraged him in all his attacks on the liberties of the loyal, and who were traitors to their own people.<sup>153</sup> This chapter brought its promise that upon them, too, would fall the vengeance of God. At the same time it encouraged the faithful to continue in their faithfulness, and to be unmoved by the threats of a king, or by the malice of his servants.

The view that these stories existed in a collection before the second century B.C. asks us to believe that at some earlier date, à propos of nothing in particular, someone had prepared this collection which would have more point and meaning in Maccabaeen days than at any other time of which we have knowledge,<sup>154</sup> and that by singular good fortune the collection was taken up by a Maccabaeen author into his own work. This groundless theory can hardly be said to be evidence that a Maccabaeen author could not himself have written the stories, using traditions which he selected and moulded for his own purpose.<sup>155</sup> It can hardly be denied that he could have written

<sup>153</sup> Cf. 1. Macc. i. 11 ff.; 2 Macc. iii. 4 ff., v. 23.

<sup>154</sup> It is sometimes said that pogroms took place in the Persian period, and they sufficiently account for these stories (cf. Hölscher, *loc. cit.*, p. 125; Kuhl, *op. cit.*, p. 78). But that is wholly to ignore their character. For here we have no persecution of Jews as Jews. The book of Esther tells the story of a projected pogrom and its sequel, but the book of Daniel tells the story of Jews who were subjected to the test of their faith, and not of their birth. And that is precisely what happened in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, whose persecution was in no sense a pogrom. Jews who were prepared to accept the religious demands of the king were subjected to no persecution.

<sup>155</sup> It is sometimes objected (cf. C. von Orelli, *Old Testament Prophecy*, E. Tr. by J. S. Banks, 1885, p. 467) that if the stories were written in Maccabaeen days, they should have referred to circumcision and Sabbath observance, which were vital issues in those days (1 Macc. i. 48, 60 f., 2 Macc. vi. 10; 1 Macc. i. 39, 43, 45, ii. 32 ff., 2 Macc. vi. 6). With a deeper religious instinct our author fastens on the duties of resisting idol worship, of refraining from eating defiling foods (by which he

for himself stories which could so well serve his purpose. The materials he used were probably taken from various sources, oral and written, but his skill displayed itself in seizing on them and relating them to the needs of his own day, so that they could convey a message to men.

It has often been denied that the stories can be given any relevance to the age of Antiochus,<sup>156</sup> on the ground that no loyal Jew could enter the service of that monarch in the way Daniel is said to have entered the service of Nebuchadnezzar,<sup>157</sup> and it is certain that Antiochus was never brought to acknowledge the true God in the way that Nebuchadnezzar is said to have done. But a story told to point a message does not have to be an exact parallel in all particulars. The form of the story imposes some limitation on the author, so long as it does not conflict with his purpose; and no one could suppose that the purpose of the stories was to encourage Jews to enter the service of heathen kings. Daniel is represented as one who was compelled to enter such service, but who was continually brought into conflict with his masters by his unbending attitude. It is this which is commended to the reader.

probably means food sacrificed to idols), and of maintaining the life of prayer to God. The author of the visions is no more concerned to introduce these other matters than is the author of the stories. Moreover, it was early found in the struggle against Antiochus that Sabbath observance could be carried too far (1 Macc. ii. 39-41), and it is not surprising that this was not pressed here. Further, circumcision was likely to lead to the death of the babes and their mothers (1 Macc. i. 60 f.), and the book of Daniel concentrated on those loyalties which men could observe at risk to themselves rather than those which involved such dire penalties on their helpless wives and children.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Torrey, *loc. cit.*, p. 245; Hölseher, *loc. cit.*, pp. 123 ff.; Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>157</sup> W. Baumgartner (*Th.R.*, N.F. xi, 1939, pp. 125 f.) says: «Gegenüber Rowley muss ich an der vormakkabäischen Entstehung von c.1 festhalten, da es Situation und Tendenz (Gesetzestreue auch am heidnischen Hof) mit c.2 ff. teilt.»

While stories about Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar and Darius were used, it is not necessary to suppose that these were merely lay figures for Antiochus. In certain particulars they were intended to direct men's thoughts to him; but other elements were derived from tradition. And because they were in themselves other than Antiochus, they were represented as in some respects superior to him, since he was thought of as the great Antichrist, or climax of human wickedness. In each case the particular thing for which the kings are held up to obloquy is something which had its counterpart in Antiochus, while the particular thing for which the pious Jews are held up to honour is something which pious Jews in the days of Antiochus might with peculiar appropriateness be encouraged to imitate. In the same way the scheme of four world empires was taken over and not created by our author. His skill lay in using it for his purpose by references to things which his readers would identify as the prelude to the end.

Many of those who hold the book to be composite regard the latter part as having been composed by an author who was familiar with the first part, or who actually took over the first part. It could therefore be held that the community of error about Belshazzar and Darius the Mede, and others of the links which are here held to bind the two parts together, could be accounted for in this way. It can scarcely be denied that they could be even better accounted for by community of authorship, and when the links of style and outlook, which are so clearly acknowledged that the theories of glossing have been so extensively resorted to, are added to the community of error, the case for the unity of authorship is a strong one. The stock argument against it is just that touch of looseness and inconcinnity which is really the strongest argument for it. Community of error can be accounted for by borrowing; but a quality of mind, or mental habit, is not so easily borrowed. Hence the fact that this is found in the oft severed parts of the book is of the first significance. Not less so is the difficulty

of finding any clear division, since the threefold test of language, form, and presumptive authorship yields different results, while chapter vii will continue to embarrass the dissectors by its refusal to be assigned to either half alone.

The onus of proof lies upon those who would dissect a work. Here, however, nothing that can be seriously called proof of compositeness has been produced. On the other hand evidence for the unity of the work that in its totality amounts to a demonstration is available.



# A HYMN AGAINST HERETICS IN THE NEWLY DISCOVERED SCROLLS

ISAIAH SONNE

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

## I

NEVER before, since the beginning of modern scholarship, has there been such a gap between word and meaning between text and context as at the present time<sup>1</sup>. Among scholars, the notion seems to prevail that one may establish the age and the character of a document without considering its full import and its setting. A striking example is Albright's explanation of *Helkaim*. «*Helkaim*,» we are told, may mean Cilicians, and then follows the admission that «it is difficult to know what Cilicians are doing in this connection.<sup>2</sup>»

This is not the place in which to discuss the merits and the drawbacks of such a method. Our present interest is but that of noting this tendency in the discussions touching the age of the newly discovered Scrolls.

None of the scholars who have been most outspoken, one way or the other, bases his opinion on a searching study of what the documents contain. Prof. Albright and Prof. H. L. Ginsberg, championing their antiquity, and Prof. Zeitlin, battling for the opposite view<sup>3</sup>, blandly declare that they can determine the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sonne I., «Word and Meaning-Text and Context,» *JQR.*, N.S., vol. 37, p. 307 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Reported by Frank M. Cross in *Biblical Archaeologist*, vol. 12, p. 44, note. The term occurs also in our hymn, line 11. Cf. our comment, *infra*...

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ginsberg H. L. «The Hebrew University Scrolls» ... *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research (BASOR)*, Dec. 1948. Albright,



age of the Scrolls without such scrutiny. Prof. Albright maintains that «after an hour's study of the script with a lens,» he could establish, by means of the key letters, מ, ס, ה, ה, the antiquity of the Scrolls «without a shade of doubt.» Despite emphasis on «positive, inner evidence,» Zeitlin's approach is not much different. Zeitlin substitutes, for the key letters מ, ס, ה, ה, certain detached terms and idioms. Relying on isolated expressions and on odd bits of phraseology offered by Sukenik, Zeitlin claims to have fathomed the age of the Scrolls with certainty.

There is no need to discuss in detail the paleographic evidence which has attracted the attention of the «foremost living authorities in this field<sup>4</sup>.» Knowing my limitations, I would hardly venture to contest this point. I leave the field to the experts. Still I can not but call the attention of those scholars to the fact that all of the alphabetic charts now exhibited are vitiated by the circumstance that they were undertaken not for the purely scientific purpose of studying the development of the Hebrew alphabet but for the purpose of supporting some theory. Even Prof. Albright's chart of 1937<sup>5</sup> was drawn up under the unconscious urge of demonstrating the antiquity of the Nash papyrus. Preferring the rational school of the nineteenth century, I repose more confidence in Euting's *Semitische Schrifttafel*, published in 1877, than in the charts

M. F., «Are the 'Ain Feshka Scrolls a Hoax?» *JQR.*, vol. 40, p. 41 ff., idem. «On the Date of the Scrolls,» *BASOR.*, Oct. 1949, p. 10 ff.

Zeitlin has published a series of articles in the *JQR* (vol. 39, p. 235 ff.; 357 ff.; vol. 40, p. 57 ff.).

The other scholars, though mostly sharing the first view, are more cautious in their statements.

<sup>4</sup> Albright, l.c.; Solomon A. Birnbaum, in a series of articles (*BASOR.*, Febr. 1949; p. 24 ff.; Oct. 1949, p. 20 ff.; *JBL.*, June 1949, p. 161 ff.) supports the antiquity of the Scrolls. At the same time, cf. Ernest R. Lachman, *JQR.*, vol. 40, p. 15 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In his article: A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age (*JBL.*, vol. 56, p. 145 ff.).

provided at present by the «foremost living authorities.» In Euting's table, I see, assigned to the third century C.E., fairly good samples of the key letters above mentioned. To be sure, Euting's table may be and certainly is obsolete, since it appeared prior to the discovery of the Nash papyrus, the Edfu inscription and the like. But just that is the feature which, in my judgment, makes Euting's table the more trustworthy. That table was not designed for the purpose of establishing the antiquity of any inscription as happened with the inscriptions subsequently unearthed.

Inasmuch as Zeitlin challenges scholars to contradict his «positive, inner evidence,» I can not help inquiring into the validity of Zeitlin's main arguments despite my desire to avoid controversy. These are my reasons for viewing Zeitlin's arguments as inconclusive :

A) Zeitlin's statement that the Habakkuk Commentary bears the impress of a later period, because it follows the «type of mediaeval commentaries,» is inaccurate. Mediaeval commentaries are of a literal character. Their purpose is that of conveying the literal and sometimes the ethical or homiletical sense of the text. The Habakkuk Commentary is characterized by nothing of this nature. That Commentary exhibits rather the earmarks of a dream interpretation or the solution of a riddle. Its object is that of showing the fulfilment of Habakkuk's visions in the commentator's own time or in the near future. Such commentaries occupy, in great part, the writings of the Apocrypha and of the New Testament, seeking to demonstrate the consummation of certain prophetic visions and promises in their own day or in a future soon to arrive.

B) Still less convincing is Zeitlin's statement that the exclusive use of the divine name *El* in our documents, as well as in the *Damascus Document*, «indicates that it was written in the Middle Ages.» Suffice it to bear in mind that the editor of the *Damascus* document himself noticed this peculiarity. That feature was taken into account also by such eminent

students of the *Damascus Document* as Bacher, Kaufman Kohler, P. Chajes, Louis Ginzberg, to mention only a few, while an especially illuminating article by Israel Levi well explores that characteristic<sup>6</sup>. None of these scholars saw in that use of *El* any mediaeval trait, and rightly so. In none of the earlier mediaeval liturgic compositions — those of Yannai, Kalir, Saadia Gaon, and the like — can I detect that peculiarity. The process of using substitutes for the Tetragrammaton was not as simple and as uniform as Zeitlin seems to assume. Time was not the only determinant. Among various groups and sects, there were various paths of development and, within each group, the line was not always straight. So many were the oscillations and regressions that the use of *El* can hardly be considered an indication of the Middle Ages<sup>7</sup>.

C) Nor need we dwell extensively upon the argument from *Kitte Ashur*. It is common knowledge that this idiom contains certain biblical allusions<sup>8</sup> and that *Kittim* can be made, in fact has been made, to signify various people — Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines and the like<sup>9</sup> — in accordance with the needs of various epochs. Some group may well have taken it to signify the Macedonians of the Seleucidian kingdom. Only the context of the phrase can offer us a clue as to its meaning. As long as the composition in which *Kitte Ashur* occurs remains undeciphered, *Kitte Ashur* is useless for historical purposes.

<sup>6</sup> Israel Levi, « Le Tétragramme et l'écrit Sadokite, » *REJ.*, vol. 68 (1914), p. 119 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Geiger's treatment of the subject (*Urschrift*, p. 279 ff.) is still valuable. The modern views on the matter are cited in Finkelstein's article: « Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah » (*Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 36, p. 296 ff, notes 18-20).

<sup>8</sup> Besides Num. 24.24 referred to by all scholars, there seems to be also an allusion to Ezek. 27.6-7.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Krauss, Sam., « Die Hebraeischen Benennungen » ..., in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Alex. Kohut*, 1935, p. 400. This fact is stressed by Zeitlin himself.

All of this could not but convince me that there are no short cuts in this field of investigation. Lenses, no matter how refined, and rabbinic erudition, no matter how broad, can not possibly save us the hard work of minutely analysing the documents as to content. Only such analysis will vouchsafe us an insight into the inner structure of the compositions and disclose their literary sources. Only through such patient labor can we hope to discover some vestiges of the historical situation out of which the documents arose. In this way only, can we gain a basis for a reasonable conjecture as to their age.

The prospect is not particularly alluring. We have before us hard protracted work and tangible results that are meager and uncertain. This, indeed, is the *via dolorosa* of all scientific endeavor. Research demands patient and strenuous inquiry. It promises no sensational or revolutionary disclosures. The most for which we can hope is some modest contribution to the age long quest for knowledge.

## II

Having subjected to thoroughgoing scrutiny one of the documents to which I had access, I give here an account of my venture into what was for me unfamiliar territory.

From Sukenik's publication, *Megillot Genuzot*<sup>10</sup>, we gather that the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is in possession of three scrolls containing, in twelve columns, compositions with a stereotyped beginning : אורכה ארני and thus recognizable as hymns of thanksgiving. Sukenik deciphered two of the twelve columns, edited them, and supplied them with learned notes. Sukenik also gives a reduced photographic reproduction of one of the undeciphered columns (Plate X). This column is far from perfect. It is damaged at the top as well as at the bottom

<sup>10</sup> E. L. Sukenik, מגילות גנוזות, Jerusalem 1948. The description of the scroll of the « Hymns of Thanksgiving » (מגילת ההודיות) with two specimens on pp. 27-33, Between pp. 32/33 four plates (X-XIII) are inserted.

and, to a lesser extent, on the right side. There is also a small perforation in the middle. I endeavored to reconstruct this column as well as possible, to prepare a translation of the restored text, and to provide a commentary.

A total of thirty-three lines can still be unraveled. Twenty-six of them, lines 3 to 28, are sufficiently well preserved for their restoration to merit some credence. But the first two and the last five lines are so badly damaged that no attempt at reconstruction can go beyond conjecture. I essayed to repair the first two lines but abstained from guessing about the last five. There seems to be a chance of making these last five more legible through a skillful process of unfolding and disentangling the Scroll, a task which will undoubtedly be undertaken, if it has not been already undertaken, by Sukenik and his associates. \*

The main theme of the hymn emerges clearly enough in the first half. It is an attack upon the « advocates of deceit, » « the seers of heresy, » « prophets of falsehood. » At present, our author, the true prophet, is despised and his teaching rejected. Even his friends and acquaintances mock at him when he resists Belial's instigation « to barter away for heresy the Torah which God has engraved upon the heart. » The author declares that the time is at hand when Belial will perish, « the men of deceit be cut off, and the seers of heresy be no more ».

Toward the end of the hymn, beginning with line 25, a new mode invades these monotonous sectarian antitheses. Emphasis is laid upon the frailty of the flesh, « the mold of clay, » wherefore no « son of man » can achieve justification otherwise than through the « spirit which God created to give them life. » But no sooner does the new theme start than, unfortunately, the text becomes indecipherable.

\* N.B. Just before this article went to press, I received the second edition of Sukenik's *Megillot Gemuzot*, containing the text of our hymn as restored by the editor. While it does destroy most of my guesses concerning details, it leaves the essence and tenor of my reconstructed text unchanged. I therefore was compelled to revise my translation and comment but not the body of my article,

This much seems to be evident; namely, a) the composition reflects a critical moment of persecution in the life of the sect and b) rival prophets and heretical teachers, taking advantage of this difficult situation in the life of the sect, had succeeded in provoking schism within its ranks. The head of the sect is deserted by his friends and intimates; only a few remain loyal to the «covenant.» In order to determine the nature of the heresy under attack, we had to seek hidden allusions. Focussing our attention on the references to the Bible, we asked: What use, if any, does the author make of Scripture? How did he interpret Scripture? To what school of exegesis did he belong?

The findings can be summarized as follows:

A) Scripture pervades the hymn in minute detail. There is hardly a phrase without a biblical tang. References to the Bible run the entire gamut from lengthy quotation to subtle allusion; at the one extreme a veritable magnetic field of Scripture governing a host of reminiscences; at the other extreme, Scriptural suggestions so subtle as to be unrecognizable except upon careful analysis. The term «quotation» is used here in a broad sense; of outright quotation, the hymn shows never a sign. The biblical phrases are woven rather into the very texture of the composition.

B) The quotations are mostly free, *memoriter*, and condensed, sometimes reduced to a single catchword. There are a few, very few, instances of expansion, briefly carrying some shreds of explanation. It is in cases such as these that one glimpses the exegetical method of the author.

C) Among the passages invoked, are such as played a prominent role in the polemics between Jews and Christians during the first three centuries of the Christian era. In our hymn likewise, these passages carry a polemical import.<sup>11</sup>

D) The exegetical method of our author is best characterized as that of the *Doreshe Reshumot*<sup>12</sup>, those who concerned them-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *infra* (298, 303, 311 f) our comment on lines 7, 12, 25.

<sup>12</sup> About the *Doreshe Reshumot* cf. Israel Levi, *REJ.*, vol. 60, p.



selves with the symbolic value of words and phrases rather than with the literal sense determined by the context. It is well known that this method reached its climax among the Gnostic schools of the second century. It was a mode of meeting problems posed by the Old Testament. For polemical reasons, certain Jewish scholars also espoused that type of approach. Realizing that they could not refute the Gnostic and the Christian arguments merely by negating symbolical interpretation, these scholars preferred to wage the combat with a symbolism of their own. Necessarily, the Jewish schools of symbolism show features in common with those of the Christian Gnostics and the Pagan Gnostics. We may therefore call these Jewish polemicists the Jewish Gnostics of the second century C.E. Our author moves in the world of Jewish Gnostics. It is against this polemical background of second century Gnosticism that the historical traces of our hymn stand out in their true perspective. The very theme of the composition, with its attack on the false prophets points in this direction. The claim to prophecy was common to all Gnostic schools and « false prophets » or « false apostles » became the battle cry of the Church in its struggle with the Gnostic heretics, as can be seen in the *Didache*, in the *Epistle of Barnabas* and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*<sup>13</sup>.

Also the literary style of these scrolls, with their imitation of the Psalms, links them with the literary fashion of that circle and that period. Compilations of hymns patterned after the Psalms constituted, as Harnack has shown, a marked

24 ff.; Lauterbach, J. Z., *JQR.*, N.S., vol. 5, p. 291; Sonne, « Traces of Hellenistic Thought in Talmudic Literature » (*Proceedings of the Summer Institute of HUC and JIR*, 1948).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. H. Weinell, « Propheten und Offenbarungen, » in Heinnecke's *Neutestamentalische Apokryphen*, 2nd ed., p. 290 ff. On the opposition of official Judaism to later prophetic inspiration and on the persistence of prophetic trends among dissident Jewish groups, cf. the brilliant study *מתי פסקה חבנואח*, by Ephraim Urbach (*Tarbiz*, vol. 17, p. 1 ff.).



feature of Gnostic circles. That penchant appears in such a late Gnostic product as the *Pistis Sophia* <sup>14</sup>.

The curious turn of our composition at line 25, as noted above, thus assumes a new meaning which fits perfectly into the total structure. The surmise becomes highly plausible that the passage is directed against « false prophets » like Barnabas and his followers who stressed the doctrine expressed in Colossians 1.22 that justification can be achieved only « in the body of his flesh. » We should bear in mind that the appearance of Jesus in the flesh was one of the most controverted points in Christian Gnostic circles of the second and third centuries. Most Gnostics were inclined to regard Jesus as an apparition — in their terminology *per umbram* or *umbratilitate* <sup>15</sup>. Our Gnostic author, naturally, exclaims : « Who, being of *flesh*, could perform things like that? And what is a *mold of clay* that it should work great marvels? »

As a result of our analysis, it appears that, no matter which of the historical leads we follow, we run into the troubled waters of Gnostic thought and feeling which flooded the Near and the Middle East in the second and the third centuries of the present era. It remains for us now to identify the particular brand of Gnosticism represented by our document.

The supposition that there were several Gnostic tendencies in the Judaism of the second century is not widely known nor, by any means, generally accepted. It is true that, since Krochmal and Graetz <sup>16</sup>, over a century ago, started to explore the rabbinic writings in search of hidden Gnostic elements, most

<sup>14</sup> About Gnostic odes and psalms in the second century cf. Harnack, *Pistis Sophia*, p. 46 f., note 2; also Kroll, « Dichtung » (Gnostic Poetry), in Henneke's *Neutestamentalische Apokryphen*, p. 435 ff.

<sup>15</sup> It is the heresy known as Docetism to which most of the Gnostic sects adhered and which is vehemently rebuked by Polycarp (second century) in his *Epistle to the Philippians*, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Nahman Krochmal, *Moreh Nebuke ha-Zeman*, chapters 12 and 15; Graetz, *Gnosticismus und Judentum*, 1845; also M. Joel, « Die juedische Gnosis, » in *Blicke in die Religions Geschichte*,... I, 1880, p. 103 ff.

scholars have agreed that Gnosticism did find entrance into the Jewish world and that it attracted some of the leading Jewish teachers of the second century. At the same time it is implicitly or explicitly taken for granted that Gnosticism remained always an alien element, unable to strike roots in Judaism. The result has been that these studies deal, in the main, with the discovery of the channels through which Jews and Gnostics came into contact, rendering the Jews subject to Gnostic influences<sup>17</sup>. Most scholars further insist that, while Gnosticism may have penetrated into Judaism at the beginning of the second century, the representatives of genuine Judaism effectively checked Gnosticism and brought it under control, so that, after the Bar Kokba revolt, Gnosticism disappeared almost entirely from the Jewish scene.

What these scholars fail to realize is that Gnosticism, as a mode of thinking and feeling, is as alien to Greek classical thinking as it is to Jewish classical feeling and that, to the Jewish mind, in its autumnal season, if we may use such a figure, Gnosticism was as congenial as it was to the mental disposition of the Greeks in the same stage of their development. Most of the cultural and intellectual phenomena connected with Gnosticism are but symptoms of processes which occur in the human mind at a certain turn of its evolution everywhere. It may readily be assumed that, once a Gnostic wave swept through the Roman Empire agitating, above all, its eastern provinces, which were in the process of shaping their own cultural and political pattern and preparing the ground for the Byzantine period, the Jews of Palestine, constituting an integral part of that cultural area, underwent the same mental metamorphosis as did the other constituents of this vast region, Jewish, Christian, and Gentile.

<sup>17</sup> Characteristic for this approach is Herford's remark: « How far Gnostics came in contact with Jews, so as to call forth the opposition of the Rabbis, I do not know ... » (*Jewish Studies in memory of George Alexander Kohut*, 1935, p. 368),

There was no need for the Jews to have contact with Gentile or Christian Gnostics or to read their writings in order to disregard the literal sense of Scripture and to extract from Scripture various mysteries. This approach was, in a way, but the counterpart of the emphasis laid upon the conflict between body and soul, flesh and spirit, in morals and religion, an emphasis with which Gnosticism starts.

These and other Gnostic aspects the Jews obtained from the same source as that which nourished the Gnostic sects among the Christians and the Gentiles, namely, the disposition of the human mind, at a certain point in its development, to break with the steady, even rhythm of rational thinking, to follow the unsteady flame of inspiration and the doings of prophecy, and to enjoy the exciting interplay of darkness and light<sup>18</sup>.

It is not difficult to see how, by its very nature, Gnosticism could never form a well knit movement. It had to split into a multitude of factions, ranging from the most radical, championing a total upset of the established intellectual and moral order, down to the very moderate whose deviation from the official course was so slight that its followers could lead in the defense of the old order against the radical heretics. All of this is well known in the history of the Christian Church, and there is no reason why the process should have stopped at the gates of the synagogue. On the contrary, there are indications that the prophetic-inspirational urge, underlying the Gnostic mentality, found abundant scope within the ranks of the Jewish teachers all through the second century of the Christian era, provoking deep cleavages in the life of the community and causing the responsible heads grave concern<sup>19</sup>. Much time had to elapse

<sup>18</sup> This revolutionary urge of Gnosticism has been brilliantly pointed out by Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und Spaetantiker Geist*, Goettingen 1934, p. 214 ff.

<sup>19</sup> There is a talmudic tradition that, at the time of the destruction of the second Temple, there were in Israel twenty-four heretical sects (Yer. San. 10. 5) : לא גלו ישראל אלא עד שנעשו עשרים וארבע כיתות של מינים. The number 24 is, of course, not to be taken literally.

before the various forces could be integrated into the solid structure of authoritative Judaism. None other than the famous second century teacher, R. Meir, later a pillar of the Mishnah, seems to have been compelled to leave Palestine owing to his leadership of a group with Gnostic leanings<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> This statement may appear exaggerated, but there are many indications that R. Meir, the pillar of the Mishnah, did not follow the authoritative Jewish course of his time. We can here indicate only a few supporting instances.

a) His attachment to Elisha ben Abuya (Aher) even after the latter became a follower of a certain radical Gnostic sect (Graetz, l.c.; M. Friedlander, *Der Vorchristliche juedische Gnosticismus*, p. 100 ff.). Hag. 15a.

b) His conflict with R. Simon ben Gamaliel, the head of official Judaism, which led to his excommunication and expulsion from the academy (Hor. 14b; Jerushalmi M.K. 3. 1): There must have been a deeper motive for R. Simon's severity than mere personal dislike.

c) Significant is R. Meir's journey to Asia in order to proclaim a leap year (Tosefta Meg. 2.5; Meg. 18b: *ומעשה בר' מאיר שהלך לאסיה לעבר שנה*). The calendar has always been one of the controversial subjects among various sects. Cf. our Hymn, line 8, and our comment thereon.

d) R. Meir's cryptic message to the Jews before his death in Asia: « This is your Messiah » (Yer. Kil. 9.4) bears a sectarian imprint. S. Klein's attempt, in Jacob Freimann's *Festschrift*, p. 116 ff., to explain away this message is unconvincing.

e) Notably his comment on the serpent (Gen. R. 19. 1): *תנא בשם ר' מאיר, לפי גרולתו של נחש היה מפלתו* « In proportion to the greatness of the serpent was its fall. » One cannot help thinking of the well known Gnostic sect, the Ophites or Naassenes, who worshipped the serpent.

f) Finally we would mention one Gnostic element common to R. Meir and to our Scrolls. One of the fundamental Gnostic concepts is that of the fall of man, i.e. man's soul from the realm of light, the abode of the angels, to this lower world, the domain of darkness, and consequently man's duty to return to his true place in the heavenly sphere. This idea was rejected by official Judaism, because of its dualistic import. Indeed, when R. Pappos (contemporary of R. Akiba) wanted to read it into Gen. 3.22: *הן האדם היה כאחד ממנו* meaning that man was like « one of the administering angels. » (*באחד ממלאכי השרת*) R. Akiba rebuked him (Gen. r. 21. 5). However, R. Meir seems to have clung to

Although we have no way of determining the exact Gnostic position of our author, it can at least be said that his hymn reflects the trials and the anxieties of a dissident group, very much alike that headed by R. Meir, during the turbulent period of the Bar Kokba revolt and immediately thereafter, in other words, during the middle of second century C.E.

1. אורכה אדוני כיא האירותה פני לבריתכה ומ [צאתיכה]
2. [כיא בכל לבי] אדורשכה וכשחר נכון לאורתום הופעתה לי. והמה, עמכה, [עזבוני]
3. [וילכו אחרי ז] רים החליקו למו ומליצי רמיה התעום, וילבטו בלא בינה כיא [היה]
4. בהולל מעשיהם כי נמאסן למו ולא יהשבוני בהגבירכה בי, כי הדיחני מארצי
5. כצפור מקנה, וכול רעי ומודעי נדחו ממני, ויחשבוני לכלי אובד. והמה, מליצי
6. כזב וחוויו רמיה, זממו עלי בוי בליעל להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות
7. לעמכה, ויעצורו משקה דעת מצמאים ולצמאם ישקום חומץ, למען הבט אל
8. תעותם, להתעולל במועדיהם, להתפש במצודותם. כי אתה אל תנאץ כל מחשבת
9. בליעל, ועצתכה היא תקום ומחשבת לבכה תכון לנצח. והמה, נעלמים, זמות בליעל

this concept. His symbolical interpretation of Cant. 2,7 reads: אם « If you תשמרו שבועתי אעשה אתכם כצבא של מועלה ואם לאו ... כצבא של מטה observe my oath, I will make you as the heavenly host; if not, I will make you as the host of lower creatures. » The same idea is expressed in almost identical terms, in one of the hymns published by Sukenik. There (p. 31, lines 6-10) we read :... ודעה כי יש מוקה לאשר יצרתה מעפר :... ורוח נעוה מהרתה מפשע רב להתיצב במעמד עם צבא קדושים ולבוא ביהר עם « And I know that there is hope for (man) whom Thou hast created out of dust... and the perverted spirit Thou hast purified from the multitude of blemishes so that it may stand in a place together with the host of the holy ones (angels), and join the community of the sons of heaven. »

10. יחשובו, וידרשוכה בלב ולב, ולא נכוננו באמתכה, שורש פורה רוש  
ולענה במחשבותם
11. ועם שרירות לבם יתורו, וידרשוכה בגלולים ומכשול עוונם שמו  
לנגד פניהם, ויבאו
12. לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב, מפותי תעות. והמה, בלועג שפה ולשון  
אחרת ידברו לעמך
13. להולל ברמיה כול מעשיהם, כי לא [הקשיבו לקול] כה ולא האזינו  
לדברכה, כי אמרו
14. לחזון דעת - לא נכון, ולדרך לבכה - לא היא, כי אתה אל תענה  
להם לשופטם.
15. בנבורתכה, כגלוליהם וכרוב פשעיהם, למען יתפשו במחשבותם  
אשר נזורו מבריתכה
16. ותכרת במשפט כול אנשי מרמה, וחזוי תעות לא ימצאו עוד, כי  
אין הולל בכל מעשיך
17. ולא רמיה במזימת לבכה, ואשר כנפשכה יעמודו לפניכה לעד,  
והולכי בדרך לבכה
18. יכוננו לנצח. ואני, בתמכי בכה, אתעודרה ואקומה על מנאצי וידי  
על כול בוזי כיא
19. לא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בן. ותופע לי בכוחכה לאורתום, ולא טחתה  
בבושת פני
20. כול הנדרשים לי, הנועדים לבריתכה. וישומעוני ההולכים בדרך  
לבכה, ויעריכו לכה
21. בסוד קדושים, ותוצא לנצח משפטם ולמישרים אמת, ולא תתנם  
ביר חלכאים
22. כזומם למו, ותתן מוראם על עמכה ומפץ ככול עמי הארצות, להכרית  
במשפט כול
23. עוברי פיכה. ובי האירותה פני רבים והגבר עד לאין מספר, כי  
הודעתני ברוי
24. פלאכה, ובסוד פלאכה הגברתה עמדי, והפלא לנגד רבים בעבור  
כבודכה, ולהודיע
25. לכול החיים גבורותיכה. מי בשר כזאת, ומה יצר חמר להגדיל  
פלאות, והוא בעון
26. מרחם ועד שבה באשמת מעל. ואני ידעתי כי לוא לאנוש צדקה  
ולוא לבן אדם תום

27. דרך, לאל עליון כול מעשי צדקה, ודרך אנוש לוא תכון, כי אם  
ברוח יצר אל לו
28. להחם דרך לבני אדם, למען ידעו כול מעשיו בכוח גבורתו ורוב  
רחמיו על כול בני
29. רצונו.

## Translation

1. I will praise Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast enlightened my countenance for Thy covenant's sake, [and I found Thee because]
2. I searched for Thee [with all my heart]. And, as the sure morning Thou hast dawned upon me to be a light to them. But they, Thy people, [forsook me]
3. [and walked after strangers] who flattered them, and after advocates of deceit who led them astray, and, devoid of understanding, they are rebellious. For
4. in foolishness do they perform their works. I am despised by them and, while Thou showest Thy power through me, yet they esteem me not, rather they caused me to wander from my land
5. as a bird from its nest. Yea, all my friends and acquaintances fled from me, and as a useless vessel do they consider me. And they, the advocates
6. of falsehood and seers of deceit, devise wickedness against me to cause me to barter Thy Torah which Thou hast inculcated in my heart for flattering
7. Thy people. And they withhold the drink of knowledge from those who are thirsty, and give them vinegar to drink in their thirst, so that they may direct their eye to



8. their false doctrine, to become frantic in their festivals, to be taken in their snares. Surely, Thou, O God, wilt condemn all Belial's devices,
9. and Thy counsel will stand, and the thought of Thy heart will be established for ever. But they, hypocrites, schemes of Belial
10. do they conceive, and they seek Thee with a double heart, and are not well-grounded in Thy truth. Yea, a root that beareth gall and wormwood is implanted in their thoughts,
11. and they go about after the inclination of their heart, and inquire of Thee with idols. The stumbling block of their iniquity they put before their face, and they come
12. to search for Thee from the mouth of false prophets, seduced into heresy. And they speak to Thy people with stammering lips and with a strange tongue
13. to cheat them and make them act foolishly, because they (the false prophets) hearkened not to Thy voice and gave no ear to Thy word. For
14. of the vision of knowledge they said : « It is not right, » and of the way of Thy heart they asserted : « It is not that. » Thou, O God, wilt answer them, (namely) to judge them
15. in Thy strength according to their idols and according to the multitude of their transgressions; that they may be taken in their own thought whereby they turned away from Thy covenant.
16. And wilt cut off in judgment all men of deceit, and the seers of heresy shall be no more. For there is no foolishness in all Thy works

17. nor deceit in Thy heart's designs. But those who do according to Thy soul's desire shall stand before Thee forever, and those who walk in the way of Thy heart
18. shall be established forever. And as for me, leaning upon Thee, I will gather courage and rise against those who despise me, and I (will stretch out) my hand upon all that hold me in contempt, for
19. they esteem me not when Thou exhibitst Thy might through me. And Thou shalt shine upon me with Thy power *that I might be a light to them(?)*. And Thou wilt not daub with shame the face
20. of any that ask of me, who gather themselves unto Thy covenant. And those who walk in the way of Thy heart shall hearken to and shall order (praises) unto Thee
21. in the assembly of the holy ones, and Thou shalt forever bring forth their judgment, and (bring forth) truth aright. And Thou wilt not deliver them into the power of the wicked
22. who plotted against them. And Thou wilt impose the awe of them upon Thy people, (and let them be) a mall (an instrument of destruction) for all the peoples of the lands, to cut off in judgment all
23. the transgressors of Thy commandments. And through me Thou hast made shine the face of many, and now show Thy strength (to a multitude) without number. For Thou hast given knowledge to me through the mysteries
24. of Thy wonders, and through Thy wondrous secret Thou hast manifested Thy might with me. And now show Thy wonders in the presence of many for Thy glory's sake, and in order to make known

25. to all the living Thy might. What flesh (could do things) like that? And what is a mold of clay that it should magnify marvels? Whereas he is (immersed) in iniquity,
26. in guilt of faithlessness, from the womb to hoary age. I know well that righteousness pertaineth to no man and uprightness to no son of man;
27. God Most High alone is the source of all work of righteousness, whereas the way of man is without foundation were it not for the spirit which God created for him
28. to make perfect the way for the sons of man, that they may know all His works, (made) by the power of His might, and the multitude of His tender mercies over all the children of His delight.

### Comments

#### Line 1

..ל — האירותה פני — Formally, the phrase seems to derive from Num. 6.25 : יאר ה' פניו אליך and the like (so Sukenik). Concerning the meaning, however, it alludes rather to Eccl. 8.1 : חכמת אדם תאיר פניו, « Man's wisdom enlightens his face. » For here too the acquisition of prophetic knowledge, *Gnosis*, is meant which had enlightened the author's face. This figure of speech was familiar to Palestinian Amoraim of the third century who frequently made use of the verse in Ecclesiastes (cf. PT. Sab. 8.1). In earlier Hebrew sources we find instead the idiom האר עינים « enlighten the eyes. » So, for instance, in the second benediction before the *Shema* : והאר עינינו בתורתך. Of R. Meir it is said that his name indicated « that he enlightened the eyes of the sages » (Er. 13b).

לבריתכה — Stands probably for לבני בר.. i.e. in order to enlighten the adherents of Thy covenant. Cf. *infra*, line 23 :

« And through me Thou hast enlightened the face of many. » Here we have the author's claim to true prophetic teaching, in contrast to the teachings of the heretics, the central theme of the composition.

It may be noted that the expression בני בריתך occurs also in the morning prayer אבל אנהני... בני בריתך which seems to have been known already to R. Jose, the Galilean (first half of the second century). Cf. Mekilta of R. Ismael on Ex. 15.18.

### Lines 1,2

[ומצאתיכה... לבי] — Suggested on the basis of Jer. 29.13 : ובקשתם אותי ומצאתם כי חורשני בכל לבבם; cf. also Ps. 119. 2,10. כשחר נכון חצאן : Hos. 6.3 — וכשחר נכון.. The allusion to this verse supports our previous supplement.

לאורתום — Meaning obscure. Sukenik's suggestion that it represents the singular of אורים ותומים is ingenious, but it hardly helps us get any sense out of the sentence. The key to the puzzle seems rather to lie in the parallel פני לבריתכה האירותה and לאורתום הופעתה לי. Both statements seem to express the idea that the light of knowledge was bestowed upon our author for the purpose of enlightening the « adherents of the covenant, » in other words « to be a light to them. » I therefore suggest that לאורתום stands for לאורותם (in the same way we have אדרושכה instead of אדרושכה), and has the same meaning as לאורם. It may be noted that the old *paytan* Jose ben Jose also uses the plural אורות instead of the singular אור, saying : אורות מאופל אמר ויהי.

So interpreted, we may see in the first two lines of our hymn an expanded paraphrase of Isa. 42,6 : ואתנך לברית עם : « And I will set thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the nations. » The head of the sect might have pretended to be the *Ebed Adonai*.

הופעתה לי — A favorite idiom of the author of the New Year prayers (generally attributed to Abba Areka, Babylonian

Amora of the beginning of the third century) who has twice :  
והופע על

.. והמה, עמכה. — Cf. the morning prayer mentioned above :  
והופע על, עמך, בני בריך. Cf. also Ps. 79.13.

### Lines 2,3

אחבתי זדים ואחזיהם : — Suggested on the basis of Jud. 2.12 :  
[עזבוני... ז]רים — and Jer. 23.32 : ויעזבו את ה'... וילכו אחרי...  
אלך.

כי החליק אליו : — Cf. Ps. 36.3 : החליקו למו.

התעום — Cf. Jer. 23.32 : ויתעו את עמי referring to false  
prophets who are designated there (verse 26) as נביאי תרומה  
מליצי רמיה, corresponding to our לבם.

ועם לא : — Is obviously a paraphrase of Hos. 4.14 : וילבטו...  
יבין ילבט. I rendered the word ילבט in accordance with the  
interpretation of the Karaite Yepheth ben Ali in his Arabic  
commentary on Hosea, ed. by Phil. Birnbaum, 1942. Yepheth's  
comment on this verse makes its use here especially meaningful.  
Indeed, he remarks : « What is said means that when a prophet  
or denouncer came to reproach them, they opposed him and  
mocked his speech » (editor's introd., p. 53-54). It is precisely  
in this sense that our author uses the phrase.

It may be noticed that the *Damascus Document* also lays  
special emphasis on « understanding » (בינה) and « know-  
ledge » (דעת). Indeed the first line of the Document reads :  
ועתה שמעו כל יודעי צדק ובינו. Still more instructive is p. 5, lines  
16-17 : כי לא עם בינות הוא הם גוי אובר עצות מאשר אין בהם בינה :  
Here the term בינה served as a link between Deut. 32.28  
(כי לא עם) and Isa. 28.11 (כי גוי אבר עצות המה ואין בהם תבונה)  
(בינות הוא). Cf. also p. 2, lines 3-4. This is characteristic of  
gnostic writings of the second and third centuries. The *Pistis  
Sophia*, for instance, starts : « This is the book of knowledge  
of the unseen God... » Cf. also the Epistle of Barnabas 6.10,

## Lines 3,4

...היה במחשך : Isa. 29.15 — [היה] בהולל...  
 « And their works are in the dark, » « darkness » being  
 in the language of our author a synonym of ignorance,  
 « foolishness. » Note that the verse, from Isaiah is preceded  
 by וילבטו, corresponding to the preceding חסרתר  
 ויבנת נבונים, בלא בינה, in our hymn.

— Read נמאסתי (Sukenik). Perhaps. [אמרי] פי נמאסו.., reminiscent of Jer. 8.9 : חנה בדבר הי מאסו וחכמה מה להם : Cf. infra line 23 : עוברי פיכה.

— Occurs also in another hymn (Sukenik I, p. 29, line 11).

הדיחני — Reminiscent of Jer. 51. 34 where הדיחני is preceded by the phrase ויחשבוני לכלי אובר which resounds in the following line. However, the context requires the plural הדיחוני (see Sukenik's note). We should perhaps read « they caused me to wander » as suggested by the following comparison כצפור.

## Line 5

כצפור נודרת מן קנה כן איש : Prov. 28.8 — Allusion to כצפור... נודד ממקומו

— Derives obviously from Ps. 31.12-13 : רעי... אובר ופחד למידעי ראי בחוץ נדרו ממני... הייתי ככלי אבר combined with Ps. 98.19 : הרחקת ממני אהב ורע מידעי : Instead of נדחו it probably should be נדרו, and we have translated accordingly.

— According to Sukenik, there are still discernible two expunged letters בי, preceding בליעל. These, in my opinion, represent a slip of the pen for בני which the scribe deleted. There is an allusion to Nah. 1.11 : חשב על יהוה רעה יעץ בליעל : which suggests a reference to heretical doctrines.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Jerome's *Commentary*, Migne PL, vol. 25, col. 1239 : « Vere ab haereticis exhibit adversus Dominum inimica cogitatio. »

It may be noted that in the second century *Belial* seems to have become almost a technical term for « heresy, » and this on the basis of Deut. 13.14 where, in connection with the *locus classicus* of the false prophet, the *Bene Belial* are defined as those who seduce the people by saying : « Let us go and serve other gods. » Accordingly *Belial* has been interpreted etymologically as « men who cast off the yoke of God » (Sifre, *ad l.*, ed. Friedmann, p. 93a). A scholar of the second century, R. Joshua ben Korḥa, states that, whenever the term *Belial* occurs, there is an allusion to idolatry and heresy (Tosefta, ed. Zuckermann, p. 24, Pea 4, 40). In the *Damascus Document*, *Belial* is often used as synonym of Satan, but בלעל רוחות in the passage ...כל איש אשר ימשלו בו רוחות בלעל ודבר סרה... (ed. Schechter, p. 12, line 2) seems rather to denote « spirits of heresy » speaking words leading to apostasy, since there is an allusion to the passage in Deuteronomy mentioned above.

...להמיר — Allusion to Jer. 2.11: כבודו בלא יוער reechoing בלעל. Cf. also Hos. 4.7. Both passages are preceded by a reproach leveled against priests and false prophets (Jer. 2.8; Hos. 4.5), the main theme of our composition.

It may be noticed that the presentation of heresy as a fraudulent barter is a familiar feature in sectarian writings of the second and third centuries. So, for instance, the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, chap. 24, says of Simon Magus that he « offered us much silver... that we might *exchange and give for silver* the power of the Holy Ghost. » To the question how to recognize heretics, the *Pistis Sophia* (chap. 134) answers : « Be like the *wise money-changer*, take the good and throw away the bad. »

והיו : 6.6-7 דע — Derives obviously from Deut. 6.6-7: שנתה בלבי. הדברים האלה על לבבך ושונתם.

...בחקות — A cue word to Isa. 30.10: אשר אמרו לרואים לא תראו ולחזוים לא תחזו... דברו לנו חלקות, « That say to the seers see not, and to the prophets: Prophecy not unto us right things, speak to us smooth things, »



## Line 7

...ויעצורו — Derives obviously from Isa. 32.6 : ומשקה צמא  
 The word ויעצורו was probably suggested by the association with עצירת גשמים, a familiar term for want of rain (based on Deut. 11.17 : ועצר את השמים and the like) in Tannaitic sources.

The insertion of the explanatory דעת is significant, because it indicates that our author follows the exegetical school of the *Dorshe Reshumot*. Indeed, it is but an application to our verse of the interpretation the *Dorshe Reshumot* gave to Ex. 17.3 : ויצמא שם העם (דורשי רשומות אמרו דברי תורה שנמשלו למים).

The allegorical interpretation of the verse from Isaiah is also to be found in the Targum : ופתנמי אוריתא דאינון כמייא : לצחייא... The substitution of דעת in our text for דברי תורה generally used by rabbinic sources in this connection, is indicative of the role of « knowledge » in the author's circle (cf. also Sota 49a : ואין דעת אלא תורה).

It may be noted that, according to rabbinic sources, R. Meir's text of the Torah contained certain variants (inserted into the text or placed on the margin) to indicate the allegorical sense of certain passages (cf. Bacher, *Aggadot ha-Tanaim*, III p. 7, notes 42, 45).

...ולצמאם — Derives from Ps. 69.22 : חמץ ויצמאם... There can be no doubt that this verse too is interpreted allegorically. « Vinegar » denotes heretical doctrines in contrast to the pure « drink of knowledge. » A similar use of the word חמץ is to be found in the Talmud (B.M. 83 b : חומץ בן יין). Much more pertinent is the following midrashic comment on Prov 25.20 : אמר ר' יהושע בר נחמיה כזה שחוא נותן חומץ על נתר : וסותרו, כך היו סותרים דברי תורה הדא הוא דבתיב ויהי מלעיבים במלאכי (Lam. R. Pet. 12). « Vinegar » is here the symbol of a decomposing element which creates contempt for the prophets and brings about the disintegration of the Torah. There could be no better symbol for heresy.

This designation of heretics and the reference of our Psalm verse to them seems to have been widely familiar in Jewish circles of the second century. A Talmudic story tells us that R. Judah Hanasi, at the announcement of the arrival of a certain *Min* (heretic), exclaimed: ראש ולצמאי ישקוני: חמץ (Hul. 78a), the same verse as that used by our author.

We should keep in mind that our verse, Ps. 69.22, was seized upon by the earlier Church Fathers and referred to Jesus who, according to the Gospels (Mark 15.36; John 19.28), was given «vinegar» to drink. The allegorical interpretation of the verse by our author and in other Jewish circles contains, in all probability, a subtly polemical touch. They would not object to the contention that the verse refers to Jesus. They would, however, construe the verse as branding the doctrine of Jesus with the stigma of heresy. This would support a conjecture we expounded elsewhere that the *Dorshe Reshumot*, to whose school our author seems to belong, used their symbolical method of interpretation mostly in refuting the Old-Testament «witnesses» of Jesus' mission.

#### Lines 7,8

הבט אל תעותם — Conceived, in all probability, as antithesis to Ps. 119.6 : בהביטי אל כל מצותיך, «when I pay attention to all Thy commandments.» Perhaps also Ps. 74.20 : הבט לברית was present in his mind.

תעותם — The noun form תעות instead of תועה is rabbinic (= טעות), and assumes here, as well as in the other sectarian documents, the meaning of heresy, corresponding to the Greek *πλάγη*, used in the *Pistis Sophia* and other contemporary writings, with the same sense.

במועדיהם — If we translate להתהולל בוועדיהם «in their festivals,» it would seem to imply a special concern for the correct celebration of the festivals — both at the right time and in the right manner —, and so offer one more link between our hymn and the *Discipline Scroll* as well as the *Damascus*

*Document*. Indeed, one of the rules of the *Discipline Scroll* reads : « Not to anticipate the seasons of the Scriptures *nor to delay any of their festivals*. » (BASOR 1948, Oct., p. 10, Plate II, lines 14-15 מועדיהם מכל להתאחר ולא לקדם עתיהם). Similarly the *Damascus Document* states that, to the members of the covenant alone, were revealed the hidden things in which all Israel had erred, namely, the holy Sabbaths and the glorious festivals (ed. Schechter, p. 3, lines 13-14 : נגלות להם נסתרות אשר : תעו בהם כל ישראל שבחות ומועדי כבודו).

It may be noted, in passing, that R. Eliezer of Modin (first half of the second century) includes, among those who have no share in the world to come, « him who contemns the festivals » (Ab. III, 11). It should be borne in mind that R. Eliezer of Modin is identified with the *Dorshe Reshumot* circle (*Mekilta*, ed. Weiss, p. 55), to which our author also probably belonged (cf. our note to line 7).

On closer consideration, however, I am rather inclined to interpret מועדיהם here « their assemblies, » their conventicles. It seems that our author refers to certain obscene mysteries practiced by certain Gnostic prophets. The famous passage in the *Didache* (ed. Shaff, 1886, p. 201 ff., chap. 11, 11) : « And every approved, genuine prophet who makes *assemblies for a worldly mystery* (?), but does not teach others to do what he himself does, shall not be judged by you ..., for so did also the ancient prophets, » seems to be a fitting commentary on « the foolish things performed in their assemblies. »

ונתפש במצודותם — Reminiscent of Ezek. 12.13 : תפש תפש, with Ezek. 14.5 : למען תפוש את בני ישראל בלבם. As matter of fact, chap. 14 of Ezekiel constitutes, as we shall presently see, the very core of our composition. There is also a perfect counterpart to our phrase in the *Damascus Document* : שלשה (p. 4, lines 15-16). Cf. editor's translation (p. XXXV) and note 18 *ibid.* where two interpretations are given; the first interpretation is correct,

... אתה אל תנאץ — Conceived, in all probability, as antithesis to Ps. 107.11 : וועצת עליון נאצו : « They rebelled against the words of God and contemned His counsel, » wherefore — as measure for measure — « Thou, O God, wilt condemn their thoughts while Thy counsel shall stand. » The antithesis to וועצת עליון נאצו is therefore continued in the following

## Line 9

רבות מחשבות בלב — Drawn from Prov. 19.21 : וועצתה ... איש וועצת יהוה היא תקום

שפת אמת תכון לעד : 12.19 Prov. — ומחשבת ... לנצח ( = לנצח ) combined with Prov. 20.8 : מחשבות בעצה תכון .

לא ישבתי עם מתי שוא ועם : 26.4 Ps. — Drawn from נעלמים . The meaning is established by the parallel « men of falsehood. » Accordingly, the Targum renders it : « those who hide themselves to do evil. » This interpretation is accepted by most ancient and some modern commentators. Also in the picture our author gives of the נעלמים, duplicity is the most prominent trait, and it seems to me that נעלמים here has the same connotation as « hypocrites » in the Christian writings of the second century. It is known that the earlier Christians took hypocrisy in a much broader sense, and branded it as one of the principal vices. In the Epistle of Barnabas, for instance, we read : « Abhor everything not pleasing to God; detest every form of hypocrisy; do not by any means neglect the commandments of the Lord. »

ומית בליעל — This correct reading (Sukenik reads : ומתי and emends בליעל) I owe to a kind communication received from my friend Dr. M. Zulay, Jerusalem. It corresponds to ומתי בליעל (line 6) and מחשבת בליעל in the preceding line. All of them are but variations of Nah. 1.11 : רעה על יהוה חשב על יעץ בליעל as pointed out above.

## Line 10

בלב ולב ידברו : Cf. Ps. 12.3. The whole seems to have been conceived as antithesis to the «upright in the way ...who seek Him with a whole heart» (Ps. 119.1-2 (אשרי תמימי דרך בכל לב וידושוה).

ויפתוהו בפיהם : Reminiscent of Ps. 78.36-37 — ולא נכנו... ולשונם יכובו לו ולבו לא נכון עמו ולא נאמנו בבריתו. It is worthy of note that the *Damascus Document*, as pointed out by Israel Levi (*REJ*, vol. 16, 120) shows many similarities in language, as well as in concept and structure, with this particular Psalm.

שורש ... ולענה — Quotation from Deut. 29.17. This whole Torah section, which describes Israel as standing before the Lord «to enter into the covenant of the Lord... and into His oath (לעברך בברית ה' אלהיך ובאלתו)», must have exercised a special attraction upon the members of the «new covenant» of Damascus. Indeed, an allusion to this scene is to be found in the *Damascus Document*, 17.1 : למען הדבק בהם את אלות בריתו :

The addition במחשבותם seems to echo Targum Onkelos which renders the phrase with גבר דמהרהר חטאין. Cf. also Midrash Tehilim (ed. Buber, p. 427) on Ps. 101.2-4.

## Line 11

והתברך בלבו ... : Paraphrase of Deut. 29.18 — ועם שרירות.. The use of יתורו instead of ילכו links it with Num. 15.39 : בשרירות לבי אלך. ולא תתורו אחרי לבבכם ואחרי עיניכם אשר אתם זונים : אהריהם. The same welding of these two verses we find in the *Damascus Document* (p. 2, line 16 : ולא לתור במחשבת יצר ואשמה : ולא ללכת עוד : ועיני) and in the *Discipline Scroll* (line 6 : (בשרירות לב ... ועיני זנות). Our author apparently refers also the verse from Numbers to heresy and is in agreement with Sifre (ed. Friedmann, 35a) : אחרי לבבכם - זו מינות : Onkelos' rendering : ולא תטעו בתר ההורר לבכונ points to the same interpretation.

Before we continue our running commentary, it may not be out of place to set forth a preliminary remark referring to

lines 11-15. These five lines, taken as a whole, offer a condensation of Ezek. 14.3-11. At the same time, they expatiate upon the main theme of false prophets, and insert some words that serve as comment.

#### Lines 11,12

... נביאי כזב — Almost a quotation from Ezek. 14.3-4; supplemented by v. 7 : האנשים האלה העלו גלוליהם על לבם ומכשוף : .. עונם נתנו נכח פניהם האדרש אדרש להם ... ובא אל הנביא לדרוש לו .. However, as soon as our author has reached the « prophet » (better : Prophets), he adds an explanatory word כזב, « of falsehood. » He then condenses in two single words the traits of the false prophet he could gather from the subsequent verses of Ezek. Indeed, מפותי תעות is but a sign of reference to vv. 9-11 : והנביא כי יפתה ... אני יהוה פתתי את הנביא ... למען לא יתעו עוד את ישראל מעלי. This done, the author draws upon another source, as we shall see, to complete his picture of the false prophet, and then returns to his main source, Ezekiel.

#### Line 12

... נביאי כזב — The insertion of כזב in connection with ובא אל הנביא is interesting. I was unable to find any old source interpreting the phrase « And cometh to the prophet, » as referring to a false prophet. I suspect here, as in line 7 above, a touch of subtle anti-Christian polemics. It should be borne in mind that, according to earlier Church Fathers, this phrase refers to the account of Jesus' teaching in the Temple of Jerusalem, when the high priest and the elders of the people came to interrogate Him (cf. Jerome, « Comm. in Ezek., » Migne, *PL.* vol. 25, coll. 117-118). The prophet, accordingly, would be Jesus. Our author would not object to the identification of the prophet with Jesus; he only adds the qualification « prophet of falsehood. »



לעמכה — והמה בלועג... לעמכה — The Ezekiel text is dropped for the present. The author is now drawing upon Isa. 28.11; כי בלעגי, שפה ובלשון אחרת ידבר אל העם הזה, to complete the picture of the false prophet. There seems to be here an allusion to those ecstatic prophecies known as «speaking with tongues» or *glossalalia*, often uttered in the form of unintelligible phrases which required interpretation. «Speaking with stammering lips and a strange tongue» is a perfect rendering of *glossalalia*. In this sense this idiom is used by Paul (1 Cor. 14.21) who considers it a sign of the true prophet (cf. Jerome's commentary to Isa. 28.10). About *glossalalia* in the second century among Christians and especially among Gnostics, cf. Fine, «Zungenrede,» in *Real-Enzyclopaedia für protestantische Theologie*. vol. 21, p. 749 ff.

A reference to the same passage from Isaiah with the same polemical import is to be found, I surmise, in the *Damascus Document*, ed. Schechter, p. 4, line 19 : אשר הלכו אחרי צו הצו : הוא המטיף. The editor in his translation (p. xxxvi: ... who walked after the commanding one. — The commanding one etc.) separating צו from הצו missed the allusion to Isa. 28.10,13 : צו לצו קו לקו. These words, according to Jerome in his commentary, were used by certain heretics as *glossalalia* to impress the populace. Those heretics may be identified with the Gnostic sect worshipping Jesus under the name *caulacau* which is but the Hebrew קו לקו (see Philastrius, *De Haeresibus*, 33, and Alb. Fabricius' notes). The passage in the *Damascus Document* seems to be directed against the *caulacau* sect. The correct translation should read : ... «who followed the prophet of (צו לצו) i.e. *caulacau*.

The designation of heretics as those who speak to the people, deprived of understanding, «with stammering (uncircumcised) lips and a strange tongue» is found also in another hymn the termination of which is reproduced by Sukenik (top of Plate XII), and reads : [וינאצו את אמרי פיכה אשר] שמתה בלבבי לפתוח מקור דעת אל מבינים ויחורוט בערול שפה ולשון אחרת



לעם לא בינות להתעם במשגתם. The passage has similarities, in concept and wording, with lines 3 and 6 of the hymn we are considering. Here I should like to draw attention to one remarkable parallel. The phrase לפתוח מקור דעת is, in all probability, derived from Zech. 13.1 : ביום ההוא יהיה מקור נפתח : The expansion of מקור into [דעת] corresponds to that of [משקה] in line 7 above.

## Line 13

לְהוֹלִל ... מַעֲשִׂיהֶם — To make them act foolishly through deceit. It may perhaps be considered a variation of, and therefore suggested by, Jer. 9.5 : 'בחרחה חֲזָנוּ דַעַת אוֹתִי נָאֵם ה' : « *Through deceit* they refused to know me, saith the Lord, » הוֹלִל being the opposite of דַעַת. In the same chapter of Jeremiah there are other phrases which occur also in our hymn.

הָאֵזִינוּ וּשְׁמָעוּ : — Supplied from Isa. 28.23 : [הַקְשִׁיבוּ לְקוֹל] כֹה ; cf. also Isa. 51.4 Sukenik supplies : [שְׁמָעוּ]. As to הָאֵזִינוּ, ולא הָאֵזִינוּ, there may be a reminiscence of Neh. 9.3 : וַתַּעֲדוּ בָהֶם כְּרוֹחֶךָ בֵּין וּבֵינָאֵךְ וְלֹא הָאֵזִינוּ וַתִּתְּנֵם בְּיַד עַמִּי הָאֲרָצוֹת : to which a slight allusion can be found also in line 22.

## Line 14

לְחֹזֶן דַעַת — This is rather an unusual expression. As a contrast to חֹזֶן שֶׁקֶר (Jer. 14.14) or חֹזֶן שׁוֹא (Ezek. 12.14), we expect חֹזֶן אֱמֶת or the like. Our phrase was probably conceived as antithesis to הוֹלִלּוּת־הוֹלֵל, after Eccl. 1.17 : ... חֲכָמָה וְרַעַת־הוֹלָלוֹת. The author wants to stress that the people follow the prophets who deceitfully make them act like fools, but refuse to listen to the true prophet who through « Gnostic vision » preached the gospel of « knowledge. »

אֱמֶת נִכּוֹן ... : — Not true, after Deut. 13.15 : אֱמֶת נִכּוֹן.

וְהֹלֵךְ בְּדַרְכֵי לֶבֶךְ — Cf. Eccl. 11.9 : וְהֹלֵךְ בְּדַרְכֵי לֶבֶךְ ; cf. also Isa. 57.17 : וְיֵלֵךְ שׁוֹבֵב בְּדֶרֶךְ לֵבֹ (Sukenik). The idiom is favored also in the *Damascus Document* (for instance p. 1, line 11 : וַיִּקָּם לָהֶם מוֹרָה לְהַדְרִיכֵם בְּדֶרֶךְ לֵבֹ).

לֹא זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ : Cf. 2 Ki. 6.9 : לֹא הִיא (הַדֶּרֶךְ) = לֹא הִיא

.. Formally patterned after Ps. 38.16 : **אתה תענה אל תענה** .. In reality, however, the author here resumes the thread of the Ezekiel discourse dropped in line 12. He stopped at the point of **ובא אל הנביא לדרש לו בי** (vv. 4,7), and now he is continuing to paraphrase the text immediately following : **אני יהוה ונענית לו בו ברכ גלוליו למען תפוש את בית : ישראל בלבם אשר נזורו מעלי**.

The substitution of **אל** for **יהוה** is a well known trait of our sectarian documents.

... לשופטם — An interesting explanatory addition, serving as comment to **נעניתי**, « I will answer them, namely by judging them according to the multitude etc. » Here the author is at variance with the Targum which renders the phrase : **אנא יי' משתאיל ליה במימרי דאתא למתבע אולפן מן קדמי אפּעל גב דמתערב בסני פּולחן טעותיה**.

#### Line 15

**וברוב פשעיהם** — Expansion of the text, borrowed from Ps. 5.11 : **ברב פשעיהם הדיחמו** ; linked with the Ezekiel text through the word **ברוב**.

**יתפשו במחשבותם** — Formally it is patterned after Ps. 10.2 : **יתפשו במחשבותם** ; conceptually it is but a paraphrase of **למען תפוש את בני ישראל בלבם**. The substitution of **במחשבותם** for **בלבם** (obviously taking **בלבם** as **לכם** **במחשבת**) is not without significance. It shows that our author, while again at variance with the Targum, agrees with an older rabbinic source. In the Talmud (K̄id. 39b-40a) the verse is used as proof that, unlike other transgressions, idolatry (perhaps better : heresy) is punishable even when merely a matter of thought (**במחשבה**), evidently interpreting **בלבם** as **לכם** **במחשבת**.

#### Line 16

... ותכרת — Derives from Ps. 12.14 : **כל שפתי חלקות**, combined with Ps. 5.7 : **תאבד דברי כזב איש דמים ומרמה**.

... אין הולל — Since our author uses הוללות-הולל as anti-thesis to דעת (cf. our comment to line 14), the sentence could be considered as a mere variation of Ps. 104.24 : מה רבו מעשיך יהיה כלם בחכמה עשית (cf. also Ben Sira, 39.16,33). However, the negative form of our version seems to indicate that it was directed against certain gnostic doctrines.

כי לא יהיה עוד : Ezek. 12.14 — וחזוי תעות ... כל חזון שוא

## Line 17

ואשר כנפשכה יעשו — Elliptic for ואשר כנפשכה יעשו, « And those who do according to Thy soul's desire, » and derives from 1 Sam. 2.35 : והקימתי לי כהן נאמן כאשר בלבבי ובנפשי יעשה ... והתהלך לפני : חשיחי כל הימים « And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do according to that which is in My heart and in My soul... and he shall walk before me anointed for ever. » The form כנפשי agrees with the Targum which has : דכמימרי וכרעותי.

יעמורו לפניך ... — Linked with the passage of Samuel mentioned above. יעמר לפני ה' is often used in the sense of performing priestly functions, so for instance 2 Chron. 2.13 : כי בכמ בחר : יהוה לעמר לפניו There may be an allusion to Ezek. 44.15 : והכהנים הלויים בני צדוק ... ועמרו לפני a verse which constituted the motto of the sect of the *Damascus Document*. Chapter 44 of Ezekiel is also otherwise alluded to in our hymn.

## Line 18

וורעם לפניך יכון, after Ps. 102.29 יכוננו לפניכה = יכוננו, forming a perfect parallel to יעמורו.

בתומכי בכה — The same idiom occurs also in a hymn published by Sukenik (p. 29, line 4). It is patterned after Isa. 42.1 : הן עברי אתמך-בו. Our author, like some medieval commentators, seems to have understood the idiom as passive, namely « I will lean upon him » (cf. for instance Kimhi :

(כמו המלך הנשען על עבדו). Accordingly, בתומכי בכה means «in my leaning upon Thee,» or «trusting in Thee.» It may also be that תומכי stands here for סומכי, and the idiom traced back to Ps. 54.6: אדני בסומכי נפשי.

.. ונחננו קמנו : Ps. 20.9 — Reminiscence of ... אתעודרה .. ונתעודר .

על מנאצי — Cf. Jer. 23.17: אמרים אמר לחנאצי, in connection with those who follow false prophets.

אטה ידי or, אשא ידי — An elliptical form for ידי על ... or אשוב ידי. The first two idioms occur frequently in Ezekiel. Ezek 44.10-12: כי אם הלויים אשר רחקו מעלי בתעות ישראל ... יען: אשר ישרתו אותם לפני גלוליהם והיו ... למכשול עון על כן נשאתי ידי was, in all probability, present in the mind of our author, because the passage repeats the theme of chapter 14 which, as we have seen, was our composition's main source of inspiration.

בוזי — Allusion to Num. 15.31: דבר יהוה בזה, which in older rabbinic exegesis is referred to various sectarians and heretics (cf. *Sifre*, ed. Friedmann, 33a, and editor's references). There is also an allusion to 2 Chron. 36.16: ויהיו מלעיבים במלאכי: האלהים ובוזים דבריו ומתעתעים בובאיז 7 above.

### Line 19

לא יהשבוני ... — Explanation of the term בוזי. The same clause is used in line 4 as apposition to למו.

לואורתום הופעתה לי ... ותופע לי ... לאורתום, in line 2. Cf. our comment there.

זבשת פני כסתני : Ps. 44.16 — Based upon פני טחתה ... פני. The substitution of טוח for כסה is due, in all probability, to the influence of Ezekiel who, in chapter 13 prophesying against false prophets, shows a special liking for the verb טוח (vv. 10,11, 12).

## Line 20

הנדרשים לי — As against those who «came to seek Thee from the mouth of false prophets» (line 12). The Ezekiel scene of chapter 14 is still in the author's mind.

יחד לבריתכה — Perhaps abbreviated for לועך (or the like) בריתכה, «unto the meeting place of Thy covenant.» There is another possibility. The word יחד is written over the line between the end of הנועדים and the beginning of לבריתכה. Since we know that יחד is generally used in our documents as a noun, meaning union or community, it may be that we should read ליהד בריתכה, «those who gather unto the community of Thy covenant.»

וישמעוני — Stands for וישמעוני, in the same way as in line 2 our author writes אדורשכה instead of אדורשכה (Sukenik).

בקר אערך לך .. : Ps. 5.4 : יערוכו לכה

In this connection it may be worthy of note that, in certain rabbinic circles, the composition of hymns after the pattern of the Psalms was considered an activity required of the Messiah. According to R. Papias (middle of the second century) Hezekiah would have been worthy to become the Messiah were it not that he failed to compose songs of praise (Sanh. 94a). It is interesting that still in the eighteenth century, the new «Book of Psalms» composed by Moses Hayyim Luzzatto was suspected as an early indication that Luzzatto aspired to become the Messiah. About the collection of Psalms in various Gnostic circles, cf. Harnack, *Pistis Sophia*, p. 46.

After receiving Sukenik's restored text, I realized that our interpretation, based on Ps. 5.4, is not the only possible rendering of this passage. Indeed, it seems to me that the author alluded rather to Ps. 89.7 : מי בשחק יערך ליהוה. Obviously, he could not have made use of this verse in the usual sense of יערך, to be compared, but he may well have taken into consideration certain midrashic explanations. Indeed, the following three explications are given in Tanhuma (ed. Buber, Lev., *Emor*,

20, p. 96 : a) links יערך with Lev. 24.4 « and he shall *order the lights*, » a figure of speech for « shedding the light of knowledge » (מאיר עיני השכים), similar to the idiom מאיר פנים in our hymn); b) connects יערך with Lev. 6.5 : « and he shall lay the burnt-offering in order upon it, » referring to the sacrificial cult or its substitution, prayer or praises; c) it is also brought in connection with 2 Sam. 10.8 : « and put the battle in array. »

The interpretation given in our translation, which I now see was also adopted by Sukenik, follows the second midrashic explication. But I would not exclude the other two explications, and especially the third. We would then render our passage as follows : « And they will order their battle-lines for Thee, » i.e. they will fight for Thee, Thy covenant. The contexts seems to favor this rendering.

#### Line 21

אל נערץ בסוד קדושים : Ps. 89.8 — בסוד קדושים — Here, as well as in other hymns, our author expresses the belief that those who observe the covenant (the Law) will ascend to the angelic realm. This opinion was maintained by certain Jewish scholars of the second century but was rejected by the authoritative teachers (cf. note 20 to our introduction).

לא יצא לנצח משפט : — Taken from Isa. 42.3 : לא יצא לנצח משפט combined with Hab. 1.4 : לא יצא לנצח משפט.

ולמישרים אמת — Contraction of two qualifications of judgment (משפט) representing a combination of Isa. 42.3 : לא יצא לנצח משפט mentioned above and Ps. 75.3 : לא יצא לנצח משפט.

ולא תתנם — We emended the text which reads ותתן ביד, mainly on account of the context, and also because the idiom ותתן ביד is nowhere else substantiated, while נתן ביד is a common phrase. Sukenik's restored text offers a further support in the following expression ותתן מוראם which forms a fitting supplement to ותתן ביד,

ונפל בעצומיו חלכאים : Following Ps. 10.10 — חלכאים. The term occurs also in one of the hymns published by Sukenik (p. 32, line 1). In his note, the editor rightly points out that our writer, at variance with the old translations, seems to have used חלכאים as a synonym of רשעים — oppressors. It may be noted that a midrashic comment on this verse, reported in *Midrash Tehilim* (ed. Buber, p. 94) in the name of R. Joshua ben Levi (Palestinian Amora of the middle of the third century) or in the name of his disciple, R. Simon (cf. editor's note 25), seems also to have interpreted חלכאים as « wicked potentate. » The comment reads : ר' סימון (נ"א: ר' יהושע בן לוי) אין הרשע מפיל בקולרין אלא רשעים גבורים כמותו.

## Line 22

זממו עלי : Cf. line 6 — כזומם למו. זמם רשע לצדיק.

ותתן מוראם — Cf. Deut. 11.25 : יתן יהוה על .. מוראכם (Sukenik).

ומפץ — Sukenik refers to Prov. 25.18. But it obviously alludes to Jer. 51. 26 : מפץ אתה לי ... ונפצתי כך גוים.

עמי הארצות — As contraposition to עמכה, it designates alien nations, and derives from Ezra and Nehemiah (Sukenik).

## Line 23

עוברי פִּיכָה — Derives from Num. 14.41 : אתם עוברי פִּי יהוה.

ובי האירותה — Cf. our comment to line 1.

והגבר — Sukenik reads ותגבר, but as far as I can see it should be והגבר, corresponding to והפלא in the following line.

## Line 23,24

הודעתני ברוי פלאכה — Another echo of Ps. 89.6 : שמים יודו אתה האל עשה פלא הודעת בעמים : Ps. 77.14 combined with פלאך.



As to the term רזי, cf. Sukenik's reference to the Damascus Document. The notion of «knowledge» achieved by means of «secrets» or «mysteries» is a common trait of all Gnostic sects. In our case, there seems to be an allusion to Isa. 24:16 : רזי לי רזי לי which the Targum renders : רז אנר ... לצדיקא (cf. *Damascus Document*, p. 4, lines 14ff containing a peculiar allegorical interpretation of the verse immediately following). In rabbinic circles it is R. Meir (teacher of the second century) who singles out the man to whom the *mysteries of the Torah* are revealed (Abbot 6.1 : ומגלין לי רזי תורה). Mention may be made of the *Rosh Hashanah* prayer אתה יודע רזי עולם attributed to Rab (Aba Areke, Babylonian Amora of the first half of the third century).

Lines 24,25

להודיע ... גבורותיו : Cf. Ps. 145:13 — ולחודיע ... גבורותיכה  
ראיתי את : is reminiscent of Eccl. 4:15 כלל החיים (Sukenik).  
וכל החיים יודוך .. and of the thanksgiving benediction כל החיים  
מי בשר [יעשה] כזאת — Elliptic for מי בשר כזאת

The phrase occurs also in a hymn by Sukenik, p. 31, line 15 : **וְאֵנִי יֹצֵר הַחֹמֶר מֵהָאֵרֶץ**. In his note, the editor rightly refers to Isa. 29.16 : **וְיֹצֵר אֹמֶר לִיצֵרוֹ**. Observe, however, that **יֹצֵר** there is parallel to **חֹמֶר**. Our author combines them into one idiomatic expression.

זאת מעם : Probably an allusion to Isa. 28.29 — להגדיל פלאות  
 יהוה יצא הפליא עצה הגדיל תושיה, as antithesis, i.e. from  
 the Lord alone all the great wondrous works come forth, but  
 not from «flesh,» or from a «mold of clay.»

At first sight lines 25-27 express but the familiar theme of man's frailty and depravity, in contrast with God's might and righteousness. In its general tenor the passage recalls the prayer inserted in the daily morning service and attributed to R. Johanan (Palestinian authority of the middle of the third century). The prayer reads : ... רבון העולמים, לא על צדקותינו .. מה אנחנו מה חיינו ... מה צדקנו .. However, the specific formu-

lation and turn given here to this theme makes it probable that the author aimed at the Christian doctrine, expressed in Colossians, 1.22 that justification and sanctification can be achieved only «in the body of His flesh.» It is against such a background that the phrase : «Who, formed of flesh, can do things like these?» assumes a special meaning. It should be borne in mind that the bodily appearance of Jesus «in the flesh» was one of the most controverted points in Gnostic circles of the second and third centuries. Most Gnostics were inclined to consider Jesus a mere vision «*per umbram*,» or *umbratilater*, (Philastrius, *De haeresibus*, 32,42,44 etc.). Cf. also *Didascalia Apostolorum*, 26 : «Those who blaspheme against the Holy Ghost... and say that the Holy Ghost does not dwell in baptism, *nor in the flesh and blood* of the Christ.» Cf. also the *Epistle of Barnabas*, 5. According to M. Guedemann, l.c., p. 116 ff., there is an echo in the Talmud of the polemics against the mystery of the flesh of Christ.

הן בעוון חוללתי ובחטא : Ps. 51.7 — Reminiscent of ... והוא בעוון יחמתי אמי (Suknik).

#### Line 26

הנשאים מני : Isa. 46.3,4 — Patterned after ... מרחם ... ועד שבה (Suknik).

באשמת מעל — Welding of two parallel terms used especially in Ezra and Nehemiah. We observed the same procedure in line 24 and elsewhere.

לאנוש... ולוא לבן אדם — Patterned after Ps. 8.5 : ..... מה אנוש ... ובן אדם.

צדקה and תום דרך — The parallel of ... תום דרך — צדקה תצור תם דרך : Prov. 13.6 (Suknik).

#### Line 27

לא עליון — Except for Gen. 4, *אל עליון* is rather seldom used in the Bible. It emerges later under Hellenistic influence, so, for instance, by Ben Sira,

לֹא יֵצֵר אֱלֹהִים — Alludes obviously to Gen. 2.7, still more to Job 33.4 : רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂתָנִי. In the same chapter (v. 6) we read : מַחְמֵר קִרְצָתִי which is reechoed in יֵצֵר הַחֲמֵר above (line 25). Perhaps also reminiscent of Ps. 51.12 : (יֵצֵר לִי) לֵב טָהוֹר בְּרָא לִי (יֵצֵר לִי) ... אֱלֹהִים וְרוּחַ נָכוֹן חֲדָשׁ ...

## Line 28

וְיֵצֵר כִּי תִתֵּן דְּרֹכֶיךָ — Cf. Job 22.3 : לֵהֲתֵם דֶּרֶךְ.

... לְמַעַן יֵדְעוּ — The whole line is a condensation of Ps. 145; reminiscent especially of vv. 9 and 12 : טוֹב יְהוָה לְכָל וְרַחֲמָיו עַל כָּל מַעֲשָׂיו ... Ps. 111.6 : כֹּחַ מַעֲשָׂיו is also alluded to.

תּוֹעֵבֶת ה' עֲשִׂי-לֵב — On the basis of Prov. 11.20 : וְרֻצּוֹן תַּחֲתָיו וְרֹךְ, we may identify « the children of His delight » with the « upright in the way. »



# SUMEROLOGY AND SEMITICS



# DIE BEDEUTUNG DER VORSARGONISCHEN WIRTSCHAFTSTEXTE FÜR DIE SUMERISCHE SPRACHE UND KULTUR

P. A. DEIMEL

Pontificio Istituto Biblico

DIE Texte, auf welche sich die Studie stützt, stammen aus den Archiven der sumer. Stadtfürsten von Lagaš<sup>1</sup>. *En-te-me-na*, *En-e* (var. *en<sub>3</sub>*)-*tar-zi*, *Lugal-an-da-(nu-su<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>)* und *Uru-ka-gi-na* (Zeitgenosse des Grosskönigs *Lugal-zag-gi-si*). Den ausführlichen Literaturangaben über die moderne Veröffentlichung derselben (s. *Analecta Orientalia* II 71)<sup>2</sup> kann jetzt hinzugefügt werden: 15) Sollberger E, in *Genava* XXVI 48/72).

Alle diese Täfelchen sind Verwaltungslisten. Sie wurden von mir in Umschrift übersichtlich zusammengestellt und nach verschiedenen Seiten hin studiert (s. *Orientalia* nn, 1-2; 4-7; 9-17; 20; 21; 26; 27; 28; 32; 34-35; 43-44; *Anal. Orient.* II).

Ausser diesen Wirtschaftstexten haben wir aus derselben Zeit auch einige Dokumente histor. Inhalts. Diese wurden von Fr. Thureau-Dangin in seinem: «Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften, pp. 30-58 erstmalig in Umschrift und Übersetzung herausgegeben. Die religiöse Literatur beginnt erst in einer etwas späteren Periode unter dem Stadtfürsten von Lagaš Gudea. Da diese jetzt zum Gegenstand eigener grammatikalischer Studien gemacht wurden<sup>3</sup>, können wir hier von

<sup>1</sup> Zu Lagaš = *La-ŠIR-burki*, einem echt sumer. Stadtnamen, vgl. ŠL 71,12/11.

<sup>2</sup> Ebenda werden alle hier zitierten Textabkürzungen erklärt. Ausserdem merk; MKT = Neugebauer Mathem. Keilschr.-Texte; ŠL = Deimel, Šumer. Lexikon.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. Falkenstein A., *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš* (*Anal. Orient.* 28, Rom, 1949).



ihnen absehen. Auch die oben erwähnten historischen Texte, soweit wir sie mit Hilfe der Verwaltungslisten verstehen, werden hier nur da berücksichtigt, wo sie von andern zu Einwürfen herangezogen wurden.

Den vorsargonischen Wirtschaftstexten gehen schon viele andere ähnlichen Inhalts voraus: die ältesten von Urug, Djemdet-Našr, Ur I/II und Fara. Aber in keiner dieser Listen findet sich — abgesehen von sporadischen Fällen in den Fara-Texten — eine Verbalform mit ihren Präformativen und Suffixen phonetisch geschrieben. In jenen aber tritt zum ersten Male das ganze sumer. Verbalsystem voll entwickelt in Erscheinung. Damit verbinden sich zwei weitere günstige Umstände. Einmal sind die Verbalpräformative — abgesehen von einigen Ansätzen — noch nicht durch Nunation, Mimation und Bibation phonetisch verändert, sondern finden sich fast immer in ihrer ursprünglichen, reinen Form. Die zweite Eigentümlichkeit unterscheidet die vorsargonischen Wirtschaftstexte von allen ökonomischen Verwaltungslisten in der gesamten Keilschriftliteratur: In der Unterschrift wird jedesmal der Gesamtinhalt der Liste in einem sehr schlichten, grammatikalisch einfachen und durchsichtigen Satz zusammengefasst und abgeschlossen. Später hat die Verwaltungsroutine diese etwas umständlichen Sätze zu blossen knappen Stichwörtern abgeschliffen, eine Methode, die freilich auch schon in den vorsargonischen Texten reichlich verwendet wurde. So wird z.B. jede Textklasse durch ein Wort gekennzeichnet: (z.B. Ba II = 2. Monatslohnliste; V gar = 5. monatliche Lieferungsliste u.s.w. (s. meine Bearbeitung dieser Texte a.a.O.).

Wenn dem Gesagten noch hinzugefügt wird, dass diese Täfelchen weitaus der Mehrzahl nach tadellos erhalten sind, und dass die beschädigten oft durch Paralleltexte mit Sicherheit ergänzt werden können, und dass endlich auch alle Zeichen gross und deutlich und fast gleichförmig geschrieben sind, wie wenn sie aus der Hand eines und desselben Schreibers hervorgegangen wären — dann wird man leicht verstehen, dass diese

Textklasse hervorragend geeignet ist, die Grundfragen des sumer. Verbums zu erforschen. Wer diesem Probleme fernsteht, wird diese meine Bemerkung etwas umständlich und eigentümlich finden. Wenn man aber bedenkt, dass viele hervorragende Talente sich nun fast 100 Jahre abgemüht haben, Klarheit in das Dunkel des sumer. Verbums zu bringen, ohne dieses Ziel bis auf den heutigen Tag erreicht zu haben, wird man weniger über meine Vorsicht erstaunt sein.

Zu den Grundfragen des sumer. Verbums rechne ich diese beiden : welches ist die Urbedeutung der zwei wichtigsten, fundamentalsten Verbalpräfixe mu- und e-, dann : war das Verbum finit, d.h. wird es mit Hilfe des Personalpronomens flektiert, wie in unsern Sprachen oder war es vielmehr ein Prädikatsnomen? Über beide Probleme wurde schon viel diskutiert und geschrieben; die diesbezügliche Literatur kann man bei Jestin R., *Le Verbe sumérien* (2 vols) 1943-46 nachsehen. Ich gehe hier auf diese nicht näher ein, gestehe aber gern, dass ich durch sie manches gelernt habe und weiter gekommen bin.

Die sog. vorsargonischen Tafeln stammen alle aus dem Verwaltungsarchiv des zweitgrössten Tempels der Stadt Lagaš, nämlich aus dem der Göttin <sup>4</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub>, der Gemahlin des Stadtgottes <sup>4</sup>Ningirsu. Dieser Tempel hatte nachweisbar einen Grundbesitz an Getreidefeldern c. 4 1/2 Tausend ha, dazu noch viele Frucht- und Gemüsegärten und Wälder. Die Tempelländereien hatten ein reichgegliedertes Betriebspersonal von etwa 1200 Personen, die alle mit Beruf und Namen bekannt sind. Die Erträge wurden in grossen Magazinen und Scheunen (von diesen sind uns 15 mit Namen bekannt) aufgespeichert. Von den grösseren dieser Kornkammern hatte jede ihren eigenen Verwalter, der alle Eingänge und Ausgänge sorgfältig überwachte und auch das Geringste durch Mass, Gewicht und Anzahl festlegte und buchte.

Hiermit bin ich an dem wichtigsten Ausgangspunkte meiner jetzigen Erörterung des sumer. Verbums angekommen.

Jeder wird mir als selbstverständlich zugestehen, dass jede rationelle Buchführung zwei fundamentale Grundbegriffe klar haben muss, die Unterscheidung nämlich von « Soll und Haben », von « Aktiven und Passiven », von « Ein- und Ausgängen ». Ohne feste, präzise Auseinanderhaltung dieser beiden Hauptangelpunkte ist überhaupt keine vernünftige Verwaltung denkbar. Wie unterschieden nun die Magazinverwalter ihre Ein- und Ausläufe? Die unumstösslich sichere Antwort auf diese Frage ist : durch die Verbalpräfixe mu- und e-; mu- bezeichnete die Eingänge und e- die Ausgänge. Die hunderte Male vorkommenden Formeln mu-du = er brachte her; e-na-ba = er löhnte ihm aus; e-ta-gar = er lieferte (vom Magazin etc.); e-ta-zig = er gab aus... u.v.a. beweisen das mit Sicherheit. Diese rein dimensionale Bedeutung der Präfixe mu- und e- wurde zuerst dokumentiert und festgestellt in dem klassischen Texte RTC 19, nach welchem die Fürstinnen der beiden Nachbarstädte Adab und Lagaš sich gegenseitig Geschenke zuschickten. In dem über die Patesin von Adab handelnden Teile lesen wir die drei Verbalformen : *šu-mu-na-kid<sub>2</sub>*; *mu-da-gin-na-a*; *mu-na-sum*; diesen entsprechen von Lagaš aus : *šu-e-na-kid<sub>2</sub>*; *e-da-gin*; *e-na-sum*; die Verbalformen sind also die gleichen bis auf die Präfixe mu- und e-. Das Bringen der Geschenke von Adab nach Lagaš wird bezeichnet durch das Präfix mu-, das von Lagaš nach Adab durch das Präfix e-. Im Deutschen würde man das übersetzen durch die Partikeln « hin » und « her »; das geben alle als selbstverständlich zu. Als aber zu entscheiden war, wie die Sumerer diesen Unterschied ihrer Verbalpräfixe mu- und e- auffassten, entstand ein Chaos von Meinungen. A. Poebel wies auf den Unterschied der Zeit hin, durch welche sich hier die mu- und e- Formen unterscheiden. Die drei mu- Formen gehen der Zeit nach denen der e- Formen voraus. In dem Texte RTC 80 gehen aber umgekehrt die e- Formen den mu-Formen zeitlich voran. Und in DP 561 und vielen anderen Texten sind die mu- und e- Formen gleichzeitig. Diese Tatsache beweist sogar Jestin, der sonst in allem Poebel folgt, dass die

Zeit bei den Sumerern in der Auswahl der Präfixe mu- und e- keinen Einfluss hatte.

Weshalb sträubt man sich aber, im Sumerischen in den Präfixen mu- und e- rein dimensionale Bedeutung zu sehen? Die Schwierigkeiten derer, welche diese Annahme leugnen, können auf diese drei zurückgeführt werden :

1) « Cette explication se heurte à cette difficulté essentielle, qui consiste à donner aux préfixes la nature et la fonction des infixes en faisant d'eux ce que sont indubitablement ces derniers : des éléments directifs », Jestin, *Le verbe Sumérien*, p. 225.

Die Antwort auf diesen Einwurf ist nicht schwer. Denn *keines* der direktionalen Infixe -da-, -ta-, -šu<sub>-3</sub> sagt irgend etwas über die allgemeine Richtung « hin » und « her ». Alle ohne Ausnahme können ohne die geringste Schwierigkeit mit beiden Direktionsangaben verbunden werden. Die Ein- und Ausläufe können von oder zu einem konkreten Orte gerichtet sein; diese *konkrete* Ortsangabe berührt die ganz *allgemeine* Richtungsbezeichnung, die wir durch « hin » und « her » übersetzen, überhaupt nicht. Die letztere würde also ohne die Präfixe in der Verbalform fehlen, da sie durch keines der Infixe ersetzt werden kann.

Dann fehlen die dimensional Infixe sehr oft bei der Verbalform; in diesem Falle hätte der Archivbeamte keinen Anhalt zur Unterscheidung vom Ein- und Auslauf, wenn die Infixe neben ihrem konkreten Sinne auch die allgemeine Richtung « hin » und « her » bezeichneten. Auf die sichere und untrügliche Unterscheidung dieser letzteren kommt es ihm aber vor allem an; die konkreten Ortsangaben sind bei der Buchführung unwesentlich.

Wenn also Jestin (a.o.O. 117) schreibt « Les préfixes mu- et e- indiquent une opposition tout à fait étrangère à celle que marquent les infixes », kann ich ihm beistimmen, freilich nicht in dem Sinne, den J. den Präfixen beilegt.

2) « Si les préfixes constituaient des éléments directionnels purs, on les trouverait employés ailleurs qu'avec le verbe, de

même que les infixes -da-, -ta-, -ši-. » (Jest. a.a.O. 117; Flkstn, OLZ 1934, 296).

Wenn man mit mir *mu-* auffasst als irgendwie zusammenhängend mit der ersten Person und *e-* als identisch mit *e<sub>3</sub>* (= *ašû*, von der aufgehenden Sonne) schwindet auch diese zweite Schwierigkeit. Denn «her» ist auch im Deutschen dasselbe wie «zu mir». Und da «ich» (d.h. der Schreiber) natürlich immer im Zentrum mich befinde, kann es auch ausserhalb der Verbalform als *allgemeine* Ortsangabe gelten. Nach mir ist ferner das Präfix *e-* identisch mit dem nominalen Subjektsuffix *-e* und dem Verbalsuffix des Futurs = *-e*. Diese beiden können auch *directional* aufgefasst werden. Denn vom Subjekt geht die Handlung, welche durch das Prädikat bezeichnet wird, aus; und die Zukunft ist die kommende, ausgehende Zeit. Nur darf man den oben betonten Unterschied zwischen konkreter und allgemeiner Ortsangabe nicht vergessen.

3) «In den vorsargonischen Täfelchen finden sich viele Verba, die keine Bewegung bezeichnen; bei diesen hätte das «hin» und «her» überhaupt keinen vernünftigen Sinn». Auf diese bisherige Hauptschwierigkeit der Sumerologen möchte ich in doppelter Weise antworten.

Zunächst kann allgemein gesagt werden, dass man bei *allen* Verben wenigstens eine *intentionale Bewegung* annehmen kann. Wie ich das verstehe, wird bei der konkreten Beantwortung des obigen Einwurfs verständlich werden. Unter den etwa 1800 Listen dieser Zeit finden sich 50, welche über die Vermessung von Tempelfeldern handeln (vgl. Orient. 4,1-30). Diese schliessen alle mit der Formel *mu-gid<sub>2</sub>* = «er hat gemessen». Diese Vermessung, sowohl der eigentlichen Tempeldomäne (= *gan<sub>2</sub>-nig<sub>2</sub>*, *-en-na*), wie auch der dem Tempelpersonal zugeteilten Arbeitslose (*gan<sub>2</sub>-kur<sub>6</sub>-ra*), wie auch des Pachtlandes (*gan<sub>2</sub>.URU<sub>4</sub>.LAL*) geschah nur im Interesse des Tempelkatasters, für den das genaue Feldmass natürlich von der höchsten Bedeutung war. *mu-* besagt hier also, dass die Vermessung «für den Tempel» geschah. Hier kann man offenbar von einer «intentionalen Bewegung» sprechen.

Nur einmal findet sich in diesen 50 Texten die Form *ni-gid<sub>2</sub>*, welche heute allgemein *i<sub>3</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>* gelesen und *e-gid<sub>2</sub>* gleichgesetzt wird. Gegen diese Auffassung protestiere ich hier aber und werde die Gründe dafür unten im Zusammenhang darlegen.

Ähnlich wie die 50 Vermessungstexte verhalten sich die 40 Listen, welche über Anlage und Reinigung von Kanälen und Feldgräben handeln. Diese schliessen fast immer mit der Verbalform *mu(na)-du<sub>3</sub>* < (dun = *hirû*) er hat (ihm) gegraben. Auch die Instandhaltung der Feldgräben lag hauptsächlich im Interesse der Tempel, welche die einzigen Besitzer derselben waren. Daher kann auch bei *mu-du<sub>3</sub>* eine intentionale Bewegungsrichtung zum Zentrum her angenommen werden. Über den Sinn des beigefügten Dativs habe ich a.a.O. meine Auffassung gegeben.

Nur ein Text, DP 652 schliesst mit der Formel *e-ma-du<sub>3</sub>*. Diese weiss ich noch nicht zu erklären, da mir der Sinn der unmittelbar vorhergehenden Phrase und daher des Kontextes nicht verständlich ist.

Der kurze Hinweis dieser zwei Textarten könnte genügen, um meine Auffassung der « intentionalen » Bewegungsrichtung klarzustellen. Doch darf ich diesen Abschnitt nicht schliessen, ohne Stellung zu nehmen zu den beiden *mu-* und *e-gal<sub>2</sub>*-Formen, die sich einige Male in derselben Liste nebeneinander finden (vgl. DP : 461; 457; 506; 444; 89). Zu diesen schreibt Jestin (a.a.O. 38) : « aucune théorie directionaliste ne peut rendre compte valablement du changement de préfixe dans *e-gal<sub>2</sub>*, *mu-gal<sub>2</sub>* ». In der Anmerkung fügt er bei : « Quant à Fr. Thureau-Dangin il n'applique actuellement (vor seinem Tode) aucune valeur directionelle à *mu-* et *e-* dans des cas tels que celui de *mu-gal<sub>2</sub>* et *e-gal<sub>2</sub>* ».

Er selbst erklärt, in DP 89 den Wechsel zwischen *mu-* und *e-gal<sub>2</sub>* durch die verschiedene Grösse der Gaben, *mu-gal<sub>2</sub>* sei die grössere, daher accentuiere hier *mu-gal<sub>2</sub>* die Bedeutung gegenüber dem geringeren *e-gal<sub>2</sub>*. Diese Erklärung muss ihm aber selbst bei anderen Listen zu unwahrscheinlich vorgekommen



sein, daher schreibt er (a.a.O. 235) : « Mieux vaut avouer en pareil cas, l'ignorance du facteur déterminant dans le choix des préfixes ».

Auch ich gebe dem Stamme  $gal_2$  in obigen Formen keine Bewegung irgend welcher Art, weder eine reelle noch intentionale. Ich übersetze in den oben zitierten Texten  $mu-gal_2$  = positiver (Posten);  $e-gal_2$  = negativer (Posten). In welcher Weise bei der betreffenden Gelegenheit die Ausgabe gemacht wurde, wird nicht immer erklärt (vgl. aber das häufige  $e-da-gal_2$ ).

Die Lesung des Verbalpräfixes  $ni-$  als  $i_3$  — und dessen Gleichsetzung mit dem Präf.  $e-$  setzt Jestin — und mit ihm die Mehrzahl der Sumerologen als selbstverständlich voraus. Ich habe bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten hiergegen protestiert, s. meine S Gr. und halte auch heute noch diesen Protest mit voller Überzeugung aufrecht. Meine Gründe aber sind die folgenden : Wie bei dem Infix- $ni-$  wird bei dem mehrere hunderte Male vorkommenden Präfix  $ni-$  immer eine konkrete Ortsangabe gesetzt, an welcher sich die betr. Handlung vollzieht; das geschieht bei dem Präf.  $e-$  sehr selten. Einige Arten von Beispielen mögen das illustrieren. Nach DP 595 wurde auf einem geackerten Felde ein kleines Stück von 8 iku eingemessen ( $\check{s}ag_4-ba\ ni-gid_2$ ) und doppelt geackert. Ebenso wurde nach Fö. 40 auf einem grossen abgemessenen Felde ein kleines Zwiebelbeet eingemessen ( $\check{s}ag_4-nig_2-en-na-ka-ka\ ni-gid_2$ ).

In dem wichtigen Texte Fö. 184, nach welchem das Saatkorn für 1 iku damals 12  $\check{ka}$  betrug (vgl. Or. 7,18 ff.) heisst es : 108  $gan_2\check{s}e\ gud-e\ \chi ni-si$ ; vgl. hierzu DP 595 : Ur  $^4En-ki, sag-apin-ge_2\ \chi ni-si$ . Das unerklärte Zeichen hat nie das Determinativ  $gi\check{s}$ ; es scheint mir daher jetzt kein Feldgerät zu sein, sondern einfach « Furchen » (=  $absin$  =  $absinnu$  <  $ab$  (= Vater) +  $sin$  (= Frau) vgl. Or. NF 13, 323 f.) zu bedeuten. Also wäre zu übersetzen : NN, der Pflüger, öffnete die Furchen darin. Vgl. noch in Fö. 184 : 147  $gan_2\check{s}e\ gud-e\ \chi si, numun\ ni-gar$ , d.h. : auf 147 (iku) Kornboden öffneten die Stiere Furchen (d.h. pflügten) und streuten den Samen darin.



Nach Urukagina Keg. B, C 9, 7 ff. wird im Hause des Patesi, im Felde des Patesi ( $e_2$  *Pa-te-si-ka*,  $gan_2$  *-Pa-te-si-ka-ka*)  $^a$ Nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su als ihr König eingesetzt ( $^a$ N. *lugal-ba ni-DU*). Im Hause des Herrin-Tempels, auf dem Felde des Herrin-Tempels ( $e_2$ - $e_2$ -*sal gan<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-sal-ka*) wurde  $^a$ Ba-u<sub>2</sub> als ihre Herrin eingesetzt ( $^a$ B. *nin-ba ni-DU*). Im Hause der Kinder (des Patesi), auf dem Felde der Kinder (d.P.) wurde  $^a$ Dun-šag<sub>4</sub>-ga-na als ihr König eingesetzt ( $^a$ D. *lugal-ba ni-Du*). Hier handelt es sich offenbar um eine Rückgabe an die Gottheit, also gewiss um eine « domaine religieux, sacré ». Hier müsste Jestin doch erwarten, vor allem aber sollte e- ausgeschlossen sein. Dieses *ni-DU* findet sich hunderte Male in den vorsarg. Texten neben *ba-du* und *mu-du* und gibt an, wie das zum Tempel gebrachte (*mu-DU*) z.T. in einem Magazin untergebracht wurde (*ni-DU*), bzw. weggebracht, z.B. von einem Hirten weggetrieben wurde (*ba-DU*). Zum Schlusse sei auf den bekannten Zeichennamen hingewiesen, welcher besagt, dass ein Zeichen in ein anderes eingeschrieben ist, z.B. ša<sub>2</sub> *lagab-ba-še<sub>3</sub> ḫal-la i-DU*. Hier entspricht i- dem ni-, nicht aber einem e-; denn das Zeichen ist eben « ein » nicht « heraus » geschrieben. Diese Beispiele, welche noch leicht vermehrt werden könnten, dürften genügen, einen Sumerologen nachdenklich zu machen.

Auf das zweite der oben erwähnten Probleme der sumer. Gramm. die Frage nämlich, ob es im Sumer. ein « verbum finitum » gibt, brauche ich hier nicht länger einzugehen. In meiner sum. Gramm. 2. Aufl. § 44 wurde alles hierhergehörige zusammengestellt. Um aber auch dem Laien, der dem Sumer. gänzlich fernsteht, klar verständlich zu machen wie sich die Verteidiger der « Subjektselemente » bei den Verbalformen « im Schweisse ihres Angesichtes » abmühen, derartige Partikeln auffindig zu machen, gebe ich hier nur diese beiden Zitate aus einem Aufsätze, den P. Witzel in Or. NS. 17,199, veröffentlichte. Hier heisst es s. 1 : « s. 30 bemerkt Kramer « *ba-e-dib-bi* « *literally it will seize thee unto itself* », is the third person present-future active with the infixed accusative second person

singular pronominal element -e-; it furnishes the first clearly recognized example of the use of infixed accusative pronominal elements with the preterit (which is characterized by prefixed subject pronominal elements »).

Hierauf antwortet P. Witzel nach einer langen Untersuchung (a.a.O. 16): « Um nochmals auf die eingangs erwähnten Verbalformen mit *ba-e...-e* zu sprechen zu kommen, so, liegt m.E. mit Bestimmtheit in keinem Falle die dritte Person Präs.-Futur mit infigiertem Akkusativ-Objekt der 2. Person vor. In allen Fällen scheint vielmehr die zweite Person Präs.-Futur vorzuliegen (die entsprechenden Formen müssten nach Poebels Gramm. ohne -e stehen). Da nach Poebel die Formen mit -e- (aber ohne -e am Schluss) charakteristisch für die 2. Pers. Sg Perfecti sind, könnte man vermuten, dass die Formen hier (mit -e- und -e am Schluss eine Art Futurum exactum bilden. Die negativen Formen (mit nam-) könnten eine Art Analogie haben im Lateinischen ne dixeris. Aber hiergegen lassen sich andere Schwierigkeiten erheben, namentlich die, warum andere analoge Formen nicht auf die gleiche Weise gebildet sind. Auch die Annahme, die sich durch gelegentlichen Wechsel (in Varianten-Texten) von *ba-e* und *bi<sub>2</sub>-* nahe zu legen scheint, nämlich dass *ba-e* eine unkontrahierte Form für *bi<sub>2</sub>-* sei (vgl. z.B. *za-e-me* und *ze<sub>2</sub>-me*), scheitert wohl an anderen Tatsachen (vgl. z.B. *mu-e-tug-tug* = ebenfalls 2. Pers.-Fut.; dass hier *mu-e-* unkontrahiert für *me-* stehe, ist mehr als zweifelhaft) — Da der Schreiber dieser Zeilen durchaus nicht von der absoluten Geltung der Poebelschen Grammatik, namentlich im Bereiche des Verbums überzeugt ist, hat er auch kein Interesse daran, die in Frage stehenden Verbalformen mit der genannten Grammatik auf jeden Fall zu harmonisieren ».

Diese Ausführungen P. Witzels werfen ein helles Schlaglicht auf den gegenwärtigen Stand der grammatikalischen Erforschung des sumer. Verbums. Kramer und Witzel gehören ohne Frage zu unseren besten Talenten, die sich mit der Deutung der sumer. religiösen Literatur abmühen. Wenn diese beiden

bezüglich der Person bei einer Verbalform so entgegengesetzter Meinung sind,, was wird da bei ähnlichen Fragen von andern zu denken sein?

Aus allem diesen drängt sich die Schlussfolgerung auf : bei der Erforschung des sumer. Verbums haben wir mit bleibenden Füßen voranzugehen. Zunächst müssen die Grundfragen unumstösslich gesichert sein. Zu diesen scheint mir in erster Linie die oben behandelte dimensionale Bedeutung der beiden Fundamental-Präfixe *mu-* und *e-* zu gehören. Wenn diese bei Urukagina feststeht, wird sie sich dann durch die Sprachentwicklung bis Gudea bis zur Unkenntlichkeit umgebildet haben?

Auch die Frage der Präfixbedeutung von *ni-* und *ba-* (wenigstens in den vorsarg. Texten) scheint mir einer endgültigen Lösung nahe zu sein.

Bisher wurde das Problem des sumer. Verbums direkt behandelt. Jetzt möchte ich auch einmal indirekt an einem konkreten Beispiele zeigen, wie diese Texte anzupacken sind (und wie : nicht). Dabei werden wohl manche Bemerkungen abfallen, die allen von Nutzen sein können, die sich an diese « trockenen Listen » heranwagen.

Dr. Geers macht mir in seinen wertvollen Beiträgen für die Neubearbeitung des Sumer. Lexikons zu 9,25 die Note : « *bal* = to seal, cf. also RA 32,141. » Da Langdon an dieser Stelle neben manchem Richtigen m.E. auch viel Unhaltbares aufstellt, möchte ich auf diese Frage etwas näher eingehen.

In den ŠL 9,25 zitierten Texten, die Or. 5, 1-6 transkribiert wurden, finden sich von *bal* die folgenden Verbalformen :

- 1) *bal-a*, RTC 66; Nik. 128.
- 2) *bal-a-ka*, DP 562.
- 3) 1-*bal-am*<sub>3</sub>; 2/3/4 *kam-ma-bal-am*<sub>3</sub>, Nik. 98 Fö. 81.
- 4) *e-bal*, Fö. 45, Nik. 96; 230; RTC 66; DP 564; 566; Fö. 184.
- 5) *e-da-bal*, Fö. 121; 125; Nik. 99; 242; DP 565.
- 6) *e-da-bal-a-a*, Nik. 232.
- 7) *e-na-bal*, RTC 72; Nik. 279; Riftin 1; DP 553; 561.
- 8) *e-NE-bal*, RTC 72; Nik. 39; 97; DP 560.

- 9) *e-PI-bal*, Nik. 175; 261; DP 557; 539 (nu-PI-bal).
- 10) *bal-nu-tuk*, Fö. 121.
- 11) *mu-na-bal*, Nik. 98; 100; DP 558, 562; Fö. 151.
- 12) *mu-NE-bal*, DP 561.
- 13) *uš-bal-l-an/2-kam-ma-an*, DP 406; 606.
- 14) *še-bal-bi*, Nik. 83.
- 15) *gan<sub>2</sub>-bal-gar-ra-an*, Fö. 40,2.

Von diesen 15 Formen haben die beiden letzten eine Bedeutung, die von der der 13 ersten gänzlich verschieden ist.

a) *še-bal-bi* ist mit Sicherheit zu ŠL 9,24 zu stellen. In Nik. 83 findet sich zweimal die Angabe :

10	še(gur-sag-gal <sub>2</sub> )	še-bal-bi :	3 1/4	(gur)	12	(ka)	;	einmal :
2	»	»	»	»	96	»	»	»

In allen drei Fällen beträgt also das *še-bal* den dritten Teil<sup>4</sup> von der ganzen Getreidemenge. Es handelt sich daher um einen Abfall, der bei der Getreidereinigung erfolgt. Welches ist das akkadische Wort für *bal* = Abfall; Verlust?

b) *bal-gar-ra-an*, Fö. 40 steht parallel zu *X* (= *LAK 483*)-*sig<sub>9</sub>-ga*, beide ausgesagt von *gan<sub>2</sub>*, also wohl ein umgegrabenes (*bal* = *hirû*, ŠL 9(8), bzw. geackertes Feld (*X* = Furche; *sig<sub>9</sub>* = *pitû*, 112,50). Vgl. andere hier oft vorkommende Ausdrücke, wie : *gan<sub>2</sub>-ki-a/ki-gal<sub>2</sub>*, brachliegendes (vgl. *ki-kal-kan-kal*); *gan<sub>2</sub>-še-sar-a*, mit Korn bestelltes Land; *gan<sub>2</sub>-ga* = hüge-

<sup>4</sup> Um das nachrechnen zu können, gebe ich hier die Einheiten des Hohlmasses der vorsarg. Texte an. Diese stehen durch zahlreiche Kontrollrechnungen mit Sicherheit fest : 1 *ka*; 1 *ban/sûtu* = 6 *ka*; 1 *UL* = 36 *ka* (= 1 *gur* 1 *UL*); 1 *gur* 2 *UL* = 72 *ka*; 1 *gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>* (= 4 *UL*) = 144 *ka*; 1 *gur-maḥ* = 288 *ka*. Hier herrscht also das reine Sechser-system. Ausserdem ist zu beachten, dass von den 4 verschiedenen *gur* die drei letzten jedes das doppelte von dem vorhergehenden beträgt. Die Abhängigkeit des *ka* von den Längenmassen kann aus diesen Texten in keiner Weise erwiesen werden. Nach der Keilschrift ist *ka* wie das *UL* entweder ein unten gewölbter oder ein Spitzkrug. In keinem Falle also für die Anwendung eines Längenmasses geeignet. Für das *ka* in späteren Texten vgl. Neugebauer MKT I S. 514; MKT III S. 54; 1 *ka* = (6 *šu-si*)<sup>3</sup> = 216 *šu-si*<sup>3</sup>.

liges (?) Feld; gan<sub>2</sub>(ki)ul-nu-tuk, Nik. 37; STH 1,39, Feld ohne Hügel.

In allen andern 13 Phrasen scheint *bal* den gleichen Sinn zu haben. Diesen gilt es jetzt festzustellen.

Zunächst sagt Langdon a.a.O. 141 n. 1 richtig, dass *bal* in den präargonischen Texten *nicht* « siegeln » bedeuten kann, da dieses passim durch die Formel *giš-bi-ra* ausgedrückt wird (vgl. hierzu ŠL 296,866 auch <sup>na4</sup>*kišib-ra-ra* = kanâku, ib 314,59. So heisst es in der Unterschrift von Nik. 39 : *še, gig, ziz<sub>2</sub>, nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na gan<sub>2</sub>-tu-SAG<sub>4</sub> + uh<sub>2</sub>-ka gan<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-rum Bar<sub>2</sub>-nam-tar-ra, dam Lugal-an-da, pa-te-si Lagaš<sub>4</sub>-ki-ka En-ig-gal, nu-banda, giš-bi-ra, lu<sub>2</sub>-aš-aš-e-ne e-NE-bal*, d.h. über die Gerste, den Weizen und Emmer der Domäne gan<sub>2</sub>..., eines Feldes, welches der B., der Frau des L. gehörte, machte der Nub. Eniggal eine Siegelurkunde (*giš-bi-ra*), den Einzelleuten (d.h. die persönlich, nicht durch ihre Aufseher handelten) bestätigte/quittierte er es (d.h. die Ablieferung des schuldigen Getreides).

Langdon übersetzt in diesem Texte *bal* mit « paid », macht also die Einzelleute zu Empfängern, nicht zu Ablieferern von Getreide.

Auch ich gestehe gern ein, dass ich lange Zeit im Unklaren darüber war, wie das Soll und Haben, die Ein- und Ausgänge des Tempels zu verteilen seien, ob es sich um eine Einnahme oder Ausgabe handelte. Erst als ich über die grundlegenden Begriffe Klarheit bekam, als ich die Dreiteilung des Tempellandes in *nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na*, *kur<sub>6</sub>* und *uru<sub>4</sub>-lal* und die Art der Bewirtschaftung dieser drei Kategorien durchschaute, war ich imstande zu unterscheiden, ob die in einer Verwaltungsliste aufgezählten Personen etwas vom Tempel erhielten oder an denselben abzuliefern hatten. Das kostete eine intensive Arbeit von mehreren Jahren! Das möchte ich hier ausdrücklich betonen, hauptsächlich mit Rücksicht auf Jestin, welcher in seinem II Band « Le verbe Sumérien » die vorsarg. Wirtschaftstexte ziemlich reichlich heranzieht, aber m. E. so gut wie sämtlich unrichtig interpretiert.

In Nik. 39 kann hierüber kein Zweifel sein, denn es ist ein Teilbericht derselben Art, aus denen sich RTC 71 zusammensetzt. In dieser letzteren Sammeliste wird aber die Gesamtmenge des Getreides angegeben, welche 9 verschiedene Felder dem Tempel eingebracht haben, mit beigefügter Umrechnung<sup>5</sup> für die Einheit des Feldmasses; vgl. hierzu Orntl. 5,189. Daher sind die *lu<sub>2</sub>-aš-aš-e-ne* sicher Ablieferer von Getreide und *e-NE-bal* kann nach dem Zusammenhange keinen andern Sinn haben als: «er (der Nab.) bestätigte/quittierte ihnen die richtige Ablieferung».

Diese Bedeutung passt in allen Texten, in denen es sich um Ablieferung von Getreide an den Tempel handelt. Nur ist zu bemerken, dass eine derartige Quittung dreimal geschrieben wurde. Der Getreideablieferer bekam einen Empfangsschein; von demselben wurde eine Kopie für das Archiv hergestellt und bei der monatlichen- oder Jahres- Abrechnung wurde dieser Betrag berücksichtigt in den grossen Sammelisten. Das alles geht aus den folgenden Texten hervor:

a) DP 562 : 2ziz<sub>2</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub> gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, bar...ki ... -sahar-ka-ta amar-KIŠ + kar<sub>2</sub>, lu<sub>2</sub>-kaš + gar-ra, En-ig-gal, nu-banda, *mu-na-bal šar-ra-bi pisan-dub še gan<sub>2</sub>-ga bal-a-ka e-gal<sub>2</sub>*.  
ziz<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-rum <sup>a</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub>. Uru-ka-gi-na, pa-te-si Lagaš<sup>ki</sup> : 1.

D.h. 2 gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub> Hellweizen hat Eniggal dem Brauer NN. vom Felde... aus quittiert. Dieses Schriftstück befindet sich im Tafelbehälter über das quittierte Getreide des Feldes (gan<sub>2</sub>-ga).

Weizen, Besitz der <sup>a</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub>; Urukag. war Patesi von L. 1.

Nach diesem Textchen ging die *mu-na-bal* — Quittung von dem Felde zum Archiv. In dem Exemplar, welches der ablie-

<sup>5</sup> Um das kontrollieren zu können, gebe ich hier die Einheiten des Feldmasses : 1 Sar/musarū (nur bei Gärten, nicht bei Feldern) = 1 gar-du<sub>2</sub>. 1 iku/ikū = 1 šu<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup> (1 šu<sub>3</sub> = (10 gardu)<sup>2</sup>) 1 eše (eš) eblu = 6 iku. 1 bur<sub>3</sub> = 3 eš/ebel = 18 iku. Bei den Feldmassen herrscht also wiederum das Sechsysystem. Als Flächenmasse sind sie natürlich von den Längenmassen abhängig.



fernde Brauer erhielt, stand *e-na-bal*. Das wissen wir aus dem Texte :

b) DP 561 :

240 še-gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>-me-lam<sub>2</sub>-sir<sub>2</sub>, Pa, e-na-bal

80, 48 še Gala-tur, Ur-dul-bi, engar-me e-NE-bal

še nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na gan<sub>2</sub> URI<sub>3</sub> (= LAK 31)-du<sub>3</sub>a,

Bar<sub>2</sub>-nam-tar-ra, dam Lugal-an-da, pa-te-si Lagaš<sup>kl</sup>-ka

En-ig-gal, nu-banda, mu-NE-bal.

D.h. 240 gur Gerste werden dem E..., dem Aufseher, quittiert. 80 gur 48 ka Gerste werden dem Galatur und Urdul, den engar quittiert.

Über das Getreide des nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na Feldes... im (Auftrage) der B... quittierte ihnen Eniggal, der Nub. Diesen Text erklärt Jestin l.c.p. 122 und übersetzt *bal* mit « liefern », macht also wie Langdon die 3 Aufseher zu Empfängern, nicht zu Abliefern von Getreide. Da es sich aber wieder wie im vorigen Texte um Getreide eines nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na Feldes handelt, kann *bal* nicht Lieferung von Getreide an Leute des Tempels sein, sondern nur eine Abzahlung von zu lieferndem Getreide. Wer das nicht beachtet, kommt unfehlbar auf Irrwege.

Hier werden also die Formen e-na-bal/e-NE-bal scharf von mu-NE-bal unterschieden. Die beiden ersten Quittungen nahmen der Aufseher und die beiden engar mit nach Hause; letztere kam in das Verwaltungsarchiv der Barn. Die beiden Bewegungsrichtungen gingen aus vom Felde -uri<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>3</sub> nach aussen, bzw. zum Tempel

Dasselbe bestätigen die folgenden vier Textchen :

Nik 98 :

74 še gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub> : 1 bal-am<sub>3</sub>

250 3/4 24 2-kam-ma — bal-am<sub>3</sub>

Ka-ka, Pa, gan<sub>2</sub>-šag<sub>3</sub>-ga-tur-ta

Šubur, nu-banda, mu-na-bal 1.

Fö. 81 :

41 še gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub> 3-kam-ma-bal-am<sub>3</sub>

255 1/2 4,



Nik. 100 :

147 še-gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, Lum-ma-šag<sub>4</sub>-UD, Pa, gan<sub>2</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-tur-ta  
Šubur, nu-banda, mu-na-bal. 1.

DP 558 :

131 še-gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, Ur <sup>4</sup>Šu-nir-da, Pa,  
ki-DUL + SUM gan<sub>2</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-tar-ra-ta  
Šubur, nu-banda, mu-na-bal<sub>1</sub>. 2-kam-ma-bal-am<sub>3</sub>.

Nach diesen vier Listchen erhalten drei Aufseher mehrmals in demselben Jahre für abgeliefertes Getreide eine Quittung von Š., nub. und zwar auf dem Felde; von demselben Felde aus schreibt Š. nub. eine Kopie dieser Quittungen auch für das Tempelarchiv; diese letzteren sind uns in den obigen vier Textchen erhalten. Zu beachten ist, dass in allen Listchen die Bewegungsrichtung durch das Nominalsuffix *-ta* scharf hervorgehoben wird und zwar « hin » und « her ». Diese und andere Texte legen den Gedanken nahe, dass die Aufseher, die mit ihren Untergebenen die Tempeldomänen zu bearbeiten hatten, jährlich ein Fixum für die Felder abzuliefern hatten. Die Empfangsbescheinigungen für die Teilzahlungen waren dann zugleich auch Schuld-Tilgungs-Bescheinigungen.

Langdon leugnet RA 32,140, dass *bal* = na-ka-ru, zerstören, und möchte in RA 13,190, K 2055 Obv. 1,17 einen Schreibfehler annehmen. Da jetzt aber in RA 17,153, K 7626,21 dieselbe Gleichung bestätigt wird, ist die Annahme L.s., abzulehnen, zumal die Bedeutung « zerstören » gut zum Urbilde des Zeichens *bal* (= Beil) passt.

Wenn *bal* in Texten verwendet wird, die nicht die Ablieferung von Getreide betreffen, sondern über Rückstände oder Ausgaben des Tempels handeln, hat *bal* eine ähnliche Bedeutung, nämlich : « feststellen, notieren, bescheinigen, verifizieren o.ä. ».

Das zeigen die folgenden Listen :

a) Fö. 121 :

lal-a 3, 70 še-gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub> bal nu-tug

3, 46 ziz-bar<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>ziz<sub>2</sub> Amar-KIŠ + kar<sub>2</sub>, lu<sub>2</sub>-kaš + gar- da  
ba-da-lal

itu-ezen <sup>4</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub>-ka En-ig-gal, nu-banda, dub-bi e-da-bal gu<sub>2</sub>-na e-ni-gar, Bar<sub>2</sub>-nam-tar-ra, dam Lugal-an-da, Pa-te-si Lagaš<sup>kt</sup>ka. 4.

d.h. Rückständig : 3 gur etc., eine Bestätigung war nicht erfolgt. Der Rückstand war von Seiten des Brauers, K...

Im Monat des Festes der <sup>4</sup>Bau (d.h. im Jahresanfang) hat Enig., der Nub., das auf einer Abrechnungstafel notiert und auf sein Konto gesetzt im (Auftrage) der Barnamtarra etc.

b) Fö. 125 :

lal-a : 3 še-gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub> Lugal-ug-tur, sangu e<sub>2</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>-da  
2 3/4 ziz<sub>2</sub>

Šubur, nu-ban-da, e<sub>2</sub>-ki-sil<sub>3</sub>-la-ka še e-bal-a  
dub e-da-bal gu<sub>2</sub>-na e-ni-gar. 4.

d.h. Rückständig : 3 gur etc., von Seiten des L., des sangu von e<sub>2</sub>... Šubur, der Nub., welcher im Magazin e<sub>2</sub>-ki-sil<sub>3</sub>-la das quittiert hatte, notierte das mit auf einer (Abrechnungs-) Tafel und setzte es ihm aufs Konto.

Dieser Rückstand des sangu von e<sub>2</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub> stellte sich wahrscheinlich heraus, als er im selben 4. Jahre dem Nub. seine Schuldzahlung ablieferte, von der Fö. 45 handelt; dieser Text hat die Unterschrift : Lugal-ug-tur, sangu e<sub>2</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>, šu-a-ne-gi<sub>4</sub>. Šubur, nu-banda, e<sub>2</sub>-ki-sil<sub>3</sub>-la-ka e-bal. 4.

c) RTC 66, L. 4. mit der Überschrift : Ausgaben (zig-zig-ga) :

In dieser Liste werden allerlei Arten von Ausgaben zusammengestellt, die alle von dem Getreide von 8 Tempeldomänen (gan<sub>2</sub>-nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na), bestritten werden. Die Unterschrift lautet :

zig-zig-ga še nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na / pisan + nun-na bal-a  
Bar<sub>2</sub>-nam-tar-ra, dam Lugal-an-da, pa-te-si Lagaš<sup>kt</sup>ka  
En-ig-gal, nu-banda, dub-bi e-bal.

d.h. Ausgaben von Domänen-Getreide, in der grossen Scheune notiert. Im (Auftrage) der Barn..., hat Enigg., Nub., das auf einer (Sammel-) Liste notiert.

d) DP 564.

Dieser Text stellt laut Unterschrift die Löhne von 4 Tagen für die Leute von drei Tempeln (der <sup>4</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub>, und ihrer beiden

Söhne) zusammen ( $a_2$ -ud-4 ur-ur-gar-ra-an), ferner die von en-šag<sub>1</sub>-kuš<sub>2</sub> und en-šakan<sub>2</sub>-na-sum (wer sind diese?).

Die Unterschrift besagt :

še nig<sub>2</sub>-en-na gan<sub>2</sub>-tur-an-ta-sur-ra-ka

En-ig-gal, nu-banda, giš-bi-ra, pisan + nun <sup>a</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub> e-bal

Uru-ka-gi-na, lugal Lagaš<sup>ki</sup>. 5.

d.h. von dem Getreide der Tempeldomäne g... stellte Enig., Nub. eine Siegel-Liste her (giš-bi-ra).

In der Grosscheune der <sup>a</sup>B. hatte er es notiert/bescheinigt/verifiziert. Urukagina war König von Lagaš. 5.

Von den eingangs zusammengestellten Verbalformen von bal bleiben noch zu besprechen :

a) e-PI-bal : Diese Formel findet sich z.B. im Nik. 175, in welchem Rückstände der Schafhirten festgestellt werden : die Unterschrift lautet :

šu-nigin : 240 lal-8 sila<sub>4</sub>. lal-a udu-šitim-ma-šid-da Bar<sub>2</sub>-nam-tar-ra, dam Lugal-an-da, pa-te-si Lagaš<sup>ki</sup>ka En-ig-gal, nu-banda abzu-ki-e<sub>2</sub>-ka-ka šitim (= igi. Gar) e-ag-a, sib<sub>2</sub>-ne-ne dub-bi e-PI-bal, gu<sub>2</sub>-ne-ne-a e-NE-gar,

d.h. Im Ganzen 232 Lämmer, Rückstand bei der Schaf-Inspizierung und Zählung. Im Auftrage von Barn... stellte Eniggal, der beim Teiche...(?) die Inspizierung gemacht hatte, es den Hirten auf der (Zähl-) Tafel fest und setzte es ihnen auf das Konto.

Hier entspricht in den beiden Verbalformen e-PI-bal und e-NE-gar, offenbar PI dem NE; daher ist letzteres wohl sicher bi<sub>2</sub> zu lesen.

DP 539 verdient ganz hierher gesetzt zu werden :

lal-a : 12, 42 (ka) še-gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub> : Ka-ka

2 1/2, 18 (ka) : E<sub>2</sub>-nam

lal-a še-numun, še-gud-du-ku<sub>2</sub> sag-apin-ge<sub>2</sub>-ne-kam.

gu<sub>2</sub>-ne-ne-a e-NE-gar. še-u<sub>2</sub>-rum <sup>a</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub>.

Šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>, dam Uru-ka-gi-na, lugal Lagaš<sup>ki</sup>ka. 4.

A<sub>2</sub>-ni-kur-ra, Enim-ma-ni-zi-bi dub nu-pi-bal.

Rückstand :

d.h. 12 gur 42 (ka) Gerste : Ka-ka rückständig vom Saatkorn  
 2 1/2 gur 18 (ka) »: E<sub>2</sub>-rām. und Stierfutter der  
 Pflüger.

Eniggal, Nub., stellte es ihnen (im Jahresanfang d.h.) im  
 Monat des Ba-u<sub>2</sub> — Festes, auf einer (Abrechnungs-) Tafel fest.

Im Auftrage des Š... wurde es dem A<sub>2</sub>-ni-kur-ra und Enim-  
 manizi (d.h. den beiden andern Pflügeren) nicht auf die Tafel  
 gesetzt. In diesem Texte, (der nebenbei bemerkt die grosse  
 Sorgfalt der Tempelverwaltung bei der Überwachung der  
 Bediensteten bezeugt) ist besonders die Form *nu-pi-bal* zu  
 beachten, die abgekürzt wurde aus *nu-e-pi-bal*.

b) *uš-bal-1/2*: DP 606: 9 (šu<sub>3</sub>) uš sa<sub>2</sub> gan<sub>2</sub>-bi 72 lal-2 iku  
 7 1/2 (šu<sub>3</sub>) 4 gi sag 8 (šu<sub>3</sub>) lal-2 gi-sag 2-kam-ma-an uš-bal-l-an  
 8 1/2 (šu<sub>3</sub>) lal-l-gi-sag 2 1/2 (šu<sub>3</sub>) 3 gi sag 2-kam-ma-an  
 gan<sub>2</sub>-bi 21 1/2 (iku) 30  
 8 1/ (šu<sub>3</sub>) 6 gi uš 8 (šu<sub>3</sub>) 6 gi uš-2-kam-ma  
 uš-bal 2-kam-ma-an.

šu-nigin 91 1/2 ki-a šag<sub>4</sub>-bi-ta : 36 iku : ama-sal-ge<sub>2</sub> ba-du  
 1 1/2 iku : Ka-gi e-gal<sub>2</sub>  
 gan<sub>2</sub>-da - iš - gar - mud, gan<sub>2</sub>- gi - dah - ha - an  
 En - ig - gal, nu - banda mu - gid<sub>2</sub> 1.

Der Text handelt über die Vermessung<sup>6</sup> von zwei brachlie-  
 genden (*ki-a*) Feldern. Beim ersten Felde wurde die Länge

<sup>6</sup> Zum Verständnis derselben sei hier zunächst hingewiesen auf die  
 Einheiten des Längenmasses. Diese wurden hergenommen von der Hand,  
 dem Fusse, den Knoten des Rohres und der Messleine und bilden ein  
 eigentümliches Gemisch von Fünfer- und Sechser-System; doch herrscht  
 das erstere vor (s. meine Sumer. Gramm. 1. Aufl. § 45): Bei der Vermessung  
 wurden immer die 4 Feldseiten festgesetzt und dann hinzugefügt: also  
 beträgt das Flächenmass des Feldes...

Wie das letztere bestimmt wurde, wird nicht angegeben. Wahrschein-  
 lich erfolgte es in derselben Weise, die uns aus Ur III wohlbekannt ist.  
 Dass bei ungleichen Feldseiten das Mass durch Zählung von Furchen  
 festgesetzt wurde, kann aus diesen Texten in keiner Weise erwiesen werden  
 und scheint gänzlich unwahrscheinlich, wie ebenso für die Feldmessung bei  
 den Ur III-Texten.

desselben nur 1 mal festgesetzt/konstatiert (*uš* (= Länge) *bal-1-an*).

Beim zweiten Felde wurde die Langseite zweimal festgesetzt; bei der zweiten Vermessung wurde  $1/2$  subban (= 10 *gi* = 29,70 m) weniger festgestellt, als bei der ersten (*uš-bal-2-kamma*).

Die Bedeutung « feststellen » für *bal* kann nach dem Zusammenhang nicht zweifelhaft sein. Die *ama-sal*, welche von der Gesamtfläche ein Stück von 36 *iku* bekommt, wird wohl die Mutter der Patesin sein.

Das mag genügen über die Bedeutung von *bal* in den vorsargonischen Texten die nebenbei bemerkt nicht dieselbe ist, wie die der Ur III-Texte. Nun möchte ich noch kurz eine Frage streifen, die sich an die drei Bemerkungen über die Zahleinheiten bei den Hohl-, Flächen- und Längenmassen anschliesst. Bei diesen Massen herrscht, wie wir sahen, z.T. das reine Sechсersystem, z. T. ein Mischsystem von 6 und 5. Bei der gewöhnlichen Zahlzählung sind die Einheiten: 1, 10, 20, 60, 600, 3600, also auch wieder eine Mischung von Fünfer- und Sechсersystem.

Wie ist das zu erklären? Wie kommt 60 statt 100 in die Zahlenreihe? Nicht durch einen festen monatlichen Lohnsatz von 30 *ka* Gerste. Ein solcher hat in jener Zeit nicht existiert. Unter den vielen Hunderten von Angaben über Arbeiterlöhnungen findet sich eine Monatslöhnung von 30 *ka* überhaupt nicht. Die Grössen der Monatslöhnungen nach den verschiedenen Arten von Berufen sind: 144 *ka*; 108; 96; 72 (meistens); 48; 36; 24; 12.

Ich erkläre mir die verschiedenen Kategorien der Masseinheiten in folgender Weise: Das reine Sechсersystem entwickelte sich bei allen Massen, welche einen häufigen Kleingebrauch hatten, von selbst — wegen der leichteren und mehrfachen Teilbarkeit.

Bei der gewöhnlichen Zählung hielt man sich an die natürlichen Einheiten d.h. den Finger (1), die Hand (5); beide Hände (10); Hände und Füsse (20). Ferner drängte sich der

Monat mit seinen 30 Tagen (so fest bei der Geschäftsrechnung) und das Jahr mit 360 Tagen auf. Damit aber war die Einheit 60 ( $= 2 \times 30 = 360 : 6$ ) gegeben.

Die grosse und komplizierte Massverschiedenheit führte im Laufe der Zeit (unter dem Könige Šulgi) zwangsläufig zur Einführung eines einheitlichen Angleichungssystems.

Am Ende dieser kleinen Studie wird man mir diese bedächtigen Überlegungen gestatten: Bei den vorsargonischen Wirtschaftstexten handelt es sich um ganz einfache aber grammatikalisch korrekt gebildete Sätzchen, deren Sinn durch den Zusammenhang und häufig auch durch die beigelegte Rechnung vollkommen klar und durchsichtig war. Wird man für ein einzelnes Wort eine ähnliche Mannigfaltigkeit und Zuverlässigkeit der Auffassung in einem historischen oder gar in einem religiösen Texte finden? In den über 1800 Wirtschaftstexten jener Zeit stehen wir auf festem, sicheren Boden. Hier können wir eine grosse Fülle von sicheren Einzelerkenntnissen sowohl über die sumer. Sprache, ihrer Grammatik und ihrem Wortschatz nach, wie auch vor allem über das ganze tägliche Leben jener fernen Periode — und zwar ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung nach gewinnen. Diese bilden dann zusammen mit den Vokabularangaben und der zweisprachigen Literatur den Grundstock des sumer. Lexikons. Sie können uns auf dem Glatteis und bei dem Rätselraten der dunklen historischen und vor allem bei den religiösen Texten vorzügliche Dienste leisten.

Aber — und hier liegt der Haken — diese Texte müssen studiert werden und zwar gründlich, weit mehr als das bis jetzt geschehen ist. Wer sich diese Mühe nicht verdriessen lässt, wird bald merken, welch eine ergiebige Goldgrube in diesen trockenen Listen verborgen liegt. Das wurde mir handgreiflich klar, als ich mich jetzt nach langer Zeit wieder einmal intensiv mit diesen Texten zu beschäftigen hatte. Und grosse Anfangsschwierigkeiten gibt es eigentlich für niemanden mehr, der sich ernstlich in diese Texte hineinarbeiten möchte. In einer stattlichen Reihe von Orientalianummern habe ich meine Stu-

dien über diese Texte langsam und vorsichtig und methodisch niedergelegt. Die eine oder andere meiner damaligen Aufstellungen mag fallen zu lassen sein; aber im Grossen und Ganzen stehe ich auch heute noch fest bei dem, was ich vor 25 Jahren schrieb. An der Hand dieser einfachen, klaren, knappen und sachlichen Studien und mit Hilfe der übersichtlich geordneten Textumschreibungen kann jeder sich leicht in diesen Texten zurechtfinden. An einem praktischen Beispiele wurde oben gezeigt, wie das anzufassen ist, aber auch, wie die Irrwege gemieden werden können.



## THE SUMERIAN PROBLEM REVIEWED

E. A. SPEISER

University of Pennsylvania

### I

THE Sumerians played a decisive part in the formation and development of the historic civilization of Mesopotamia. Their tangible influence on the region's law and society, religion and literature, and its arts and sciences persisted well into the Hellenistic age, although the last Sumerian state had become but a dim memory as early as the days of Hammurabi. Moreover the introduction of writing by the Sumerians ushered in the recorded history of mankind as a whole. Lastly, the vitality of the composite Sumero-Akkadian civilization is attested not only by its spread in antiquity beyond the confines of Mesopotamia, but also by its tenaciousness in the later Near East and its sundry survivals in the West, down to our own times. The Sumerians, in short, may be said to have made history in more ways than one.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of Sumerian origins is thus of more than strictly local and temporary interest. It is rather a question concerning a pioneering element in the evolution of civilization in general. But because history proper was made possible by the Sumerians, and because Sumerian beginnings go back of necessity to prehistoric times, the problem of these beginnings in prehistory cannot be solved by the direct evidence of historic data alone. We have to fall back for much of our material on the circumstantial testimony of inarticulate sources. The perti-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Studies in the History of Culture* (in honor of Waldo G. Leland). 1942, pp. 55 ff. Attention may be called also to the general summary in my *The United States and the Near East* (1947, 1950), 28 ff.

nent material is diversified, unwieldy, and often inconclusive. Some of the basic details are still missing and quite possibly may never be recovered. Any proposed reconstruction of the underlying pattern will be subject, therefore, to the customary test of a working hypothesis : how comprehensive and efficient is the suggested solution?

The whole problem of Sumerian origins is of relatively recent date. In the days when the First Dynasty of Ur was still thought to be legendary — a scarce thirty years ago — Sumerians and Semites were generally regarded as the only significant factors in the early history and prehistory of Lower Mesopotamia. Furthermore, since Sumerian records antedated Akkadian sources, this precedence was usually viewed as an index of absolute origins. With the rapid progress, however, of archaeological investigations in the nineteen-twenties there came a corresponding broadening of horizons and deepening of insight. Early literary documents could be coordinated for the first time with carefully analyzed stratigraphic evidence, thus leading to a proper appreciation of the great depth and complexity of the antecedent preliterate occupations. And as additional cultures came to light, each with its own peculiar geographic and chronological features, the larger issue of origins and interrelations could no longer be restricted to Sumerians and Semites.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, Sumerian beginnings emerged as a complex and many-sided problem.

Within the past twenty years the proposed interpretations of this problem have followed one of two main lines of approach : (a) The Sumerians were not the first in the land, having arrived in Lower Mesopotamia after the foundation of its earliest culture, but before the start of the first historic age. (b) The Sumerians were themselves the founders of the earliest prehistoric culture of Lower Mesopotamia — historic Sumer — and

<sup>2</sup> For an important sidelight on this question see Th. Jacobsen, « The Assumed Conflict Between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History, » *JAOs* 59 (1939), 485 ff.

were hence the authors of the so-called el-Obeid stage. The first of these theories has been traced back at times to my *Mesopotamian Origins* (1930).<sup>3</sup> While this ascription is not strictly correct,<sup>4</sup> it is true that when my formulation was attempted it was possible to make far more extensive use of the combined archaeologic-epigraphic evidence than had been the case previously, so that a fuller and broader analysis could hardly be avoided. On the other hand, the alternative view of absolute Sumerian priority has been sponsored consistently by Professor Henri Frankfort, who first expressed it with all his usual persuasiveness and penetration in a monograph entitled *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem* (1932).<sup>5</sup>

Since the appearance of these two studies various writers have indicated preference for the one position or the other. The current division would seem to be in doubt. Seton Lloyd, for instance, writing in 1947, declared : « In the years which followed, Speiser's conclusion, though not his reasoning, came to be increasingly favoured. »<sup>6</sup> But Father R. T. O'Callaghan, writing a few months later (1948), stated : « This stand [referring to the same conclusion] is rejected by most scholars. »<sup>7</sup> At least one of these statistical estimates obviously must be wrong. Nor is the truth of the matter of any particular significance. The only pertinent question is whether the total available evidence justifies as yet a definite preference either way. Neither Frankfort's formulation nor mine could be reprinted today without very extensive modifications in detail. Much new material has come to light in the meantime, and older

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviated henceforth as *MO*.

<sup>4</sup> Painted pottery in the south had caused R. C. Thompson to assume a pre-Sumerian ethnic element as early as 1920; cf. *Archaeologia* LXX, 109 ff.; and the non-Sumerian character of the oldest place names was mentioned in passing by B. Meissner, *AfO* V (1929), 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations*, No 4 (Chicago Oriental Institute); abbreviated *ASP*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sumer* III, 92.

<sup>7</sup> *Aram Naharaim* (Analecta Orientalia 26), 12, note 1.

sources have been re-examined in several notable instances. The whole Sumerian problem merits, therefore, a comprehensive review in the form of a brief situation report.

## II

The main areas of potential information on the question before us may be analyzed as follows :

1. Linguistically, the structure of Sumerian stands out today with unusual clarity and transparent inner logic, for all that countless minor details remain to be worked out.<sup>8</sup> The literary treasures of the Sumerians are steadily adding to our knowledge and appreciation of mankind's early historic progress. Nevertheless, all efforts to link Sumerian to some larger linguistic stock have failed thus far, although such efforts have ranged all the way from Central Africa to East Asia and Oceania.<sup>9</sup> This line of inquiry, therefore, promises no direct answer to the question regarding the original home of the Sumerians. The negative results obtained to date can have only an indirect and circumstantial bearing.

2. Anthropometrically, the evidence is ambiguous and confused. The number of crania examined is as yet very small, relatively speaking, especially when the prodigious time span involved is taken into consideration. The consensus would seem to be, with all the necessary reservations, that the basic population of the whole region consisted of Mediterranean longheads, who were joined in course of time and relatively late by several

<sup>8</sup> The highly advanced status of Sumerian grammatical studies today may be judged from A. Falkenstein's *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, I (Analecta Orientalia 28), 1949.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. V. Christian's *Die sprachliche Stellung des Sumerischen, Babylonica* XII, fascs. 3-4 (1943). The author concludes that Sumerian resulted from a mixture of a relatively pure type of Caucasian with an earlier blend of Hamitic and Asiatic-Sudanese (p. 125) — a theory which speaks for itself. Note also Karl Bouda, *Die Beziehungen des Sumerischen zum Baskischen, Westkaukasischen und Tibetischen*, *MAOG* XII/3 (1938).

groups of Alpine roundheads.<sup>10</sup> Both these physical types, of course, could have been represented by more than one linguistic stock. In this connection it should be stressed that there is a marked discrepancy between the evidence of the cemeteries uncovered in Sumer and the appearance of the historic Sumerians as depicted on the monuments. For it has been repeatedly observed that the monumental representations of the Sumerians point for the most part to pronounced roundheads.<sup>11</sup>

3. Archaeologically, the evidence has been growing steadily in volume and in complexity. Prior to the first historic age in Mesopotamia we can now distinguish a long succession of distinctive strata which — for Mesopotamia as a whole — add up to some thirty separate occupational levels. These levels fall into several individual cultural units. In the south, which includes Sumer proper, we find, starting with the latest of these protohistoric cultures and, moving back into the past, the following major groups: <sup>12</sup> (a) The so-called « Protoliterate, » <sup>13</sup> corresponding roughly to what used to be called « Jemdet Nasr. » (b) « Uruk » or « Warka. » (c) « Obeid » or « Ubaid. » Until the recent discoveries at Eridu it was thought that the oldest Obeid levels marked the beginning of stratigraphically

<sup>10</sup> Cf. W. M. Krogman's study in H. H. von der Osten's *The Alishar Hüyük* III (1937), pp. 213 ff., especially 269 ff. To the full bibliography which this monograph contains may now be added R. J. Braidwood's « Asiatic Prehistory and the Origin of Man, » *JNES* VI (1947), 30 ff., for purposes of broader orientation. Charlotte M. Otten, in her preliminary study of the skeletal material from the Obeid cemetery at Eridu (*Sumer* IV, 1948, 125 ff.), concludes (p. 125): « This is unquestionably a Caucasoid population. »

<sup>11</sup> A. Moortgat, *Die Entstehung der sumerischen Hochkultur* (Der Alte Orient 43, 1945), 60.

<sup>12</sup> For purposes of ready reference, the terminology here followed is that used in Ann Louise Perkins' comprehensive study, *The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia* (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 25), 1949.

<sup>13</sup> An unsatisfactory designation, to my thinking, in that it really begs the question.

attested occupations in Sumer. The discovery, however, of (c') the « Eridu » ware poses a new problem which will be touched upon later.

The above groups have their counterparts in the north which can be correlated chronologically with their respective southern analogues and show in addition a number of important material links. Because of its greater geologic antiquity, however, the north has proved to contain major cultural centers antedating the oldest known from the south. Thus it has yielded multiple levels of (d) the « Halaf » culture which underly the oldest northern analogues of Obeid. Moreover, we have now a series of (e) « Hassunah » deposits anterior to Halaf. Finally, there are abundant witnesses of yet another culture which has come to be known under the name of (e') « Samarra. » Where its stratification and classification have been established beyond all doubt, Samarra has been found to co-exist with the later phases of Hassunah; for instance, at the site of Hassunah itself.<sup>14</sup> For the purpose of the present review it will suffice to note the presence of Samarra and its approximate chronological place without giving it an independent listing.

How many separate ethnic-cultural groups does this archaeological evidence oblige us to assume? There are enough ties between the Protoliterate stage (a) and the earliest historic Sumerians to warrant our positing of an underlying ethnic link. This would still leave us, however, with five major cultural groups (b-e) before the Protoliterate period, if Mesopotamia as a whole is to be considered, as it properly must be. There is, to be sure, the possibility that more than one ethnic element participated in the evolution of a single distinctive prehistoric culture. Conversely, the same ethnic group may have had a part in the development of more than one culture. Furthermore, the

<sup>14</sup> Cf. R. J. Braidwood, *JNES* IV (1945), 261. For the characteristics of the cultural stages just listed see the studies of Perkins and Moortgat mentioned above, and add André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne* (1946),



absolute culture individuality of Eridu and Samarra (c', e') may be open to doubt for one reason or another; this is why neither has been given an independent listing, so as not to prejudge the issue. Nevertheless, it would be extremely hazardous to argue, in the face of the mass of cumulative evidence available to us, that Uruk, Obeid, Halaf, and Hassunah, or any smaller combination of these units, went back ultimately to a single ethnic strain. All our evidence would seem to point to the conclusion that the prehistoric composition of Mesopotamia was as complex ethnically as it was culturally.

4. Geographically, the historic Sumerians are first seen concentrated at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence they advance gradually up the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Their script and their cylinder seals are the tracers that enable us to follow the spread of Sumerian civilization, or of sundry elements thereof, to the shores of the Mediterranean and beyond. Yet the Sumerians themselves were never entrenched past the confines of Lower Mesopotamia. This rigid geographic limitation contributes an argument whose significance has all too often been entirely overlooked.

5. Lastly, due weight must be given to the combined linguistic-geographic testimony of the place names. It is certainly very suggestive that nearly all, if not all, of the known oldest cities of Sumer have proved to bear non-Sumerian names. In fact, it was this particular onomastic feature that led me, twenty years ago, to probe more extensively into the whole question of Sumerian origins.<sup>15</sup> Since the very prominence and antiquity of the cities involved pointed to the logical conclusion that non-Sumerian meant in this case pre-Sumerian, the further assumption was in order that we were faced here with a pre-Sumerian linguistic substratum. With this premise as a starting point, the other lines of investigation appeared to yield readily a consistent pattern. The isolated character of Sumerian could

<sup>15</sup> *MO*, 26 ff. Cf. also the supplementary remarks in *AJA* 37 (1933), 459 ff., and *JAOS* 59 (1939), Supplement, 17 ff.



be explained by the intrusion of its speakers into an area in which totally different stocks had long been at home. Roundheads arriving from a considerable distance, and hence presumably in relatively small numbers, would not alter drastically the prevailing ratio of longheads. Since the Obeid culture and its analogues occupied vast areas of the ancient Near East and appeared to be autochthonous in that general neighborhood, the sharp geographic restriction of the Sumerian centers called for a correlation with a culture that was far less extensive than the Obeid. The Uruk culture, or a sub-phase of it, answered these requirements. All in all, the combined evidence of all the major sources of potential information — as they were known and understood at the time — seemed to favor the conclusion that the Sumerians were not the first settlers in Lower Mesopotamia. Their arrival, accordingly, would have to be placed after the Obeid occupation, and hence in the Uruk period.<sup>16</sup>

When Frankfort, nevertheless, came out two years later in favor of Sumerian priority, he did not attempt to refute the opposing argument point by point. The onomastic results could not be ignored, but Frankfort countered with the suggestion that non-Sumerian was not necessarily synonymous in this case with pre-Sumerian. The cities in question might have borne Sumerian names originally, only to have their names changed at some period when the basic population was temporarily overshadowed by heterogeneous ethnic elements.<sup>17</sup> This would imply, however, something like the following sequence of events: The Sumerians establish the Obeid civilization and found the cities which are destined to maintain their importance far into

<sup>16</sup> The Protoliterate period is too late since it has yielded many typically Sumerian features.

<sup>17</sup> Lest these critical remarks be misunderstood, it may be in order to emphasize that the advantage of hindsight is likely to place earlier opinions in an unfavorable light which they by no means merit. The steadily increasing debt under which Frankfort has placed all students of the ancient Near East is too obvious to require stressing.

the historic period. A foreign group supplants the Sumerians and renames their major centers. The Sumerians eventually throw off the foreign yoke and recapture their cities — but they retain the alien place-names, even though it is precisely these very centers that come to symbolize Sumerian culture and political authority. The explanation, in short, is highly improbable.

The heart of Frankfort's thesis, however, is its archaeological argument. It is this part of his presentation that has rightly attracted most serious attention. Frankfort regarded as decisive the existing evidence for cultural continuity from the Obeid period on, as exemplified by recurring points of similarity which link the earliest age with its several successors; most especially in the physical type of the inhabitants, their dress, and their hair styles. These features would outweigh, in Frankfort's view, the parallel evidence for discontinuity, best observed in the drastic break in pottery styles which signalizes the end of the Obeid and the beginning of the Uruk stages. In other words, the archaeological side of the Sumerian problem would narrow down to an emphasis on the legato theme in cultural progress by the one side, and on the staccato theme by the other.

Frankfort's thoughtful thesis left admittedly a number of questions unanswered. Among these may be mentioned the following : (a) How definite was the similarity of the material features compared? (b) Was the weight of that argument sufficient to offset the undisputed evidence for a sharp break in continuity which attended the termination of the Obeid period? (c) Most important of all, could a working hypothesis be set up without due regard to the other elements in the dispute, namely : the linguistic isolation of Sumerian; the anthropometric disparity between the typical Sumerians of the monuments and the people in the cemeteries of Sumer; the vast expanse of the Obeid culture as contrasted with the sharply limited spread of the known Sumerians; and the un-Sumerian names

of the oldest cities in Sumer? All these were weighty obstacles to a ready acceptance of Frankfort's theory of Sumerian priority. Nevertheless, the opposing view likewise contained enough uncertainties to cause the whole dispute to remain hung up for some time.

### III

The first scholar to revive the issue was Benno Landsberger. In a series of three articles, which appeared between 1943 and 1945,<sup>18</sup> Landsberger concentrated on the problem of a pre-Sumerian linguistic substratum to which I had already devoted considerable attention a dozen years earlier. He was able, however, to evoke from his sources an incomparably greater amount of suggestive material than had been the case hitherto. Not only could pre-Sumerian names be isolated, to Landsberger's discernment, from comparable Sumerian elements, but significant elements were seen by him likewise to follow a similar division. The substratum was thus credited with the basic vocabulary for farming, gardening, brewing, pottery, leather work, and building. To the Sumerians, on the other hand, have been assigned, by the same methodical procedure, the terms involving shipping, cattle feeding, jewelry, sculpture, glyptics, land measurement, writing, education, and law. Sumerian economy and society could thus be demarcated with a considerable show of reason from their earlier counterparts.<sup>19</sup> Sumerian thinking is seen to reflect a neatly ordered synthesis between things celestial and things terrestrial, tangibly symbolized by the ziggurat and the temple at its summit, a visible link between heaven and earth, between nature and society.<sup>20</sup> Landsberger's

<sup>18</sup> *Ankara Fakültesi Dergisi*: (a) I (1943), 97-102; (b) II (1944), 431-38; (c) III (1945), 150-59.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* (b). Landsberger distinguishes in fact two distinct substrata. The full import of these studies, however, cannot be properly evaluated so long as the detailed presentation remains unpublished.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* (c).

conclusion is that the Sumerians first appeared at the end of the Obeid period, having arrived by sea from a considerable distance — a conclusion that is thus in detailed and gratifying accord with my earlier assumptions, which were based in large part on entirely different arguments.

Anton Moortgat's monograph, *Die Entstehung der sumerischen Hochkultur* (1945),<sup>21</sup> analyzes the over-all archaeological yield from the several prehistoric periods of Western Asia. He, too, feels obliged to sort out the manifestly Sumerian from the indigenous. As undisputed Sumerian contributions Moortgat names the cycle of the mother goddess and the fertility god, and the ziggurat surmounted by a temple. In this last-named ascription in particular Moortgat is in full agreement with Landsberger, although each worked with sources not utilized by the other. While admitting the complexity of the problem as a whole, Moortgat is inclined to date the arrival of the Sumerians in the Uruk period, without in any way pressing this conclusion.<sup>22</sup>

S. N. Kramer's approach to the problem of Sumerian origins is strictly unique.<sup>23</sup> He proceeds from a consideration of the Sumerian Heroic Age in the light of other such ages in world literature. The heroic age, he argues, presupposes a superior underlying civilization which had attracted in course of time a people of primitive culture but endowed with youthful vigor and mobility. The invaders in the present instance were the Sumerians, who gradually gained the upper hand. Their arrival is dated to the period of transition between Obeid and Uruk. The nature of Kramer's argument is such that it can neither be proved nor disproved as a whole, although many of its details are admittedly vulnerable and capable of a clearer

<sup>21</sup> Cf. above, note 11.

<sup>22</sup> Op. cit., 94. See also the review by A. Falkenstein in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* V (1948), 93 f.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. his «New Light on the Early History of the Ancient Near East,» *AJA* 52 (1948), 156 ff.

correlation with the known archaeological data. It may not be wholly gratuitous, however, to add in this connection that this theory is the product of an intimate student of Sumerian thought and that it has, at a minimum, the merit of a fresh and independent viewpoint.

The highly specialized subject of ancient Mesopotamian numeration may be in a position to shed some incidental light on the problem under discussion. In a recent article on the sexagesimal system Dr. Hildegard Lewy arrived at the conclusion that « the entire development leading from the decimal to the sexagesimal system was an accomplished fact when the Sumerian numerals were named. »<sup>24</sup> This would seem to constitute yet another link in the lengthening chain of cumulative evidence which points to substantial cultural progress prior to the arrival of the Sumerians, thus rendering that much less probable the thesis of absolute Sumerian priority.

As against this manysided agreement about the relative lateness of Sumerians in Lower Mesopotamia, there is one contrary recent opinion based on evidence not hitherto adduced. This evidence stems from the latest Iraqi excavations at Eridu. Seton Lloyd's first account on the subject, published in 1947, stressed the discovery of a group of temples from Levels VIII-VI, dated to the Obeid period.<sup>25</sup> Their ground plan agrees with one from Gawra XIII,<sup>26</sup> likewise of Obeid date, and foreshadows the plans of the admittedly Sumerian tempels from the Protoliterate period at Warka. This architectural continuity, Lloyd asserted, offsets the existing instances of discontinuity and becomes decisive in confirming Frankfort's thesis that the

<sup>24</sup> *JAOS* 69 (1949), 11.

<sup>25</sup> *Sumer* III (1947), 91 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Until the second volume of *The Excavations at Tepe Gawra* (by Mr. A. J. Tobler), which went to the printers three years ago, is published, the reader must be referred to my field account in *BASOR* 66 (1937), 2 ff., with the plan on p. 5.

Sumerians were the founders of the Obeid culture and the first settlers in the land.<sup>27</sup>

However, this sole new prop of the principle of continuity collapsed with the very next campaign at Eridu. For below the Obeid desposits there turned up several layers of an earlier culture, the so-called Eridu phase, which is characterized in particular by a novel ware. It was Lloyd himself who said about the painted ornament on this Eridu ware that it presents «elements reminiscent both of Tell Halaf and of Samarra, although technically the ware does not in the least resemble either.»<sup>28</sup> It would be premature to inquire at this early date into the precise relations of the Eridu culture, the oldest yet unearthed in Lower Mesopotamia. One is bound, however, to agree with the discoverers in maintaining the distinctiveness of Eridu as compared with Obeid. It would follow, then, that if the Sumerians were the founders of the Obeid culture, which succeeded Eridu, they can no longer be viewed as the earliest settlers in that area. That more than one cultural phase preceded the northern counterpart of Obeid, and that there could therefore be no question of Sumerian priority in the north — even if the Sumerian authorship of the Obeid phase be granted for the sake of the argument — has been abundantly clear for a number of years.

#### IV

The chronologic angle of the Sumerian problem has thus been greatly simplified. Since no one would place the Sumerians in the land prior to Obeid proper, and since that cultural phase

<sup>27</sup> Cf. note 25 above. Lloyd's assertion (*ibid.* p. 91) that my «contrary theory» was «largely based on philological evidence» would seem to leave the curious impression that theories based on such evidence lack sufficient validity. Besides, a considerable amount of archaeological evidence was utilized by me in that connection.

<sup>28</sup> *Sumer* IV (1948), 125.



is not the first in the south — let alone in the north — the question that remains is whether Sumerian connections can plausibly be demonstrated for Obeid times, instead of being relegated to a later period. Let us first take up Lloyd's argument from architecture : namely, because the Protoliterate temples from Warka are Sumerian, and because they correspond to the Obeid temples from Eridu in ground plan, the Obeid builders were Sumerians. Of fundamental importance in this instance is the fact that the Sumerian ziggurat, which is present at Warka, is lacking both at Eridu<sup>29</sup> and at Gawra XIII. Moreover, we now have from the Obeid period not one temple plan, but three. There is the one to which Lloyd refers; it represents the round-the-corner, or lateral, type. Then there is the longitudinal type, the so-called *Langraum*, which we find in Gawra XI-XVIII,<sup>30</sup> and which is destined to reassert itself in Gawra XI-VIII, and to become eventually characteristic of Assyria.<sup>31</sup> Lastly, there is the circular, or *tholos*, type, known from Gawra XVII and XX,<sup>32</sup> and from Halaf levels at nearby Arpachiyach. Surely, all three of these types were not Sumerian creations. In these circumstances it would seem to be logical to assume that the Sumerians adopted the design already established in the south, adding the temple tower as their own peculiar contribution. Lloyd's argument, at any rate, is no more cogent than would be some hypothetical assumption that because the mosque of Saint Sophia is Muslim, and because it was built under Justinian, therefore its builders must have been Muslims.

The argument from pottery has always militated against the thesis of Sumerian authorship of the Obeid culture. The painted pottery of the Obeid age is by far its most distinctive product. The succeeding Uruk wares are normally undecorated and otherwise different. Furthermore, if the Sumerians

<sup>29</sup> The ziggurat on that site belongs to a much later historic period.

<sup>30</sup> *The Smithsonian Report*, 1939, p. 443 and Pl. 7.2.

<sup>31</sup> See V. Müller, *JAOS* 60 (1940), 159.

<sup>32</sup> *The Smithsonian Report*, 1939, p. 443 and Pl. 8.1.



initiated the Obeid culture, they must have occupied at one time all of Mesopotamia, not to mention Iran and much of Baluchistan — in short, the known major centers of Obeid and its analogues. Yet at the beginning of the historic age the Sumerians are isolated in a small area at the head of the Persian Gulf. The regions formerly occupied by the Obeid folk are later inhabited by the demonstrably un-Sumerian Elamites, Lullu, Gutians, and others whose names have not been recorded. Elsewhere we find Semitic settlements and the early Hurrian sites. Amidst all this array of ethnic elements which are to remain familiar throughout the history of Mesopotamia — some of these down to our own times — the Sumerians are indeed a small, isolated, and disparate element. Clearly, it is not to their numbers that they owe their outstanding position in history.

No less indicative than the evidence of pottery is the testimony of the seals. Of the two general types, the stamp seal and the cylinder seal, the first one goes back to the Halaf period at least,<sup>33</sup> and becomes ubiquitous in Obeid times. In the Protoliterate period the cylinder seal is introduced, to become the herald of the advancing Sumerian civilization. Where that civilization has made a mark, the stamp seal disappears; elsewhere, however, the stamps are retained. But when the syncretized Mesopotamian civilization is at long last brought to a close — late in the first millennium B.C. — the stamp returns from its prolonged retreat. Like the underlying physical type itself, the stamp seal had apparently been too firmly rooted to be driven out for ever by intrusive elements.

As regards the physical type, little store can be set by attempted reproductions prior to the historic age. With all due allowance, however, for the inadequacies of primitive techniques, it is scarcely possible to equate the prevailingly squat type of

<sup>33</sup> That is to say, the earliest clearly stratified stamp seals belong to the Halaf age (at Gawra). It is not certain, however, whether the actual introduction of these seals is not to be pushed back sufficiently to allow for the necessary period of evolution.

the known Sumerians with the narrow-waisted reproductions of earlier times; yet these reproductions are comparable among themselves, whether we find them in Obeid terracottas, engraved on Gawra stamps, or painted on the pottery from Susa. To go beyond such general characteristics and seek to detect from fragmentary reproductions in clay such minute details as beards and hair styles is unprofitable, to say the least. Parenthetically, we now know from the sculptured remains of the Protoliterate period that bearded and beardless types were common in Mesopotamia on the eve of the historic age,<sup>34</sup> and may be presumed to have played their respective parts long before that. Cultural complexity may be supposed to reflect a variety of underlying ethnic types; it will produce, at any rate, a diversity of concurrent fashions.

Correlations between cranial types and linguistic stocks can never merit much attention, except perhaps as footnotes to conclusions arrived at independently. At all events, the suggestion may be hazarded that the basic Mediterranean type of the region<sup>35</sup> belonged linguistically to Caucasoid and Semitic stocks. Alpine elements appear to have been intrusive. The Sumerians might well have been included among them. On the assumption that they were intruders among long-established and physically related local groups, the Sumerians would not affect appreciably the existing radical balance. Arrival from a considerable distance, especially if they had come by sea, would suggest relatively small numbers. Although they eventually became dominant — within the narrow confines of their settlement — in the political and social sense, they need not have pervaded all the strata of the population. Beyond the limits of southermost Mesopotamia the Sumerian physical type could

<sup>34</sup> Cf., e.g., the figures on the alabaster vase from Warka, depicted and discussed by E. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde* (1936), pp. 15-17 and Pls. 2-3; Mrs. E. D. Van Buren, *Afo XIII*, 32 ff.; A. Moortgat, op. cit. 88 ff.; F. Basmachi, *Sumer III* (1947), 118 ff.

<sup>35</sup> See above, note 10.

scarcely have attained prominence in any case. If the skeletal material from a given Sumerian center of a historic period should show a predominance of longheads, while the sculptured figures from the same site show a majority of shortheads, this would be in entire accord with the assumption of a basic native population ruled by physically dissimilar invaders. Analogously, we should expect a future archaeologist excavating a Syrian site of the mid-twentieth century of our era to find ample evidence of Arab culture and Arabic records. But the skeletal remains would hardly conform to the classic Arab type.

To sum up, our present material bearing on the problem of Sumerian origins would appear to add up to this: The Sumerians arrived at the head of the Persian Gulf not earlier than the close of the Obeid period, coincident perhaps with the rise of the Uruk stage, or possibly even as its founders. They had come from the east, probably by sea, although their original home seems to have been in a highland zone. That home has to be sought beyond the Iranian province, for that is already pre-empted by others. It would be futile to speculate now — and the prospects do not seem bright for a more profitable attempt of this kind in the foreseeable future — whether that home was in Transcaucasia, Transcaspia, or somewhere in Farther Asia. The Sumerians came to dominate, but did not drive out, the earlier settlers. They took over many of the cultural gains of the past, while adding and developing significant features of their own. In some way which is beyond our means to determine, but not beyond our ability to appreciate, the resulting blend was to become an important factor in the history of all mankind.

If this sketch is approximately right, the Sumerian problem has been clarified in so far as the relative chronology of that people's appearance is concerned. But the question of the ultimate home of the Sumerians is no nearer a solution than it has ever been.



## TABOR, TIBAR, ATABYROS

JULIUS LEWY

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

As was shown in previous investigations into various pre-Israelite cults of Palestine and the adjacent countries of the ancient Near East<sup>1</sup>, the early inhabitants of those regions frequently named towns and mountains after deities, a fact which finds its explanation, on the one hand, in the custom of giving a locality the name of its owner and, on the other hand, in the old belief that a god ought to be invoked at a place owned and inhabited by him<sup>2</sup>. This being so, and since תָּבוֹר denotes a mountain which, as is generally admitted in consideration of Deut. 33.18 f. and Hos. 5.1<sup>3</sup>, is most likely to have been an old, presumably «Canaanite», place of worship, it is logical to raise the question as to whether Tabor — a term which, besides recurring as a town name<sup>4</sup>, also figures in the topographical designation אֵלֵין תָּבוֹר<sup>5</sup> — was the name of an ancient deity.

Information which permits us to answer this question in the affirmative comes in the first place from a cuneiform text

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, pp. 45 ff. and *Hebrew Union College Annual* (hereafter quoted as *HUCA*) XVIII, 1944, pp. 459 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibidem*, pp. 465 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle 1906, p. 538, Alt, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XLV, 1927, p. 75, Hertzberg, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* VIII, 1928, pp. 174 ff., J. Boehmer, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* VII, 1929, p. 163 and especially Eissfeldt, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXXI, 1934, pp. 14 f.

<sup>4</sup> I Chr. 6.62.

<sup>5</sup> I Sam. 10.3.

(Assur 19522) found in the ancient capital city of Assyria. According to a brief note by E. F. Weidner<sup>6</sup>, this source, the full text of which has not yet been communicated, shows that a gate of the city of Aššûr that figures in other cuneiform inscriptions<sup>7</sup> as *a-bul ta-bi-ra* «The Gate of the Metal-Worker» was also known by the name *abul ta-bu-ra*<sup>8</sup>. Thus it follows from Assur 19522 that the word *ta-bi-ra* «metal-worker»<sup>9</sup>, which also occurs as *ti-bi-ra* and *di-bi-ra*<sup>10</sup>, alternated with a

<sup>6</sup> *Archiv für Orientforschung* III, 1926, p. 151, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> For references see Unger, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, Berlin und Leipzig 1932, p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> In line 8 of VAT 9402, a Middle Assyrian record published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1927, No. 254, there occurs the variant *abul âl ti-be-ra*. This suggests that the gate might have been so named because it led into the city-quarter (*âlu*) in which the metalworkers had their workshops. — As for the occurrence of *tibi/era* in the place of *tabi/ura*, cf. the literature quoted in the following footnotes and see especially below, p. 367, note 33.

<sup>9</sup> Or, more exactly, «artificer in copper and woodwork», the ideogram pronounced *ta-bi-ra* being composed of two signs, that for «copper», «metal» and that for «carpenter». In fact, Landsberger, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* LXIX, 1915, pp. 503 f. and Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, Paris 1921, p. 132, note 2 and *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXI, 1924, p. 26, note 3 have shown that the material used by the *tabira* — or, to use the corresponding Akkadian word, the *qurqurru* — included, besides metals, clay and wax, especially wood. If, accordingly, *tabira* has much the same sense as Greek τέκτων it is, on the other hand, to be kept in mind that l. 66 of the vocabulary published and discussed by Goetze, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LXV, 1945, pp. 223 ff. confirms the use of *tabira* in the sense of the Latin term *faber aerarius* «coppersmith», for it equates it with Akkadian *qur-qur erê*.

<sup>10</sup> See Ungnad, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXI, 1917-18, p. 276 and Goetze, *loc. cit.*, p. 235. Contrary to the opinion of Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, Leipzig 1914, p. 273 s.v. *ibira*, which seems to be shared by Ungnad and Goetze, the word here under discussion is not a genuine Sumerian term (see below, pp. 366 ff.). — For the occurrence of an Akkadianized variant, *ta-bi-ru*, see Ungnad, *loc. cit.* and cf. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Berlin 1905,

by-form that, so far as its linguistic features are concerned, may well be regarded as identical with the biblical *tābôr*<sup>11</sup>.

On the other hand, it is learnt from col. III, l. 5 of the « explanatory list of gods », B.M., No. 46559<sup>12</sup> that *ti-bi-ra*, the above-mentioned variant of *ta-bu-ra*, was one of the numerous names and epithets of Tammûz, the well-known fertility-

p. 1146; Ehelolf und Meissner, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXIV, 1922, p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> As the form of the non-Semitic term *tabura* coincides with that of Primitive Semitic nouns of the *qatul* class, and as Primitive Semitic *qatul* and *qatula* appear in Hebrew as *qātōl* (see Bauer und Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache*, Halle 1922, pp. 466 f. and 307), the identification of « Assyrian » *tabura* with « Hebrew » *tābôr* does not meet with difficulties, all the less so since there are quite a few instances in which Hebrew treats non-Semitic terms of a Semitic appearance as if they belonged to the genuine Semitic vocabulary. However, as Old and Middle Assyrian exhibit a tendency to shift *ar > ur*, it is by no means impossible that « Assyrian » *tabura* goes back to \**tabara*. Moreover, the data gathered below, pp. 367 ff. leave little doubt about the existence of a variant *tabar* or *tābar* of the non-Semitic term here under discussion. Thus we are confronted with the question as to whether our biblical *tābôr* might go back to \**tabar* or \**tābar*. This question is to be answered in the affirmative for the following reasons : (1) In view of the fact that, in pre-Israelite times, the region around Mt. Tabor was populated by Canaanites most closely related to the Phoenicians (cf. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas*, I, Giessen 1930, pp. 67 ff.), *tābôr* may be compared with Phoenician forms of the type *qātōl*. (2) Δαγών (= « Hebrew » דָּגָן [*< dāgām < \*dagan*]), i.e., according to Σαγχουνιαθών-Philo Byblius the Phoenician designation of the Old West Semitic grain god Dagan, and ιαθών « he gave », for which two of the Neo-Babylonian transliterations listed by Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, Helsingfors 1905, p. 318 attest the pronunciation *qātōn*, make it likely that Phoenician *qātōl* corresponds not only to Primitive Semitic *qátal* but also to Hebrew *qātāl* (< *qatál < qátal*); *tābôr* may therefore be an Early Canaanite adaptation of a non-Semitic \**tabar* or even \**tābar*.

<sup>12</sup> Published by L. W. King in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (hereafter cited as CT), XXIX, London 1910, pl. 44 ff.



god lamentations for whom by the women of Jerusalem are attested for as late a period as the Babylonian Exile<sup>13</sup>. In consideration of the custom of giving mountains the names of their divine owners, we may therefore infer that Mt. Tabor was a place of Tammûz-worship, all the more so since other data favor such an inference. We refer especially to the evidence furnished by the theophoric name אֲבִינֵעַם «My Father is the Pleasant One»<sup>14</sup>, which, according to Judg. 4 and 5, was borne by the father of Barak, the Naphtalite leader said to have gone up to Mt. Tabor before joining battle with Sisera<sup>15</sup>; for as נֵעַם «pleasant», «beautiful» is known to have been one of the epithets of Tammûz<sup>16</sup>, and as Barak's father is likely to have hailed from the same area of Palestine as the men from Zebulun, Naphtali and Issachar who, according to Judg. 4.6 ff. and 5.15, fought under him, that name leaves little doubt about the existence of an old cult of Tammûz in

<sup>13</sup> See Ez. 8.14.

<sup>14</sup> For an analysis of this name and for an analogous personal name see *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, p. 438, note 58.

<sup>15</sup> Hertzberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 175 and Boehmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 163 were probably right in suggesting that Barak and his men marched to Mt. Tabor not so much for strategic reasons as for the sake of consecrating themselves for the war against the invader. Since the tradition strongly emphasizes that Barak fought in the name of Jahweh, and especially since verse 8 of the Song of Deborah intimates that the people chose a «new god» (see also the Greek version: ἐξελέξαντο θεοὺς καινοὺς, ὅτε ἐπολέμησαν...), it even seems possible that it was Barak who transformed Mt. Tabor into a place of Jahweh-worship, and, in doing so, created the conditions which permitted the author of Deut. 33.18 f. to regard as legitimate the sacrifices offered on «the mountain». That change cannot, however, have been definitive; for Hosea (5.1) characterizes, as we shall presently see, the cult «upon Tabor» as Tammûz-worship.

<sup>16</sup> Because the identity of Tammûz and the beautiful Adonis was recently questioned in spite of the testimony of ancient savants such as Jerome, it might be well to mention that the designations of Tammûz listed by Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsingfors 1938, p. 469 include the name *Lugal-igi-hur-ra* «King beautiful of countenance».

the fertile region around Mt. Tabor.<sup>17</sup> A mere coincidence is, in fact, improbable in view of Hosea's allusion to a « net spread out upon Tabor »; for Sumerian lamentations for Tammûz usually add to his epithet *<sup>d</sup>Tibira* the further attribute *umun sa-pár* « The Lord of the Net »<sup>18</sup>.

While the above-discussed biblical and extra-biblical information makes it obvious that Mount Tabor (as well as the homonymous town) was named after a god Tabor « The Metal-worker », Gen. 4.22 permits us to go a step further and to infer that the « Lord of the Net », Tammûz, used to be invoked there, *inter alia*, as the inventor of the crafts concerned with carpentry and metal-work<sup>19</sup> and as the patron of the men practising these crafts<sup>20</sup>. As will be recalled, Gen. 4.22 knows

<sup>17</sup> As I hope to show elsewhere, the name of a town situated in the immediate neighborhood of Mt. Tabor, *viz.* Nazareth, points in exactly the same direction. That this is also true of the place name יִרְעָאֵל, i.e. « The Sower is the God (par excellence) » is all the more manifest since, according to 1 Sa. 25.43, a woman by the name of אַחִינֹעַם hailed from that other town of יִרְעָאֵל which lay in Judaea. A third geographic name to be mentioned in this connection is that of the Naphtalite town of תָּרִיִם (thus according to some codices; cf. the Septuagint variant Ἰσρεμ). For this town name, which recurs as حارم in the Amanos region, can hardly be dissociated from *harmu*, the Akkadian word appearing in passages which define Tammûz as Ištar's « lover »; cf. below, note 25.

<sup>18</sup> For a list of most of the pertinent passages see Zimmern, *Der babylonische Gott Tamûz*, Leipzig 1909, p. 9. Disregarding the evidence furnished by the text B.M. No. 46559 (see above, p. 359) and a cognate list of gods, Zimmern read *<sup>d</sup>ingirNagar umun sa-pár* instead of *<sup>d</sup>Tibira umun sa-pár*.

<sup>19</sup> See above, note 9.

<sup>20</sup> The belief, particularly well attested for ancient Greece, that a deity was not only the patron of a profession but also its inventor was rather widespread in the countries of the Fertile Crescent. The god Nabû, for instance, who, *inter alia*, held the office of a « scribe of the gods » (*tupšar ilâni*; for the references see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 102), and to whom king Aššûr-bân-apli pays homage when mentioning that he learned to write the cuneiform script (for the details of the pertinent statement see now Böhl, *Der babylonische Fürstenspiegel*, Leip-

a «patron of all artificers in brass and iron»<sup>21</sup>, who, to judge from the fact that several ancient nations believed in divine protectors of the smiths or other groups of men specialised in

zig 1937, p. 21) was called *banû šitri tupšarrûti* «creator of the script used in [lit., «of»] the art of tablet writing» (see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 70). See further Sanchunjathon-Philo Byblius *apud* Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (ed. Gifford) I, pp. 43 f. and 47 f. and cf. below, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> With most commentators (see, for instance, Gunkel, *Genesis*<sup>3</sup>, Göttingen 1910, p. 53 and Skinner, *Genesis*, New York 1910, p. 119), we read, in consideration of the preceding verses and of the Targum, *הוא היה אבי כל חרש*, instead of *למש כל חרש*. At the same time, we prefer to the usual literal translation the interpretation suggested by the Targum which, as is well known, renders *אב* by *רבא* «master», «teacher»; for it is a matter of fact that the Semitic languages employed the term usually meaning «father» in the sense of «principal», «master», «teacher» as early as the beginning of the second millennium; cf. J. Lewy, *Die Kultepteexte der Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz*, Berlin 1929, p. 15, note 1 and p. 34. Instead of *תובל קין* we read, with the Septuagint, *תובל*, because the evidence furnished by the cuneiform sources here under discussion confirms the view of those who see in *קין* «smith» a gloss explaining the meaning of the foreign term and proper name *תובל*. But we cannot agree with the opinion, cited by Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 120, that the *heros eponymos* of the Japhetic people of *תובל* «supplies the name of the founder of metallurgy here». In the last analysis, Gen. 4.19 ff. reflect, as will be presently seen, the use of traditions the subject of which were certain deities worshipped, in Palestine and the adjacent countries, as early as pre-biblical times, whereas the author of Gen. 10.2 merely deals with the affiliation of the «Japhetic» nations known to him and his time and whose names, being used as collective nouns, were regarded as the names of the ancestors of those peoples. In other words, Gen. 4.22 mentions *תובל* because, in times long past, a god Tubal was considered the patron of a certain group of artisans, while Gen. 10.2 is interested in Tubal because there existed a nation of that name. Accordingly, there was no need for the author of Gen. 4.22 to borrow a name that happened to occur in the sources utilized in compiling the Table of Nations. On the other hand, it is, of course, quite possible that the ultimate identity of the divine name *Tibira/Tubal* and the ethnical name *Tubal*, *Tabal*, *Tabar* was known to the various authors who speak to us in Gen. 4 and Gen. 10.

a particular profession<sup>22</sup>, is a priori likely to have belonged to the pantheon of the Near East. Moreover, in stating that that patron of the metal-workers had a sister 𐎶𐎶𐎵, Gen. 4.22 actually points to Tammûz who, as was mentioned before, used to be called 𐎶𐎶𐎵. It is true, as the feminine form of a West-Semitic divine name usually designates the wife of the god in question<sup>23</sup>, it might seem that the name *Na'amā* refers at best to Tammûz' spouse, and not to his sister. However, it is to be kept in mind that the Semitic languages sometimes use the terms meaning «brother» and «sister» in the sense of «lover» and «concubine»<sup>24</sup>. Accordingly, the concluding words of Gen. 4.22, which the Septuagint renders by ἀδελφὴ δὲ Θόβελ Νοεμά, may well be taken to define *Na'amā* as Tubal's concubine, which interpretation would in fact establish a parallel between the couples Tubal and *Na'amā*, on the one hand, and Tammûz and Ištar, on the other. For the cuneiform and patristic sources agree in defining Tammûz (Adonis) as Ištar's (Aphrodite's) lover, and not as her husband<sup>25</sup>. In addition,

<sup>22</sup> As for Greece, see, e.g., Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, Stuttgart 1893, pp. 109 and 363; regarding the countries of the Fertile Crescent, cf. above, note 20.

<sup>23</sup> See J. Lewy, *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, p. 438.

<sup>24</sup> So far as Akkadian is concerned, this was demonstrated by Hildegard Lewy, *Orientalia* X, 1941, pp. 209 ff.; cf. further «Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld», rev., II, 47 ff., where Tammûz is designated as Belili's *aḫu* (for Belili's identity with Ištar see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 442 s.v. *Sig<sub>4</sub>-za-gi-na* and p. 273 s.v. *Bēlit-ilē*). As for the Hebrew use of נַחֲמָה in the sense of «concubine», «beloved one», see Cant. 4.9 f., 12; 5.1 f.

<sup>25</sup> Among the pertinent cuneiform sources, I mention, besides Tablet VI, l. 46 of the Epic of Gilgameš, as particularly significant the exclamation *at-ti dIštar šá ḫar-ma-šá dDumu-zi* «Thou art Ištar whose lover is Tammûz!», which occurs, besides similar expressions designating Tammûz as Ištar's *ḫarmu* «amasius», in the ritual *K.2001 + 83-1-18, 2348 + VAT 8261 + Ass. 13955 ga + VAT 10034*. (For the editions of these texts and their interrelation, as well as for transliterations and translations, see especially Langdon, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XIII, 1916,

the failure of the cuneiform lists of gods to enumerate any relations of Tammûz other than his parents, brothers and his sister also indicates that Tammûz was thought to be unmarried and childless. Since, finally, the name נַעֲמָה obviously denoted a mythological figure as beautiful as Tammûz himself, we need not doubt that the last words of Gen. 4.22 refer to Ištar<sup>26</sup>, which means that the whole verse deals with Tammûz and his beloved one.

The fact that the verse here under discussion calls the patron of the smiths תּוֹבֵל or, according to the Septuagint, Θοβελ is as illuminating as is the reference to his sweetheart. For as Θοβελ is the biblical designation of the people of the metal-producing country of Tabal the inhabitants of which figure in Greek and Latin sources as Τίβαρῆνοι and *Taberēni* «the *Ti/aba/er*-people»<sup>27</sup>, and as Θοβελ alternates with

pp. 105 ff. and Ebeling, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* XXIII, 2, 1919, pp. 1 ff. and *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, I, Berlin und Leipzig 1931, pp. 47 ff.; cf. also the remarks of von Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLIII, 1936, pp. 258 ff.) In consideration of such evidence, it is hard to see how Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 470 maintains that Tammûz «ist Gemahl der Himmelskönigin Ištar».

<sup>26</sup> It is interesting to note that many years ago Dillmann advanced a similar opinion which he formulated as follows: «Von Tubal-Kain wird noch eine Schwester Naama (LXX Νοεμά) d.h. Liebliche, Huldin erwähnt, ohne dass später noch etwas über sie gesagt wäre. Sicher hat sie in dem Sagenkreis, aus dem der Verfasser schöpfte, eine nicht unwichtige Stelle gehabt, und der Gedanke, der dieser ihrer Zusammenstellung mit Tubal zu Grund liegt, ist wohl derselbe wie bei Hephästos und Aphrodite oder Ares und Aphrodite .....» (*Die Genesis. Erklärt von Dr. August Dillmann*<sup>4</sup>, Leipzig 1882, p. 99).

<sup>27</sup> For the details see Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreiches Pontos*, Leipzig 1879, pp. 13 f. and J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, II, Leipzig 1905, p. 108 and pp. 115 f. Contrary to statements found in the current commentaries on Genesis, these savants have duly noted that in the times of the classic writers the ethnical name Τίβαρῆνοι (*Tibarani*, *Taberēni*, *Tebarani*) survived only in territories situated to the south and far to the north of that part of the Tauros range which

Θοβε<sup>28</sup>, it appears that Hebrew *tubal* and *tābōr*, Assyrian *tabura* and *tabira*, and Sumerian *tibira* and *dibira* are but

figures in the Assyrian sources as *mātTa-bal*. As for evidence to the effect that, in the last analysis, Τῖβαρηνοί is not to be regarded as the name of a homogeneous nation but rather as a professional name, subsequently used as a designation of various tribes which might have included heterogeneous elements, see presently.

<sup>28</sup> See Ez. 39.1 where, according to Swete's edition of the Septuagint, one codex offers Θοβε<sup>28</sup> instead of the usual Θοβελ. Dhorme who, in *Syria* XIII, 1932, p. 37, alludes to this fact, is certainly right in attributing the occurrence of the two forms not to a scribal error but to interchange between *l* and *r*. Instead of quoting the inconclusive example with which he illustrates that interchange, we prefer to mention that in a text from Nuzi, published by Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, V, Philadelphia 1934 (No. 499; transliterated and translated by Hildegard Lewy, *Orientalia* XI, 1942, pp. 32 f.), the inhabitants of the city of Aššūr figure not as \*Aš-šu-ur-ri-e but as Aš-šu-ul-li-e. The genuine Hurrian onomastic material from Nuzi also includes a number of personal names the variants of which prove that at the end of a closed syllable *r* quite frequently interchanged with *l*; cf., besides the pertinent cases listed by Berkooz, *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian*, Philadelphia 1937, pp. 59 f., the occurrence of *Ku-ur-mi-ia mār Gi-li-ia* (Chiera, *op. cit.*, No. 492, l. 34) and *Ku-ul-mi-ia mār Gi-li-ia* (Pfeiffer and Lacheman, *Excavations at Nuzi*, IV, Cambridge 1942, No. 6, l. 14). In agreement with the observation that Hurrian names, as known from Nuzi and, in much smaller numbers, from Palestine, Syria and the Phoenician coast, in many cases exhibit the same characteristics as Anatolian proper names (see J. Lewy, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1938, pp. 401 ff. and *Revue des Études Sémitiques* 1938, pp. 49 ff.), this interchange between *l* and *r* recurs in the regions which the Bible defines as the habitat of the Japhetic peoples. We refer especially to the fact that Τελμησσός, a town name occurring in Caria, Lycia and Pisidia as well as in the neighborhood of Karkemış (see Herzfeld in Sarre und Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, I, Berlin 1911, p. 145, note 4; Honigmann in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*<sup>2</sup>, Zweite Reihe, Neunter Halbband, col. 415), interchanges with Τερμησσός in such a way that the Pisidian town commonly known as Τερμησσός ἡ μεῖζων figures in certain sources as Τελμησσός (for the details see Heberdey, *ibidem*, col. 733 f. and 751), precisely as the cognate town name Τερμεσσα



variants of one and the same term meaning «metal-worker». Although this word occurs in the name of the exceedingly old Sumerian city of *Bad-tibira* «Wall of the Metal-worker»<sup>29</sup> — a city dedicated to the cult of Ištar and Tammûz<sup>30</sup> —, we shall be safe in assuming that it originated not with the Sumerian population of the southeastern area of the Fertile Crescent<sup>31</sup> but in the vicinity of the ancient country of Tabal.

alternates with Τελευσα (see Ruge, *ibidem*, col. 729 f.). Similarly, the non-Semitic onomastic material from Anatolia which is found in the Old Assyrian letters and documents from Kaniš includes the personal names *Ha-ru-hu-ul* (G. R. Driver, *Cappadocian Texts at Oxford* [= *Analecta Orientalia* VI, 1933, pp. 1 ff.], pl. IV, No. 13, ll. 18 and 25; for the context see my transliteration and translation in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, No. 36, 1939, pp. 118 f.) and *Ha-ru-hu-ur* (S. Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, I, London 1921, pl. 10, No. 113571, l. 25; for the context see my transliteration and translation in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXIII, 1930, pp. 79 f., No. 97; as for the obvious identity of this name with the biblical name חררר, see my remark in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXV, 1924, p. 148 with note 2).

<sup>29</sup> As is well known, the «antediluvian section» of the so-called Sumerian King List counts *Bād-tibiraki* among the cities that existed before the deluge and names the «divine Tammûz [*dDumu-zi*], the shepherd» as one of its rulers, attributing to him a reign of 36000 years; cf. for the details Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago 1939, pp. 70 ff. and passim. Significantly enough, the Sumerian version of «Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld» mentions (in ll. 8 and 323) the temple *Emuškalamma* of *Bad-tibira* as one of the greatest sanctuaries of Inanna-Ištar; see S. N. Kramer in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* LXXXV, 1942, pp. 296 ff. and cf. his *Sumerian Mythology*, Philadelphia 1944, pp. 88 ff. In historical inscriptions, the city can be traced back at least to the time of Sîn-iddinam of Larsa (ca. 1847-1842 B.C.); cf. S. Langdon, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1923, p. 254, note 1.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the preceding footnote; see also Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 253 with note 1 and especially H. Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXIX, 1930, p. 259 with note 4.

<sup>31</sup> Sumerian origin of the term was taken for granted by Sayce and Langdon, the latter expressing himself as follows: «*Tibira*, metal



For precisely as the wavering between *r* and *l*, as occurring in the forms *Tabal*/תובל /Θοβαλ, on the one hand, and *tabura*, *tibira*, Θοβερ, on the other, is a characteristic of «Asianic» terms<sup>32</sup>, the different vocalism distinguishing *Tabal* from *Tubal*, *tibar* (see presently), *tibira* etc. recalls the variant forms of certain names which are «Asianic», and not Sumerian.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, there is no cogent argument for

worker ..... is probably the explanation of the name Tûbal-Cain in the Hebrew legend of the Ten Patriarchs, Genesis IV 22, Source J. The original Sumerian *tibira* ..... was transmitted to the Hebrews as *tôbal*, *tûbal*, and then explained by the Hebrew-Arabic word *Kāṣin*, metal worker. This combination was discovered by Sayce and communicated to me orally» (*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, II, Oxford 1923, p. 8, note 2).

<sup>32</sup> See above, note 28. As for the fact that, on the other hand, an interchange between a final *r* and a final *l* is extremely rare in Sumerian or in words borrowed by the Semites from the Sumerians, see Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1934, p. 93, note 1.

<sup>33</sup> I refer in the first place to the extremely old «Asianic» name *La-ba-ar-na* which, as is generally admitted [see lastly Sommer und Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattuṣili I. (Labarna II.)*, München 1938, p. 20, note 3], recurs in the sources of the 9<sup>th</sup> century as *Li-bur-na* and *Lu-bar-na*. That one and the same «Asianic» term may occur in variant forms the vocalism of which is as different as that of *Tabal* and *tibira* is manifest since, as I pointed out in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXVI, 1923, col. 542, *Ta-ma-al-ki-ia*, the name of a «Hittite» town in the southwestern part of Anatolia, figures as *Ti-mi-il<sub>5</sub>-ki-a* in the Old Assyrian documents from Kaniš. More recently, Friedrich, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XI, 1936-37, pp. 76 f. not only called attention to several instances of interchanges between *e* and *i* and *e* and *a* which he noticed in Protohittite, Hittite and other languages of Asia Minor but also showed that the «Hittite» divine name *Telipinuš* recurs in Protohittite as *Tālibin(u)*. Similarly, the «Asianic» personal name *Ta-ri-ku-da* known, e.g., from the Old Assyrian document AO 8298 (J. Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, 3<sup>me</sup> série, 3<sup>me</sup> partie, Paris 1937, No. 253) figures as *Ti/é-ri-ku-da* in another text from Kaniš (AO. 7313, published by Contenau, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, Paris 1920, No. 100). Besides shedding light on the fact that in the Middle Assyrian records *tabira* «metal worker» interchanges with *tibera* (see above, note 8)

regarding the coexistence of *tibira* and *dibira* as indicative of Sumerian origin of our term; for the neighbors of Hither Asia's «Asianic» and Hurrian peoples are known to have had difficulties in making out whether the latter pronounced a voiceless or a voiced stop.<sup>34</sup> Finally, an Old Akkadian inscription, transmitted to us through an Old Babylonian copy, relates that king Narām-Sin of Akkad (ca. 2266-2228 B.C.) slew the «ruler of *A-ra-am* and *Am*» at Mt. Tibar (<*i*> *Ti-ba-ar sa-tu-im*) and thus suggests that, some twenty centuries before Cicero<sup>35</sup> reported his successes against the Tebarani and Eleutherocilices of Mt. Amanus, this mountain range, or a part thereof, was known as Mt. Tibar. To be sure, besides recording the title of Narām-Sin's adversary and adding that he lost his life at that mountain, this laconic text contains no geographic

and explaining why the Τιβάρηνοι appear in some sources as *Tebarani* and *Tabereni* (see above, note 27), these observations point to the existence of a (dialectal?) pronunciation \**Tābal* of the country name which figures as *Ta-bal* in the Assyrian inscriptions. Once this is realized, we are in a position to account for the seemingly obscure biblical form תַּבַּל (var. תִּבַּל) by linking it with those neighbors of Israel who, according to Ez. 27.13, traded with Tabal. For as the Latin sources speak as of *suffetes* or *sufetes* of the פְּטָנִים of the Phoenician inscriptions, thus indicating that Old West Semitic *qātīl* becomes *qutel* in Phoenician, the conclusion imposes itself that it was the Tyrians or other Phoenicians who transformed \**Tābal* into *Tubal*. In consideration of Assyrian *tabira* (see above, p. 358), and since, in distinction from Phoenician, Hebrew shifts *qātīl* to *qōtēl*, it now also appears that Θοβῆς reflects a specifically Hebrew adaptation of \**tābir*. It is pertinent to recall in this connection that the East Anatolian town which figures as *Ti-ga-ra-ma* in the Old Assyrian records from Kaniš and as *Te-ga-ra-ma* in Hittite sources appears in the Bible as תִּגְרָמָה; in view of the interchange between *ā* and *e* exemplified by the Protohittite-Hittite divine name just quoted, it is hardly too daring to infer that the biblical form goes back to a dialectal \**Tāgarama*.

<sup>34</sup> This may be seen, for instance, from the inconsistency in the rendering of the name *Hepat*; see lastly J. Lewy, *HUCA* XV, 1940, p. 48, note 7 and Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, New Haven 1940-41, p. 41 with note 91.

<sup>35</sup> *Ad fam.* XV 4.

details, whence its editor, Thureau-Dangin, limited his comment to the remark « Les informations nous manquent sur « Aram et Am ». Il est probable que cet Aram n'a rien à voir avec les Araméens ». <sup>36</sup> But recent investigations into the Old West Semitic appellatives serving as designations of deities, cities, lands and mountains have shown (1), that proper names of the type *qatil* frequently alternate with *qatāl* forms and (2) that, in the course of time, *qatlān* (< *qatīlān*) and *qatālān* forms came to be used instead of the original names of the *qatil* and *qatāl* classes <sup>37</sup>. The name *A-ra-am* is therefore likely to be the *qatāl* variant of an Old West Semitic appellative name \**Arim* or \**Harim* <sup>38</sup>, which, in turn, may well have been the basis of a secondary form *Armān* or \**Ḥarmān* <sup>39</sup>. Accordingly, we are permitted to see in the seemingly obscure *A-ra-am* an old variant of the name *Ār-man* which a Neo-Assyrian explanatory list of geographical names <sup>40</sup> defines as an obsolete equivalent of

<sup>36</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie* VIII, 1911, p. 199. Whereas Thureau-Dangin thus refrained from linking Mt. *Tibar* and the Τιβάρηνοι or *Tebarani*, Langdon, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 1923, p. 418 and Hrozný, *Archiv Orientalní* I, 1929, p. 75 duly called attention to the virtual identity of the two names, which was also noted by Dhorme, *Revue Biblique* XXXVII, 1928, p. 488 and *Syria* XIII, 1932, p. 37 and by Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, Chicago 1935, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the evidence discussed in *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, p. 454 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Thus in consideration of the well-known fact that when written with Akkadian cuneiform signs, West Semitic names *primae* ḥ frequently look like names *primae* ' or *primae* '.

<sup>39</sup> See the preceding note. As an additional reason for taking into account the possibility that the Old West Semitic names here under discussion might belong to a root *primae* ḥ, I mention once more that *harim* seems to have been one of the various appellatives serving as descriptive names and epithets of Tammūz. Lack of space prevents me, however, from discussing here the theophoric personal names חרמשׁוב and חרמנתן, the divine names חרמביתאל and *Ar-man-nu* (< *Armānu*), the geographic names *Ḥarim* and *Ḥermōn* (< \**Ḥarmān*) and the mythological data in Gen. 6.1 ff. and Chapter VI ff. of the Book of Enoch which point in this direction.

<sup>40</sup> K. 4312 (VE 12 No. 6; for a transliteration see Hommel, *Eth-*

*Ḥat-tin*<sup>41</sup>, the well-known Assyrian designation of the region extending east and southeast of Mt. Amanos and irrigated by the 'Afrin and the Lower Orontes'<sup>42</sup>. Since the authors of the

*nologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, München 1926, pp. 459 f.). For the characteristics of this list and the cognate list to be quoted presently see Ungnad, *Subartu* (Berlin und Leipzig 1936), p. 61.

<sup>41</sup> See V R 12, No. 6, l. 47: [T]ir-ga-an IGI *ḤUR.SAG*<sup>KI</sup> = *Tirgan* *ša pān šadi* = *Ar-man*: *Ḥat-tin*. At first sight, the value of this identification of *Ar-man* with *PA-ā/tin* seems to be impaired by the fact that, disagreeing with K. 4312, the cognate list, VAT 10260 (published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1920, No. 183) determines «Tirgan (which lies) before the mountain» as a town or country dedicated to the cult of the deity *Bu-la-[la]*, whence Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XLV, 1925, pp. 222 f. asserted that *PA-din* «naturally cannot be the *PA-din* = *Ḥattin* of Northern Syria, but doubtless is the Padan of Agum II, mentioned with Alman = Arman». But the data available since, in 1928, Sidney Smith (*apud* Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Texts*, I) published *Narām-Sin*'s somewhat more detailed descriptions of his achievements in the western part of the Fertile Crescent confirm the correctness of the equation *Ar-man* = *Ḥat-tin*. For one of these texts (No. 275; see presently) links *Ar-ma-num*<sup>KI</sup> with Mt. Amanus in such a way as to make sure that one of the various towns named *Armān* was located in the region of Aleppo; cf. Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 79 ff. and my remarks in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 263 ff., in which, unaware of the equation here under discussion, I possibly was too quick in endorsing Smith's identification of *Armānum* with the city of Aleppo itself, which identification subsequently met also with the approval of Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, p. 51, note 2. — For the boundaries of *Ḥattin*, as resulting from the inscriptions of Aššūr-nāṣir-apli II and Šulmānu-ašarid III, see Schachermeyr, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, V, Berlin 1926, p. 136; Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, II, VIII, Stuttgart 1932, col. 1590 f.

<sup>42</sup> As in Akkadian as well as in other Semitic languages *mt* may be shifted to *nt* (see Zimmern, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XX, 1917, col. 102, note 1; Ungnad, *Grammatik des Akkadischen*, München 1949, p. 16; Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, 1908, § 58), it seems not impossible that, in the last analysis, the river name, *nār A-ra-an-tu* «Orontes» might belong to the same root as the country names *A-ra-am* and *Ar-ma-num*<sup>KI</sup>. If this

Old Akkadian inscriptions were more or less wont to use Akkadianized forms of the Old West Semitic geographic names ending in *-ān*<sup>43</sup>, we need, on the other hand, not hesitate to identify *Armān* with that country of *Ar-ma-num*<sup>KI</sup> against which Narām-Sîn undertook at least two campaigns<sup>44</sup>. As, furthermore, Narām-Sîn's inscriptions repeatedly link the conquest of *Armānum* with that of *Ib-la*<sup>KI</sup><sup>45</sup>, and as, finally, the inscription of Gudea's so-called statue B makes it virtually certain that the latter name denoted the mountainous country around the present town of 'Arsûz<sup>46</sup>, there remains no reason-

should actually be so, the Orontes would possibly have been named after the same deity as the Adonis River (Nahr Ibrahim) and the Nahr Na'mān (*Belus*).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the occurrence of *A-ma-nam SA.TU iserinim* in Ur Excavations, Texts, I, No. 275, col. I, ll. 22 f. and col. II, ll. 25 f.

<sup>44</sup> That Narām-Sîn marched more than once against Armānum, seems to follow from the occurrence of *BIL-iš* in col. II, l. 17 of the inscription just cited; with Sidney Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 76 f. (cf. also von Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLI, 1933, p. 102), I see in *BIL-iš* the adverb *ešši-iš*, to be rendered by «anew», «again».

<sup>45</sup> See, besides the text already quoted, the brief inscription first published by de Genouillac, *Revue d'Assyriologie* X, 1913, p. 101, No. 1 and its duplicate (Thureau-Dangin, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1899, p. 348; *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, I, Leipzig 1907, pp. 166 f. sub d). I take this occasion to call attention to the fact that *Ābēl*, the name of several towns in Syria and Palestine, is to *Iblā* as *Qādēš* is to *Qidšā*, the name under which the so-called City of Qādēš on the Orontes figures in several letters from Tell-el-Amarna. It seems therefore that, like *Armānum*, *Iblā* was a more or less common Old West Semitic place name.

<sup>46</sup> First proposed by Jensen, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* X, 1895, p. 361, the identification of 'Arsûz (<*ar-Ruṣuṣ* < Ῥωσός) with the town of «*Ur-su*<sup>KI</sup> in the mountain of *Īb-la*», from which Gudea imported platan wood and other woods (Statue B, col. V 53 ff.), has met with general approval for many years; cf., e.g., Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 427, Albright, *loc. cit.*, p. 197, Sidney Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 80, J. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 262 f., Honigmann, *loc. cit.*, col. 1582 f. and especially *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXIX, 1930, p. 302. Subsequently, new evidence in its favor became available when Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 51,



able doubt that that Mt. Tibar which saw Narām-Sîn's victory

note 2 made known that, in mentioning <sup>uru</sup>*Hal-pa-a-pa* in parallelism with <sup>uru</sup>*E-eb-la-a-pa*, an unpublished Hurrian text links Ibla with Aleppo. Nonetheless, having come to the conclusion that, contrary to a widely accepted view, the woods mentioned by Gudea do not include cedars, Güterbock, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLIV, 1938, pp. 136 f. dismissed this identification, to all appearances because he was informed of a forthcoming dictum of his teacher Landsberger who (*Belleten*, No. 10, 1939, p. 222) cavalierly asserted «Die Lage von Uršu am Meere ist sowohl für die Inschrift des Gudea, der Fichten-, Kiefern- und Platanenholz von dort einführt, wie für die hethitische Erzählung von der Belagerung dieser Stadt wie für den «kapp.» Brief TC I 18 unmöglich.» But it is manifest that neither teacher nor disciple took pains to find out whether or not the trees mentioned by Gudea grew or grow in the 'Arsüz region. Otherwise they would have noticed (1) that the modern town of Bailān, from which 'Arsüz is reached in a few hours, was formerly called *Platanos* (cf. Honigmann, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* XLVII, 1924, p. 32), (2) that other places of the same area were likewise known by this name, which survived in the Arabic period as *Balātūnus* (cf. Honigmann, *ibidem* and *loc. cit.* [see above, note 41], col. 1560), (3) that in *Baedeker's Palästina und Syrien*<sup>5</sup>, 1900, p. 401 f. attention is called to the many plane trees still growing in the vicinity of Antioch, and (4) that, according to the same source (p. 408), *pinus halepensis* and *pinus silvestris* are among the characteristic trees of the well-wooded mountains between Alexandrette and Bailān. In these circumstances, it is surprising to see that Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* (New Haven 1940), p. 43 was so impressed with Güterbock's reasoning that he expressed himself as follows: «*Uršu* is commonly identified with modern 'Arsüz on the Syrian coast which, in its turn, is equaled [sic] with Ὀγοσσός (Plutarch, *Dem.* 32), Πῶσος [sic] and with *Urrus* which according to Tiglat Pileasar III is a city in Unqu (= 'Amq). Landsberger has expressed his disagreement with this identification and advocated a position of *Uršu* at modern Urfa; he considers it a strong possibility that the modern name Urfa continues the Hittite name *Uršu*. Güterbock has defended Landsberger's opinion with new arguments and I concur with these two scholars.» One wonders in fact whether Goetze would have made these pompous statements had he known that, while his book was in the press, Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, p. 222 had already begun to reconsider his tentative identification of Uršu and Urfa, and that, some years later, he would take occasion to repudiate it altogether in his monograph *Sam'al* (Ankara 1948), p. 14, note 28 *in fine*.

over « the ruler (*bêl*) of *A-ra-am* » must have lain in the very region in which Cicero subsequently fought the *Tebarani*. However, for the sake of completeness, we call attention to the implications and to the significance of the fact that, according to the inscription mentioning Mt. Tibar, Narām-Sîn's adversary ruled not only over *Aram* but also over *Am*: As many an important Old West Semitic town was given the name of its principal deity<sup>47</sup>, and as *Am* is a normal Akkadian rendering of the Old West Semitic divine name \**Ĥam* (> Hebrew *Ĥām*<sup>48</sup>), it is a legitimate assumption that the old capital city of *Am* was so named because it was dedicated to the worship of the sun-god *Ĥammu* (> \**Ĥam* > *Ĥām*) whose cult is well attested for the regions east and south of the Amanos range<sup>49</sup>. On the other hand, a town originally called *Am*/\**Ĥam* is likely to figure in the younger cuneiform records as *Ammat*/\**Ĥammat*; for there are instances where, in its function as town name, a masculine appellative designating a god was supplanted by the corresponding feminine appellative<sup>50</sup>. Now, in the dates of some Neo-Babylonian contracts unearthed at Nêrab and published by Dhorme<sup>51</sup>, there actually appears a town named *ālAm-mat* in circumstances which suggest that *Ammat*/\**Ĥammat*, and hence also its predecessor, the ancient town of *Am*/\**Ĥam* mentioned by Narām-Sîn, was situated in the vicinity of

<sup>47</sup> Cf. above, p. 357 and the articles quoted *ibidem*, note 1.

<sup>48</sup> On the god *Ĥām* (< \**Ĥam* < *Ĥammu*) see *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, pp. 473 ff.

<sup>49</sup> See *ibidem*, pp. 434 f. and 455 ff. — When Landsberger (*op. cit.*, p. 47, note 117) felt impelled to announce his non-recognition of the sun-god *Ĥammu*, he expressed a platitude, for no one will expect him to render homage to a god supposed by the ancients to manifest himself in the sun. However, should he have intended to question not the existence of that deity but the evidence gathered by me in the treatise here cited, he should leave aside beliefs and disbeliefs and, instead, answer arguments with counter-arguments.

<sup>50</sup> See *ibidem*, p. 454 and cf. *ibidem*, pp. 437 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXV, 1928, pp. 55 ff.



Aleppo<sup>52</sup>. This being so, and since there is evidence to the effect that the *a* vowel of the appellative noun and divine name

<sup>52</sup> Those contracts — Nos. 8, 9, 12, 14, and 16 of the collection published by Dhorme, *loc. cit.* — were entered into by various members of a single Aramaean family who did business not only at *āAm-mat* but also at some other places probably located within the same region. No. 19 of the same collection, a contract concerning a debt payable *ina āNiri-bi*, shows that Nêrab was among those places and thus explains the find of the documents from *Ammat* at the well-known site 6 kilometers south east of Aleppo. As I intimated in *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, p. 432, note 26, Dhorme's proposal to identify this town of *Ammat* with the biblical *Ḥamāt* (the present حمات on the Orontes) is unacceptable, in the first place in view of the considerable distance separating the latter from Nêrab and Aleppo, and secondly because the Neo-Babylonian transliteration of the biblical place name חמַת was the same as the one usual in the preceding Late Assyrian period, viz. *Ḥa-ma-a-tū*; cf. col. I, l. 9 of the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, *B.M.* No. 35382 (latest edition by Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London 1924, pp. 110 ff. and pl. XI ff.) and col. II, l. x + 12 of the Assyrian list of towns, K. 4384, which I discussed *loc. cit.*, p. 450. Perhaps it should be mentioned that our town name *Am-mat* might have been the radical word of the gentilic *\*A-ma-ū*, the existence of which seems to result from the occurrence of [*sābēm*leš *ma-at A-ma-e<sup>KI</sup>* and *ma-at A-ma-e<sup>KI</sup>* in ll. 22 f. and 37, respectively, of the inscription published by Sidney Smith in his recent monograph on «The Statue of Idri-mi» (London 1949). For on the supposition that *Am(m)ā'u* (*casus obliquus pluralis*: *A-ma-e*) is a younger variant of *\*Am(m)āiūm* or *\*Am(m)āwum*, that gentilic may be compared with a few older nisbe forms in *-āiūm* and *-āwum* which, to all appearances, belong to the place names in *-at*: In the texts from Kaniš, there figures an Old Assyrian gentilic *Ku-na-na-ma-i-um* which is certainly derived from the non-Assyrian place name *Ku-na-na-ma-at/d* (variant: *Ku-na-na-mi-it/d*; for some of the numerous occurrences see J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe*, Konstantinopel 1926, p. 72 and Bilgie, *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten* No. 39, 1946, p. 419), and a gentilic in *-āwum* possibly derived from the name of the extremely old town of *Tal-ḥa-ad/t* (see below, note 77) seems to constitute the place name *\*Ta-al-ḥa-wu-um<sup>KI</sup>* attested by the genitive *Ta-al-ḥa-wi-im<sup>KI</sup>* which figures, *inter alia*, in a text from the Habur Valley quoted by Gadd, *Iraq* VII, 1940, p. 51 and in a letter published sub No. 4 by Jean, *Archives royales de Mari*, II, Paris 1941,

*hamm(u)* and its derivatives was shifted to *i* or *e*<sup>53</sup>, the conclusion imposes itself that the second capital of the hapless « ruler of *A-ra-am* and *Am* » must be identified with that town 55 kilometers west of Aleppo and 35 kilometers east of Antioch which figures as *Imma* and *Emma* in Greek and Latin sources<sup>54</sup>. It is easy to see that this identification, first proposed, on other grounds, by Sidney Smith<sup>55</sup>, of *Am* with a place not far from the southern end of the Amanos range is in perfect agreement with the fact that Narām-Sîn speaks of *Am* in recording a campaign which, as was demonstrated, was directed against *Armān*. For his above-cited fuller description of his subsequent war against *Armān* expressly states that, after « Nergal<sup>56</sup> opened the path of the divine<sup>57</sup> Narām-Sîn, the mighty, and (thus) gave him *Armānum* and *Ibla* », he « in addition presented to him *Amānum*, the mountain of cedar(s), and the Upper Sea »<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> See *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, pp. 475 f.

<sup>54</sup> For the references see Honigmann, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* XLVII, 1924, pp. 3 f. and Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, pp. 231 f. The fact that Ἰμμα recurs as '*imm*' in the Arabic sources does not preclude the etymology here proposed; for owing to the tendency, discussed by Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 120, to pronounce foreign names as distinctly as possible, the Arabs quite frequently substituted ' for the *spiritus lenis* of the Greek names, whence, e.g., the ancient Ἀφαξα (= Hebrew 'āfēq) is now called '*afqā*'.

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>56</sup> Nergal, the god of the dead and of pestilence, appears here as the god of war as which he is well-known from records originating from the subsequent periods of Assyro-Babylonian history.

<sup>57</sup> By means of the adjective « divine » I paraphrase the sense of the sign for *ilum* « god » which the scribe prefixed to the name of king Narām-Sîn in the belief that divine status had been accorded to him by the gods; for the ideas underlying the conception of Narām-Sîn's superhuman status see now Hildegard Lewy, *Archiv Orientalní* XVII, 1949, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>58</sup> See col. I : 12 *dNērgal* 13 *pā-da-an* 14 *dNa-ra-am-dSîn* 15 *dannim*

Having found that, as early as the 23<sup>rd</sup> pre-Christian century, the « Asianic » appellative *tībar/tabar* « the metal worker » served as designation of a mountain to be located in the land of the Τιβαρηνοί of the Amanos region<sup>59</sup>, we obviously are now confronted with two interrelated questions, viz. (1) whether that mountain was so named because it was, like Mt. Tabor, dedicated to the above-discussed cult of the divine metal worker, Tammûz, and (2) whether the Tammûz-cult on Mt. Tabor originated with people who came to Palestine from the land of the Τιβαρηνοί or metal workers par excellence. While there is no direct evidence to this effect, such an assumption seems, in fact, possible. In the first place because it is reasonable to surmise that people from metal producing Asia Minor brought that Asianic designation to the various lands of the Fertile Crescent, secondly because fertility cults similar to the Tammûz religion are known to have flourished in Asia Minor<sup>60</sup>, and thirdly because the names *Hārīm* = Hebrew תָּרִים<sup>61</sup> and \**Harmān* = Old Akkadian *Armānum* = Hebrew תְּרִמֹן<sup>62</sup>, i.e. geographic names probably referring to the cult of Tammûz, are common to the region of the Amanos range and Northern Palestine.

At this point, it is pertinent to resume the discussion of the well-known fact that the Alexandrian translators of the prophetic books of the Old Testament, as well as Josephus, refer to Mt. Tabor as τὸ Ἰταβύριον<sup>63</sup>, thus using a name that

16*ip-te-ma* 17*Ar-ma-nam*<sup>KI</sup> 18*ù* 19*Ib-la*<sup>KI</sup> 20*i-ḏi-šum* 21*ù* 22*A-ma-nam* 23*SA.TU*  
24*išerinim* 25*ù* 26*ti-a-am-tám* 27*a-lá-tám* 28*i-qí-iš-šu[m]*.

<sup>59</sup> That the early inhabitants of this region included people to be designated as « metal workers » (Τιβαρηνοί) is all the more likely since Sargon attests mining activities in the neighborhood of the Amanos range; see below, p. 385.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 23, Stuttgart und Berlin 1913, §§ 484 ff.

<sup>61</sup> See above, note 17.

<sup>62</sup> See above, note 39.

<sup>63</sup> For the references see, for instance, Boehmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 163.

recurs as Ἀταβύριον in other Mediterranean regions<sup>64</sup> and notably on the island of Rhodes which, according to Plinius Secundus and Hesychius, was formerly known as Ἀταβυρία and whose highest mountain (still today called Ἀτάυρος) was the site of a sanctuary dedicated to the cult of a Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος<sup>65</sup>. The assumption that in substituting Ἰταβύριον for Tabor the Septuagint was in fault is unlikely because, as was justly emphasized by Eissfeldt<sup>66</sup>, Polybius, Hesychius and other non-Jewish sources also designate Mt. Tabor as τὸ Ἰταβύριον, τὸ Ἀταβύριον or τὸ Ἀτάβυρον<sup>67</sup>. But it is also manifest that this evidence is not sufficient to permit the linguist to see in ἀταβυρ a genuine variant of *tibar/tabir/tabur* or the historian to regard the Rhodian cult of Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος as virtually identical with the worship practised on Mt. Tabor. While, accordingly, it is inadmissible to subscribe to Gressmann's assertion that «phönizische Kolonisten den Baal des Berges Tabor dorthin [i.e. to Rhodes] verpflanzt hatten»<sup>68</sup> or to Eissfeldt's postulate that «der Kult und der Name des rhodischen Atabyrion von dem palästinischen Tabor nach Rhodos übertragen ist»<sup>69</sup>, it is obviously our task to ascertain whether ἀταβυρ may have meant «metal worker», as seems indeed possible since the occurrence of double forms with and without a prefixed *a* (or, less frequently, *i*) is a characteristic of numerous geographic and ethnic names of the Anatolian peninsula and the adjacent territories to the south and east of it<sup>70</sup>. In other words, we have to find out whether

<sup>64</sup> For details and for the references see, e.g., Eissfeldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17 f.

<sup>65</sup> See especially Strabo's *Geographica* XIV 2, 12 (p. 655) : ὁ Ἀτάβυρις, ὄρος τῶν ἐνταῦθα [i.e. on the island of Rhodes] ὑψηλότατον, ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου.

<sup>66</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 22 f.

<sup>67</sup> For the references see, for instance, Eissfeldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>68</sup> See Eissfeldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>69</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 25; cf. *ibidem*, p. 33.

<sup>70</sup> For lists of such double forms see especially M. Streck, *Zeitschrift*

the name Ἀταβυρία may or may not be rendered by «Land of the Metal Workers». The authors who alone can provide an answer to this question, namely the classic geographers and historians are, in fact, acquainted with traditions about Rhodian metal workers in the light of which that translation must be considered not only possible but certain. Strabo begins his report on those traditions with a remark to the effect that Rhodes was first called Ophiussa and Stadia and «subsequently *Telchinis*, after the *Telchines* who settled on the island»<sup>71</sup>; after stating that according to some authors (whom, like those referred to afterwards, he does not name) the *Telchines* were «maligners and sorcerers, besprinkling the water of the Styx with sulphur in order to destroy animals and plants»<sup>72</sup>, he

*für Assyriologie* XIV, 1899, p. 139, note 1 and P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* XXI, 1933, pp. 86 ff., who correctly intimates (*loc. cit.*, p. 89) that the rule according to which proper names of Old Anatolian origin were provided with an *a*-prefix certainly also applied to ordinary appellative nouns. See also E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* VIII, 1937, p. 15 with note 1.

<sup>71</sup> As we shall presently see that Τελχινίς is a variant of Τελχινία and that the latter name has virtually the same sense as has Ἀταβυρία, it is interesting to note that the younger Pliny (*Nat. hist.* V, 36 § 132) begins a lengthy enumeration of various names of Rhodes with Ophiussa and concludes it with Atabyria, without mentioning Telchinia at all. As for the etymology of *Telchin*, see below, p. 380, note 77.

<sup>72</sup> By betraying a good acquaintance with the conditions in a region where copper is extracted from the earth, this detail clearly shows that, contrary to the opinion of the last generations of classic scholars, the *Telchines* were not a purely mythological host of ancient gods or demons to be defined as a sort of gnomes and dwarfs, but, as maintained by the tradition, people who produced copper. In order to substantiate this statement we recall the following data: The most common copper ore is chalcopyrite,  $\text{CuFeS}_2$ . The metal is won from this sulphurous compound by roasting, which means the pieces of ore as extracted from the mine are piled, in the form of a pyramid, on beams of wood which are ignited. In the slow process of roasting, the major part of the sulphur contained in the compound is oxidized and escapes as sulphur-dioxide,

further takes notice of the opinion of others who, on the contrary, acknowledged the outstanding workmanship of the *Telchines* and affirmed that they « were the first to work iron and copper »<sup>73</sup>. Much the same data are recorded in an excerpt<sup>74</sup> from Suetonius' book *Περὶ δυσφημῶν λέξεων* which, dealing especially with the *Telchines*<sup>75</sup>, deserves to be quoted here because the different wording, the variant *Telchinia* and an additional detail point to the possibility that this author consulted sources not utilized by Strabo. Be that as it may, according to the information available to Suetonius, certain writers related that the *Telchines* were inhabitants of Rhodes, « whence the island was also called *Telchinia* ». ..... « There are also (authors) who attribute to

while the remaining sulphur is sublimated and can, at least in part, be recovered. Both the escaping sulphur-dioxide and the sublimated sulphur have the peculiarity of annihilating all vegetation in the surroundings of the pile, an effect which the ancients could not fail to notice. If they attributed the desolation caused by the process to the water irrigating the fields in the neighborhood of the roasting pile (cf. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XIV, 46 ff., who, being more explicit than is Strabo in the passage here under discussion, condemns the *Telehines* in the following poetical terms: « They drew the water of the Styx with their angry hands and made barren the soil of fertile Rhodes in sprinkling all around the seed-fields with waters of Tartaros »), they probably noticed that small amounts of sulphur-dioxide dissolved in the water, thus making it acid and, unless boiled, very bad-tasting. — As for an explanation of the belief that the *Telchines* were connected with the netherworld, see below, note 77.

<sup>73</sup> See Strabo XIV, 2,7 (pp. 653 f.): Ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ Ῥόδος πρότερον Ὀφιοῦσσα καὶ Σταδία, εἶτα Τελχινίς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκησάντων Τελχίνων τὴν νῆσον · οὗς οἱ μὲν βασκανοὺς φασὶ καὶ γόητας, θείῳ καταρραίνοντας τὸ τῆς Στυγὸς ὕδαρ ζῶων τε καὶ φυτῶν ὀλέθρου χάριν · οἱ δὲ τέχνας διαφέροντας τοῦναντίον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιτέχνων βασκανθῆναι..... πρώτους δ' ἐργάσασθαι σιδηρόν τε καὶ χαλκόν.

<sup>74</sup> Here cited after Chr. Blinkenberg's edition in *Hermes* L, 1915, p. 278.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Blinkenberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 277,



them the art of making images of the gods and the finding of the mines »<sup>76</sup>.

The significance of these traditions is obvious. On the one hand, they enable us to draw the conclusion already alluded to, viz. that the name Ἀταβυρία originated among people acquainted with a word ἄταβυρ «metal worker» and went to see in Rhodes the home, or the main habitat, of an ancient population famous as metal producers and smiths. On the other, they are most helpful in determining the meaning of the designation Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος in so far as they leave no doubt about the virtual synonymy of the two non-Greek terms ἄταβυρ and τελχιν<sup>77</sup>, a synonymy which implies that Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος

<sup>76</sup> Ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ῥόδον οἰκοῦντας, ὅθεν καὶ Τελχινία ἡ νῆσος ἐλέγετο..... ἱεῖσι δὲ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀγαματοποιῖαν καὶ τὴν τῶν μετάλλων εὕρεσιν εἰς τούτους ἀναφέρουσιν.

<sup>77</sup> That τελχιν is a pre-Greek term of «Asianic» or Hurrian origin is most probable, on the one hand, because all attempts at finding a satisfactory Greek or Indo-European etymology have failed (cf. Herther in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Zweite Reihe, Neunter Halbband, Stuttgart 1934, col. 198 f.) and, on the other hand, because *tilha-* (and its variant *talha-*) is the basic element of non-Semitic proper names that occur in the Old Assyrian documents from Kaniš dated in the 19<sup>th</sup> pre-Christian century. I refer especially to the personal name *Tal-ha-ma* (Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, 2<sup>me</sup> série, Paris 1928, No. 76, ll. 1 and 7) and to the name of the afore-mentioned town of *Tal-ha-ad/t* (see above, p. 374, note 52) the Akkadianized form of which is, as was first shown by Goetze, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVII, 1937, p. 107, note 8, traceable as early as the time of Nārām-Sîn. (For the references and for an attempt at locating this town, see *Halil Edhem Memorial Volume*, I, Ankara 1947, pp. 11 ff.) It is further significant that the second syllable of the term τελχιν is obviously identical with the accumulated affixes *hi/a* + *n(a/i)* by which the Hurrian dialects of Asia Minor and the adjacent countries form patronymics, gentiles and other derivatives expressing an appurtenance. (For the details and for the fact that the accumulated affixes *hi* + *n(a/i)* alternate with the simple affix *-hi/a* see J. Friedrich, *Analecta Orientalia* XII, 1935, pp. 122 ff. and J. Lewy, *Revue des Études Sémitiques* 1938, pp. 49 ff.) Hence it would appear that *tilha-* and *telhin*



means as much as \* Ζεὺς Τελχίνιος<sup>78</sup>. This being so, we need not hesitate to define Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος as the name of a statue representing Zeus and regarded as a work of the ancient smiths of Rhodes<sup>79</sup>; for the Fifth Book of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca*

means «belonging to *til/tel*». *Til/tel*, in turn, may well be associated with the Akkadian appellative *tilu* (var. *tillu*) «uninhabited region», «desolate ground», «waste land», all the more so since this term has no Semitic etymology. This being so, and because, on the other hand, the professional activities of the *Telchines* necessarily caused the devastation of the territory on which they lived (see above, note 72), it is hardly too daring to see in οἱ Τελχῖνες a designation to be rendered by «The People of the Waste Land». This interpretation of the appellative noun *τελχιν* must, in fact, be contemplated all the more since it opens the way for an explanation of the narratives in which the Τελχῖνες are linked with the Tartaros. For it is a matter of fact that, much like other terms denoting uncultivated fields and the like, *tilu* was a designation of the lower world (cf. K. Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt*, Helsingforsiae 1934, p. 23), whence it follows that *telhin* could be taken to mean «he of the netherworld», «inhabitant» or «outgrowth of hell». For the sake of completeness, it may be added that, in consideration of these data, the Hurrian divine name *dTil-la*, which occurs in a Nuzi document and, as a theophoric element, in a number of typically Hurrian personal names (for references see A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, New Haven 1912, p. 204 and I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, Chicago 1943, pp. 266 f.), is perhaps to be regarded as a designation of the ruler of the netherworld. A homonymous town that might have been named after this deity is mentioned in Sennacherib's so-called Bavian Inscription within an enumeration of eighteen towns to the north of Nineveh some of which have names typically Hurrian (for the details see F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* [Leipzig 1881], pp. 187 f. and especially Th. Jacobsen and S. Lloyd, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan*, Chicago 1935, pp. 36 and 40 f.). As for a mountain called *šadTi-la* see Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>78</sup> As for the possibility that the expression Ζεὺς Τελχίνιος actually occurs in an inscription, see Herter, *loc. cit.*, col. 203 f.

<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately, there is hardly a possibility of answering the question which arises at this point, *viz.* whether the god represented by that statue was conceived as a metal-worker and, accordingly, provided with attributes characterizing him as such.

*historica* contains the following statement : « The first inhabitants of the island named Rhodes were the so-called *Telchines* ..... They are said to have been the first to make images of gods, and some of the ancient statues are said to have been surnamed after them; for Apollon is said to have been called « Telchinian » among the people of Lindos, as are Hera and the Nymphs among the people of Ialysos and is Hera among the people of Kamiros »<sup>80</sup>. The proof, thus derived from Diodorus' remarks, that Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος "is to be rendered by « Zeus of the Metal Workers » can, of course, not be regarded as an argument in favor of the assumption that the Greek cult practised at the Rhodian Atabyrion originated on the Palestinian Tabor, all the less so since the Greeks maintained that the Atabyrian form of Zeus worship came from Crete to Rhodes<sup>81</sup>. Much the same is to be said about the earlier cult the existence of which on the same Rhodian mountain may be surmised in consideration of the non-Greek origin of the term τὸ Ἀταβύριον (ῥος). To be sure, the above-mentioned fact that the mountain so named was also called ὁ Ἀτάβυρις « The Metal Worker » seems to indicate that the early population of Rhodes included elements as much accustomed to naming a mountain after a god as were the people who worshipped a deity called « The Metal Worker » on the homonymous mountain of Palestine. However, as that habit was widespread in the countries of the ancient Near East, this observation does not prove that immigrants from the Tabor region were the first to worship on Mt. Ἀτάβυρις. Should it nevertheless seem advisable to

<sup>80</sup> See Diodorus Siculus V, 55 : τὴν δὲ νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ῥόδον πρῶτοι κατέκρησαν οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι Τελχίνες..... ἀγάλματά τε θεῶν πρῶτοι κατασκευάσαι λέγονται, καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀφιδρυμάτων ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐπωνομάσθαι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Λινδίοις Ἀπόλλωνα Τελχίνιον προσαγορευθῆναι, παρὰ δὲ Ἰαλυσίοις Ἥραν καὶ νύμφας Τελχινίας, παρὰ δὲ Καμειρεῦσιν Ἥραν Τελχινίαν.

<sup>81</sup> For the references (Diodorus V, 59 and Apollodorus, *Bibl.* III 2,1) see Eissfeldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

maintain that the Atabyrian Zeus cult whose particular features are almost completely unknown to us, originated on the Asiatic continent, it is perhaps indicated to associate it with the peculiar Zeus cult that bears the name of the North Syrian town of Δολιχή, i.e. a name which, in the last analysis, might be identical with the appellative τελχῖνες<sup>82</sup>. For that cult is characterized as truly «Atabyrian», on the one hand, by the fact that Doliche is situated within, or in the immediate neighborhood of, the metal-producing land of Tabal/Θοβῆ and thus within a region dominated by a mountain, or rather mountain range, which, precisely as Rhodes' Mt. Atabyris, was, and is, called «The Metal Worker»<sup>83</sup> and, on the other hand, by those well-known dedicatory inscriptions in which the words *I(ovi) o(ptimo) n(aximo) Dolicheno*<sup>84</sup> are followed by the significant formulas *nato ubi ferrum exoritur* or *ubi ferrum nascitur*<sup>85</sup>. While these data make it very difficult to endorse Eissfeldt's assertion that Mt. Tabor was the original home of the Rhodian cult of Zeus Atabyrios, the linguistic evidence discussed in the preceding pages in fact indicates that the Greek writers who called that Palestinian mountain τὸ Ἀταβύριον (ῥος) were entitled to do so; for a Hellenized pre-Greek term which means «Mountain of the Metal Worker» is certainly a suitable

<sup>82</sup> This seems not impossible since, as was mentioned above, the simple affix *-hi/a* alternates with the accumulated affixes *hi/a + n(a/i)*, and since, in the course of the centuries, the *t* of τελχῖνες might have been shifted to *d*.

<sup>83</sup> That the name Ταῦρος (which, as is generally admitted, does not mean «The Bull») goes back to \*Ταβρ-ος < \*Ταβαρ and, accordingly, means «The Metal Worker» seems quite possible when it is kept in mind (1) that Ἀτάβρος is the modern form of the Rhodian mountain name Ἀτάβυρος, and (2) that \*ἀταβυρ turned out to be a by-form of *tabar/tabir*.

<sup>84</sup> As for the variants *Dulcheno*, *Duliceno* etc., see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, Cambridge 1914, pp. 604 ff. and F. Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, Paris 1917, pp. 196 ff.

<sup>85</sup> For the meaning of these formulas see especially Cumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff.; as for their Greek equivalents, see also Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

designation of the high place where, as was shown above, pp. 361 ff., Tammûz was invoked as « The Metal Worker » and « The Lord of the Net ».

Considerations similar to those prompting us to reject the attempt at identifying the Rhodian Zeus Atabyrios with the fertility god residing on Mt. Tabor prevent us, of course, from suggesting the identity of the latter deity with Ζεὺς Δολιχαῖος. But the fact just mentioned that worshippers of the divine lord of Doliche added to their god's name the words *natus ubi ferrum nascitur* may serve as a point of departure in discussing the question as to why the ancient peoples of Babylonia, Assyria and Palestine called « The Metal Worker » a deity usually personifying the yearly growth and decay of plant life in general and of the grain in particular. As was felt by Cook<sup>86</sup> and Cumont<sup>87</sup>, the use of that formula reflects an ancient belief according to which the metals were borne by the earth, the place of their birth being the mountains where they were mined. The classic and postclassic sources quoted in this connection by those savants — mainly brief statements by lexicographers describing the iron-working people of the *Chalybes* as a Scythian tribe that lived ὅπου σίδηρος γίνεται — give the impression that the definition of the metals as offspring of Mother Earth cannot be traced beyond the Pontos region and other parts of Asia Minor. However, various cuneiform sources show that the same mythological theory as to the origin of the metals was current among the ancient nations of the Fertile Crescent. The tablet K. 2801<sup>88</sup>, for instance, in which king Esarhaddon of Assyria (681-669 B.C.), deals, *inter alia*, with the making of molten images of certain deities, describes the ruddy metal called *ṣarîru*, i.e. a kind of *aurichalcum*, as « the

<sup>86</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 631.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>88</sup> K. 2801 was published by Meissner und Rost, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* III, 1898, pp. 287 ff.; a transliteration and translation by the same savants is found *ibidem*, pp. 228 ff.

offspring of *Arallu*<sup>89</sup>, the soil of its mountain »<sup>90</sup> — a description which recalls the well-known fact that in the religious text, K. 4415<sup>91</sup>, « the *Arallu* mountain » is defined as « the mountain of gold »<sup>92</sup>. As regards the copper, the « Annals » of Esarhad-don's grandfather Sargon<sup>93</sup> include, in a slightly damaged context, the following passage: « At that time ..... Mt. *Ba-'i-il-ša-pu-na*<sup>94</sup>, the great mountain, gave birth to copper and thus I mixed the heaped masses of soil of those mountains, and into the (melting-)furn[ace]<sup>95</sup> ..... I caused (them) to en[ter]. »<sup>96</sup> Equally significant is the occurrence in the same Assyrian source of a reference to *par-zil-lum bi-nu-tu šadû* « iron, the offspring of the mountain »<sup>97</sup> and of a passage which, to all appearances, is to be rendered as follows : « Iron

<sup>89</sup> I. e. « The Netherworld », a term frequently used in the sense of « The Earth »; cf. Tallqvist, *op. cit.* [see above, note 77], p. 7.

<sup>90</sup> See rev., l. 36 : *ina ša-ri-ri ru-uš-še-e nab-nit a-ra-al-li e-pir šad-di-šû*.

<sup>91</sup> As for this text (published in II R 51, No. 1), see especially F. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>92</sup> See l. 11 : *šadA-ra-lu lip-šur šad ħurāši* « May the Arallu mountain dissolve (the spell), the mountain of gold! »

<sup>93</sup> H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Leipzig 1889, I, pp. 2 ff.; II, pl. 1 ff.

<sup>94</sup> I. e. *בַּעַל שָׁפָן*.

<sup>95</sup> This restoration and rendering of *ki-i-r[i]* was first proposed by A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, Part I, Paris 1929, pp. 38 f.

<sup>96</sup> See ll. 204 f. : *šadBa-'i-il-ša-pu-na šadû rabû siparra iš-te-niš ib-ni-ma ša šadânimeš ni šu-nu-ti ši-pik ep-ri-šû-nu ab-lul-ma a-na ki-i-r[i] .... ū-še-ri-[ib]*. This restoration of ll. 204 f. (= ll. 230 f. of Lie's transliteration and translation), which differs but slightly from that proposed by Lie, is based upon the texts edited by Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 8, No. 16 (ll. 9 f.) and pl. 19, No. 39 (l. 9); Lie's rendering of these lines makes no sense.

<sup>97</sup> Thus according to Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76, l. 439; II, pl. 24, No. 51, l. 16. Winckler's translation « eisen, erzeugnisse der berge », which was adopted by Lie, *op. cit.*, p. 81, is based upon an erroneous interpretation of the singular *binûtu* « offspring », « product ».

was born in Mt. *Tušanira* (and) Mt. *E-li-bîr*<sup>98</sup>, our stronghold »<sup>99</sup>. In other words, according to records which were made known throughout the vast Neo-Assyrian empire and which, no doubt, reflected beliefs shared by many of the peoples then dominated by the Assyrians, the existence of the metals that were found in the soil of various areas of the ancient Near East was attributed to the generative powers of the Earth. This being so, and as those chthonian powers were identical with the productive forces thought to manifest themselves in the growth of vegetation, we may well assume that people who were wont to see in Tammûz the embodiment of plant life considered it logical to link their god with the existence, the mining and the practical use of the metals and, accordingly, to add to his many epithets the title « The Metal Worker ». That the ancients are likely to have reasoned along such lines is, in fact, learned from the Bible; for the well-known 28<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Book of Job which describes the human effort to obtain the various metals compares the iron and copper taken from the soil and from the stone with the bread that comes from the earth.

<sup>98</sup> This reading of the doubtful sign follows with fair certainty from the fact that our text mentions in ll. 192 ff. (= ll. 218 ff. of Lie's transliteration and translation) a town named *El-li-bîr*. As it is expressly stated that the town was to serve as a fortress against the Kasku (see Lie, *op. cit.*, p. 36, note 3), it is, in fact, likely that *Ellibîr* was situated in a district where iron was mined, the Kasku being known to have settled in the metal-producing regions of Asia Minor.

<sup>99</sup> See ll. 199 f. (= Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 19, No. 39, l. 6 + pl. 8, No. 16, ll. 4 f.): *ina šadTu-ša-ni-ra šadE-li-bîr (!) du-ri-ni ib-ba-ni par-zil-lu.*



## TWO ELIJAH STORIES IN JUDEO-ARABIC TRANSMISSION

JULIAN OBERMANN

Yale University

DRAMATIC narratives centered around the prophet Elijah — more precisely, around the legendary hypostasis of this prophet — form a favorite, characteristic topic of Jewish literature in post-biblical times. In the nature of things, the annals of that literature commonly available need not be assumed to have preserved for us the entire scope of such narratives, as little as they may be taken to have brought down to us the entire bulk of popular Agada current in the talmudic period in general. Nothing, in fact, would be more natural than that a goodly number of genuine agadic materials should have failed to reach us: either because they had remained unrecorded altogether, for whatever reason; or, and this is perhaps more likely, because they do not happen to be incorporated in the rabbinical compilations extant. Some of those materials, including Elijah stories, may thus have been lost to us forever. Others would appear to have found their way, with more or less substantial alterations, into contemporary writings of non-rabbinic origin. Witness the numerous elements found in writings of this kind — in the Hellenistic literature, in the New Testament, both canonical and apocryphal, in the Church Fathers, and even in the Koran — which may be discerned at first sight as being of agadic age and provenience, but which do not recur in the native documentation of the Agada, at least as far as that documentation has come into our possession.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is entirely possible, of course, that agadic materials that have not been recorded and, at any rate, are not found in the common rabbinic



In recent times, a number of precisely such elements have come to light through the rather late medium of Judeo-Arabic literature. Particularly instructive are two Elijah narratives transmitted to us, obviously from ancient agadic channels but in Arabic adaptation, by a North-African Jewish authority of the eleventh century — the renowned Nissim Ibn Shahn of Cairouan. They are found among the not inconsiderable « unidentified material » he embodied in his Book of Comfort, that is, among the material for which no counterpart appears to be found in rabbinic literature, although, by his own testimony, it was this literature that served as the sole source of reference for his work.<sup>2</sup> His testimony, moreover, is borne out by the plain fact that the materials underlying the great majority of his « comfort » lessons — stories, homilies, parables, similes, maxims — may easily be identified, as to their origin, in the extant talmudic and midrashic writings.

In substance, the two narratives have long been known from a medieval Hebrew paraphrase of Nissim's work, which bore the title *Ḥibbûr Yāfê mē-ha-Yēšû'â*, and which had been commonly held to represent an independent composition until

writings — especially stories and anecdotes about personages of the past — have been handed down, from one generation to another, by the medium of *oral* discourses and sermons regularly held in synagogues, in houses of learning, and upon occasion of solemn gatherings (weddings, funerals, etc.); cf. below, n. 28. Thus we may perhaps account for certain stories preserved only in Rashi, the *ʿĀrūk*, the so-called Minor Midrashim (such as collected in A. Jellinek, *Bêṭ ham-Midrāš*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1853-73), and elsewhere. Attention should be given, in particular, to the extra-talmudic materials found in a collection of agadic narratives that was estimated by the late M. Gaster to be a (pre-amoraic!) work of the fourth century and was published by him from a manuscript he thought « belongs latest to the XII or XIII century »; see his *Exempla of the Rabbis* (London and Leipzig, 1924), pp. 39 ff. and, for the text of the collection (a critical edition of which would be highly desirable), pp. 1-191 of the part printed in Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> See below, nn. 4 and 24.

its Arabic prototype was discovered some fifty odd years ago.<sup>3</sup> As far as can be seen, the following translation is the first attempt to render, into a modern tongue, the two Elijah stories, or indeed any part of the Book of Comfort, from the Arabic original of this work.

In the main, the translation offered here follows the writer's edition of the discovered Arabic text.<sup>4</sup> Occasionally, however, the sentence division of the translation will be seen to differ from that suggested in the text edition. For the sake of precision, too, square brackets have been used in instances where one or more versions of the *Hibbûr Yâfê* appear to offer better readings than does the unique Arabic manuscript, which latter is neither too well-preserved in itself nor the product of an over-competent or a particularly painstaking copyist. Again, in cases where the proper reading of a word or phrase could be surmised by the criterion of context only, angular brackets have been put about the given word or phrase. In keeping with a standing habit of Judeo-Arabic writings, which is as a rule followed throughout the Book of Comfort, certain elements in our two narratives are given in their original, rather than in arabicized, forms: the name of *Elijah*, together with the customary honorific formula of *blessed memory*, in both narratives; and the name of *Joshua*, together with the title *Rabbi*, as well as that of *Ben Sirah*, in the first narrative.<sup>5</sup> These elements have therefore been

<sup>3</sup> For the appraisal of the HY, by modern scholars, prior to the discovery of its Arabic original, see the writer's article «Ein Werk Agadisch-Islamischen Synkretismus» (in *ZS*, 5, 1927), pp. 3 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In *Studies in Islam and Judaism — The Arabic Original of Ibn Shâhîm's Book of Comfort* (Yale University Press, 1933), to be referred to below as BC; for a list of the «unidentified material,» see *ibidem*, p. XXVII.

<sup>5</sup> In the first narrative, *Joshua* is mentioned once without the title, and twice *Elijah* without the honorific formula — presumably, an inadvertent omission of the copyist; in the second narrative, the mention

italicized in the translation, as has also, of course, the verbatim quotation from Sirach, while the title preceding the name of Joshua and the formula following the mention of Elijah have been abbreviated — to *R.* and *o. b. m.*, respectively — as often as this is done by the copyist.<sup>6</sup> Finally, where it has seemed necessary to clarify the translation by an amplifying word or phrase, the latter has been put in parentheses.

#### 1. STORY OF ELIJAH'S PERPLEXING ACTIONS<sup>7</sup>

An incident once befell *R. Joshua* by which he became greatly distraught, until its meaning was (subsequently) made clear to him.

He had namely fasted, and made supplications, and prayed to the Lord that He permit him to see *Elijah, o. b. m.* One day, then, on a road, he did come upon him. He said to him, «Hast thou a want [that I might accomplish for thee]?» «I desire to travel with thee,» he replied, «in order that I might witness some of the wondrous things which thou workest in this world.» «But surely,» he said, «thou wouldst not be able to endure what thou wilt see of my works, and I would have to trouble myself with thee: to explain to thee what it was that has made these works incumbent upon me.» Said he to him, «O my master, I shall not importune thee at all in this (matter), nor shall I bother thee with questions, my desire being merely to experience what thou dost accomplish, naught else.» So he imposed it as a provision that whenever he should demand an

of *Elijah* is once followed by «peace be upon him» (cf. below, p. 402 and n. 30).

<sup>6</sup> Following the Sirach quotation, in the first narrative, we find, in abbreviation, a formula employed in rabbinic writings in the sense of «and so forth, etc.», which has been rendered accordingly in our translation as *a. s. f.*

<sup>7</sup> BC, p. 10, line 5 — p. 13, line 6,

explanation of any of the reasons of his actions they would part company.<sup>8</sup>

He then journeyed with him until, at eventide, [they] arrived at (the abode of) a poor man who owned naught but a cow, which was standing in the yard, while the man was sitting with his wife [at the gate]. No sooner did he perceive the two (visitors) than he bade them a friendly welcome, and put before them what victuals he had on hand, so that they ate and drank, and he withal honored them to the best of his ability. Then, when morning came, *Elijah, o. b. m.*, arose and killed the cow,<sup>9</sup> and the two of them went away.

Thus *R. Joshua* became perplexed, and said in his mind: Was there no other recompense for this pauper, after he had honored us, than that his cow should die?! Said he to him, « But have I not imposed it upon thee as a condition that shouldst thou perceive anything (perplexing) thou shalt hold thy peace? [Or] dost thou wish that I leave thee? » So *Joshua* restrained himself.

Again they journeyed all day long, and toward evening they alighted at (the abode of) a rich man; but he paid no attention to the two (visitors) and did not offer them aught to eat. Now a wall that belonged to him had (recently) collapsed [and it would have been necessary for him to rebuild it]. But, at dawn, *Elijah, o. b. m.*, arose and prayed to the Lord — and the wall propped itself up. Thereupon, the two of them departed.

This added to *R. Joshua's* perplexity, but he refrained from asking questions. So again they journeyed all day

<sup>8</sup> Literally: « he (*Elijah*) would separate himself from him (*R. Joshua*). »

<sup>9</sup> We would expect (in keeping with *Elijah's* subsequent explanation): « ... arose and prayed to the Lord that the cow should die — and she died; » similarly, in fact, *HY*: « and *Elijah* prayed about the cow — and instantly she died, »

long, until nightfall, when they came upon a synagogue.<sup>10</sup> In it there were seats of gold and silver, every one (of the assembly) occupying his own seat. (Upon seeing the two strangers,) they exclaimed, « Who will do the honors to these wretched people tonight! » Said some of them, « These people — let them dine on bread and salt! » (For the rest) no one paid attention to the two (wayfarers), and they were left to spend the night by themselves.<sup>11</sup> When morning came, *Elijah* said unto them, « May God make you rulers, all of you! » Then they left them.

Again they traveled all day long, until nightfall, when they alighted at (a settlement of) poor, needy people. But when they saw the two (visitors), they received them in friendly fashion, and honored them to the best of their ability, and brought before them much food, so that they ate and drank and were provided with a pleasant place to sleep. Then, when morning came, *Elijah* said unto them, « May God not grant you save one ruler! »

Now *Rabbi Joshua* could no longer restrain himself over (all) this. « O my master, » he said to him, « dispel thou from me these tribulations, and I shall fain depart from thee; no strength has there been left to me to endure what I have witnessed of thee. »

*Elijah* then told him (thus) : « As regards the poor man whose cow died — his wife was about to die that day, so I prayed to the Lord for the cow to die in her stead. And as to the man whose wall I rebuilt — had I left it as it was, until he himself would repair its

<sup>10</sup> Literally: « entered into a synagogue; » possibly, the word *kanisah* is used by Nissim here for « meeting place, assembly » in a secular sense of the word.

<sup>11</sup> Literally: « and they slept at their place, » that is, presumably, at the place they had assumed when they entered the synagogue,

foundation, he would have found there a great treasure, while not deserving it; this is why I rebuilt it for him; but it shall break down again after a short while, never to be rebuilt. And as to the people whom I wished that they all become rulers — [this] would surely be to their disadvantage, for a place governed by many rulers is apt to perish. And as for the people whom I wished that they should have but one ruler — (it was in order) that they prosper. Knowest thou not the common proverb, 'A multitude of commanders will cause the ship to sink'? And *Ben Sirah* says (accordingly): *By one discerning man a city is peopled, a. s. f.*, that is, by the insight of a single prudent person a <city> will flourish. »<sup>12</sup>

Again he told him : « Now that we must part company, I will advise thee about a matter from which thou wilt derive profit: Whenever thou dost perceive a corrupt person (living) in success and ease, do not let thyself be astonished over this, for it is to his (ultimate) harm. In like manner, (do not be astonished) whenever thou

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, III, 1, p. 435, no. 2614; Sirach 16:4. In rabbinic literature, it is not uncommon to find instances (a) in which the moral lesson implied by a popular proverb is shown to be enforced in the Scriptures (מִנֵּה הָא מִלֵּתָא דְאִמְרֵי אִינְאִשִּׁי) or (b) in which, conversely, a biblical or an agadic postulation of such a lesson is said to be borne out by a popular proverb (וְהִינֵנוּ דְאִמְרֵי אִינְאִשִּׁי); Ibn Shahin refers to instances of this kind repeatedly in BC (cf. p. 128 f. and p. 165), and he calls attention to the frequency with which such instances occur in the Talmud (וְכִתִּיר מִן הָאִמְתָּל מְשֻׁרָהּ בִּי אֶל הַלְמוּד), BC p. 129, line 6. In the instance before us, Elijah is made to support the sociological lesson he has just postulated — of the disadvantage of a plurality of rulers, and the advantage of a single ruler — by citing a popular proverb which in turn is corroborated by an utterance in Sirach (cf. below, n. 23). That a proverb current in Palestine, or in Babylonia, during the talmudic period should turn up among the Arabum proverbia is not particularly surprising.

dost perceive a righteous one who is pursued by distress, or whom misfortunes have overtaken; for by this, God has spared him a fate even harder. Refrain thou therefore from letting thy heart despair on account of (things like) this.»

Then he left him and went off.

## 2. HOW ELIJAH WAS SOLD INTO SLAVERY AND HOW HE REGAINED HIS FREEDOM <sup>13</sup>

The Sages — peace be upon them — have related (as follows):

There was once a poor man with children and a wife, and they came to live in great distress. When they were without food to sustain them even for a single day, his wife said to him, « O son of my paternal uncle, pray go out to the market-place, perchance thou wilt find something with which we might sustain ourselves, that we should not perish from hunger. » Said he to her, « O my sister, <sup>14</sup> where should I turn, and to what place should I go, seeing that I have no relative to go and turn to, nor have I a friend or [pa]tron save God — exalted be He. » So she let him be.

But the children grew more hungry, and they were weeping and crying. Then she spoke to him again and said, « O such a one, do go outside, perhaps something will come thy way, or else thou wilt die at the place to which thou wilt have gone — (this would be) better than that we should be dying one in the face of the other. » Said he, « How can I go outside bare of clothes! »

<sup>13</sup> BC, p. 100, line 10 — p. 104, line 7.

<sup>14</sup> « Sister » may be found used in Arabic, and no doubt elsewhere in Semitic (cf. Cant. 3:4), but hardly ever in rabbinic writings, as an endearing epithet, here apparently in the sense of « bride, sweetheart » or the like.



But she owned a worn out shirt, so she put it on him, and he went out.

As he stepped outside, he halted in a state of perplexity, not knowing whether to turn to the right or to the left. So he wept profusely, and then he lifted his eyes to heaven and said, « O Lord of the worlds, Thou surely knowest that I have no one to whom I might turn, nor anyone to whom I may complain of my misery and poverty. Behold, I — I did come forth, yet I know not where I should turn, for I have not a brother, nor a relative, nor a friend. And I am without strength, and the children are small; hunger has afflicted them, and they do not excuse me from blame (for their suffering). Now Thou — Thou didst create us; look Thou therefore upon us with Thy mercy, or may my spirit leave (me) swiftly that I may thus find relief. »

Then he walked on for awhile, still weeping and agitated — when there came upon him *Elijah, of blessed memory*, and said to him, « What ails thee, o sheykh? » So he related to him all concerning his condition and his troubles. Said he to him, « Come now! Go and sell me (as a slave), and take the price that I would fetch, with which thou wilt find relief (for) thyself and thy family. » « O my seignior, » he replied, « how should I sell thee, seeing that the people well know that I am poor, not owning a slave nor a servant? » « Have no fear, » he said to him, « (only) do as I advise thee, and no mischance shall befall thee. Now when thou dost receive the sale price for me, hand me of it one denar, and I will then give it back to thee.<sup>15</sup> But beware thou not to sell me except to one whom I shall point out to thee, and not to accept a bid higher than his. »

So he went with him to the bazar, and to anyone who

<sup>15</sup> See below, n. 18.

asked him, « Is this thy master? » he replied, « <Nay>, he is my slave, » and when *Elijah, o. b. m.*, was asked about it, he said, « Aye, he is telling the truth. »

Now there passed through the bazar one of the king's viziers, (and when) he saw a youth of excellent posture and pleasant appearance (about to be sold at auction), he desired to buy him; so he waited until the bidding would commence. When his sale price reached the vizier as (that of) eighty denars,<sup>16</sup> *Elijah* said to the man, « Sell me [to this prince]. »<sup>17</sup> And (although) a number of people increased in (the bidding of) his price up to two hundred denars, he refused to accept, but took from the vizier that <amount>; then he handed a denar to *Elijah*, and he in turn gave it back to him, as he had said. Thereupon he told him, « Go and obtain nourishment (for) thyself, thy children and thy wife, and no poverty shall ever overtake thee any more.<sup>18</sup>

*Elijah, o. b. m.*, then departed with the vizier, while the man — he who had sold (him) — went to the food market and purchased bread, and meat, and olives, and flour, and other produce, and everything he needed, and went with it (all) to his home. As he entered, he found the young ones famished from hunger, so they ate and became satiated. Said his wife to him, « Pray make thou known to me thy adventure; » so he told her all that had happened to him. « How good was it then, »<sup>19</sup> she exclaimed, « that thou didst follow the advice I had given thee! Shouldst thou have been heedless of going

<sup>16</sup> So according to the reading of MS, which is awkward; cf. the addendum in BC, p. L.

<sup>17</sup> So *HY*; better perhaps: [to this vizier].

<sup>18</sup> The implication is, obviously, that that denar, having been touched by the hand of the prophet, would bring good fortune to the poor man and protect him from afflictions of poverty in the future.

<sup>19</sup> For Arabic *kaifa* in this sense, see Dozy, s. v.

out thou wouldst have perished and we would have perished (with thee).» Thereafter, he acquired great wealth beyond count, never to see poverty again.

It has been related that the vizier traveled with *Elijah, o. b. m.*, until he entered with him to the king. Now the king had made provisions to the end that he would build a castle outside the city, and he had bought many slaves for the purpose of transporting stones, and timber, and all the materials<sup>20</sup> that would be needed for the building. So when *Elijah, o. b. m.*, entered to the king, he said to him, «Dost thou understand any of the crafts?» «Yes,» said he. «What is it?», he asked. «I am a builder,» he replied. «Verily,» he then exclaimed, «we have been fortunate in buying thee. For, behold, I desire of thee that thou build me a castle outside the city, which is to be of such and such a make.» «Aye,» said he, «I shall respond to what thou wishest and even beyond what thou dost deliberate.» The king then further said to him, «I would want promptness in the construction, so that it be completed in good time; and if it be done in six months, I shall free thee from servitude and will bestow favors upon thee.» Said he to him, «Command thou thy servants (and) let them make ready all the materials<sup>21</sup> <that would be needed> for it.» So he commanded accordingly.

Then, during the night, *Elijah, o. b. m.*, arose and prayed to <God>, exalted be He, that He effect for him a wonder in constructing the castle, (and) in the make which the king had desired it — and God, exalted be He, accepted his prayer. For no sooner did the day dawn than the castle was completed. Then, Elijah, peace be upon him, made himself on his way.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly «tools» intended by the *al-'ālātī* of the text; in either sense, the singular should be understood as a collective.

<sup>21</sup> See the preceding note.

This astonished the king and perplexed him, but <sup>22</sup> he rejoiced greatly about the fulfillment of his wish concerning the building of the castle, and he looked for the man (who had accomplished it) but did not find him, and thought that he was from among the angels.

Some days later, there met him the (erstwhile) poor man who had sold him. He said to him, « O master, what hast thou done with the king? » Said he, « I could have ridded myself of him right away, yet I was loath to break my word or <to> slight it, seeing that I had promised <him, so that> it was inevitable that I fulfill my promise. But when the king told me, 'Build thou the castle and I shall set thee free,' I did build for him just this, and departed. Nor was it my favor that he should regret having bought me or that he should be grieved over having expended money (to little avail). Aye, I accomplished for him double (the value) of what he had expended. »

So the man thanked him for (all) that and said to him, « O my patron, surely, thou has restored us to life! » Said he to him, « It is to God, exalted be He, that thou shouldst give thanks, Who has caused (all) that to thee. » Then he went off.

Only one or two remarks concerning the literary-historical peculiarities of the above narratives may suffice on the present occasion. A number of circumstances, when considered together, leave no room for doubt that the story of Elijah's perplexing actions represents Nissim's direct adaptation of an agadic narrative; and this of a narrative that was known down to the eleventh century in talmudic or midrashic documentation, even though it may not be found in the native agadic sources generally accessible.

<sup>22</sup> So or « yet » apparently intended by the *wa* here.

(1) Merely by the presence, in a purely Arabic narrative, of a Hebrew quotation from Sirāch,<sup>23</sup> together with the consistent rabbinic manner of reference to *R. Joshua, Elijah, of blessed memory, Ben Sirah*, we would be forced to see in it a literary unit borrowed from non-Arabic Jewish sources. (2) By Nissim's own statement, we have seen, he has drawn for his work upon materials handed down by « the masters and the most excellent authorities from among our Sages; »<sup>24</sup> and, as a rule, these materials are actually traceable to the « Sages » of the Mishnah, the Gemara, the Midrashim, as the case may be.<sup>25</sup> (3) A parallel version of our story is recounted in the Koran.<sup>26</sup> And as in the case of the Book of Comfort, the sermon

<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere in BC, Nissim reproduces an agadic discussion from the Babylonian Talmud, in which, as in the case before us, a passage from Sirach serves as one of the scriptural witnesses to the truth of a popular proverb; cf. above, n. 12.

<sup>24</sup> In the Introduction to BC, the author states (p. 1, line 9 f.) that he had been requested to compose a work on « comfort » من إخبار السادة والفاضل من علمائنا, and that he has now responded to that request : فأجبت الى سؤالك; throughout his work, he refers to the main spheres of the rabbinic writings whenever an occasion presents itself (*al-mišnah*, *al-bāraitā*, *al-talmūd*), and employs « our Sages » (علمائنا) interchangeably with « the Wise ones, of blessed memory » (ال حكماء); cf. Index II BC, p. XXVIII ff., s.vv. Especially significant is his statement, toward the end of the Introduction (BC, p. 4, lines 9 ff.), to the effect that he did not include « comfort » lessons contained in the Scriptures, because those are something « available in writing » (*maujād mudawwan*), whereas the corresponding lessons taught by « our Sages » are open only to « scholars » (*aš-šādū min 'an-nāsi*); in other words, while lessons in « comfort » are taught in both the biblical and the rabbinic writings, those of the latter have not as yet been opened to the mass of the people in an Arabic *diwān*; hence, what he undertakes in his present work is the double task of (1) composing a *faraj* book out of the materials handed down in post-biblical sources, and of (2) rendering those materials into a *maujād mudawwan*.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the (upper) notes accompanying the text of BC, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> Sura 18:64-80.

of Muhammad draws upon materials — stories, homilies, parables, similies, maxims — which as a rule can be traced to early post-biblical religious lore, most frequently of Jewish, less frequently of Christian, origin. (4) The two versions of the story, that of the Koran and that of the Book of Comfort, are so similar in essence that their genetic identity must be seen to be beyond dispute; at the same time, they appear sufficiently dissimilar in detail to reveal complete independence of one another. This would be only natural if we here have to do with the case of an agadic narrative, which as such had of course first been told in Hebrew or Aramaic, and which was subsequently adapted twice into Arabic — in different ages and environments, for different purposes, and under totally different cultural conditions.

It will be seen that the two Arabic versions of the story neatly supplement one another as regards the question of its age and origin. Seen merely by the version contained in the Book of Comfort, its Jewish parenthood would be clearly established, to be sure; but one might be skeptical about its antiquity and suspect in it an epigenous midrashic product of post-talmudic, geonic times. This, however, is as good as precluded by the fact that the narrative was sufficiently current in the Hijaz early in the seventh century — fully four centuries before the time of Nissim — to have come to the knowledge of Muhammad and to have been included by him among his divine revelations of the past: revelations aiming to «confirm what has been revealed before» through the sacred «tales» (*qiṣaṣ*) of the «People of the Book.»

Conversely, faced only with the koranic version of the story, we would be assured about its antiquity, but would be completely in the dark concerning its literary vicissitude. For Muhammad, it will be recalled, cannot be said to have had immediate access to written sources of any kind, most certainly not to post-biblical sources. Accordingly, the entire stock of his knowledge of «what has been revealed before» must have



come to him by means of oral channels, through prolonged personal association with Arab Jews and Arab Christians.<sup>27</sup> We would thus be at a loss to discern whether the «tale» under discussion had been recounted to him within the confines of the Synagogue or of the Church; and, particularly, whether his informants had related to him what they had read in their sacred writings or whether they merely repeated what they in turn had heard, in oral *wa'z* of weekly sermons, from their teachers and preachers.<sup>28</sup> All such considerations, however, are rendered gratuitous by Nissim's adaptation of the narrative in the Book of Comfort. It is virtually out of the question that he — one of the foremost expositors of rabbinic literature in his age, the author of a commentary on the Talmud held in high esteem to this day — would have incorporated an apocryphal, oral tale in a work of religious-ethical edification for which he pledged to use only such materials as had been handed down by «the masters and the most excellent authorities from among our Sages.»

No early parallel at all, whether rabbinic or non-rabbinic, appears to be known of the second of our two narratives;<sup>29</sup> and except only for the Hebrew reference to *Elijah, of blessed*

<sup>27</sup> See the writer's articles «Koran and Agada» (in *AJSL*, 58), pp. 23 ff., and «Islamic Origins» (in *Arabic Heritage*, Princeton University Press), pp. 58 ff.

<sup>28</sup> The great effectiveness of the oral *wa'z* in the early history of Islam may be best understood by the realization that in it Muhammad appropriated a practice that had long been an essential feature of instruction and guidance in both the Synagogue and the Church and had been a didactic prerogative of the preislamic *kāhin* and *šā'ir* as well. An investigation into the contribution of *wa'z* to the rise and development of the literature of «comfort», which is merely a special application of *qiṣaṣ*, ought to yield profitable results; the need for such an investigation has been rendered particularly acute by J. Pedersen's recent study on «The Islamic Preacher» (in the *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, 1, pp. 226, ff.).

<sup>29</sup> For younger and, for the most part, remote parallels, see M. Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 262, no. 415.



memory, no element of the kind we have encountered in the first narrative — such as *R. Joshua*, *Ben Sirah*, and the verbatim Sirach quotation — may be found here to indicate dependence of the story upon a rabbinic *Vorlage*. In addition, the story seems to be told in a manner more closely integrated with the style of autochthonous Arabic *qīṣaṣ* than in the case of our first narrative. This is illustrated, in particular, by the characteristically Arabic type of interjections variously employed in the story at the beginning of a direct discourse. Thus the wife of the poor man addresses her husband by saying « O son of my paternal uncle » (*yā 'ibna 'ammī*) and « O such a one » (*yā fulān*); in turn, he addresses his wife with « O my sister » (*jā 'uxtī*), while he begins his prayer with the words « O Lord of the worlds » (*yā rabba 'l-'ālamīn*).<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Elijah addresses the poor man with « O sheykh » (*yā šaiḥ*), and is addressed by him not only with « O my master » or « O my seignior » (*yā sayīdī*) but also with the peculiarly Arabic « O my patron » (*yā maulā'i*). Even the formula « of blessed memory » is once replaced by the primarily Arabic « peace be upon him » (*'alaihi 's-salām*)<sup>30</sup> in the case of Elijah, which is also used after the mention of the authority for the narrative, the « Sages, » as applied to a plural (*'alaihim assalām*), at the beginning of the story.

All of this, however, need not be taken to suggest a contrast of any kind between the two Elijah stories as regards their literary background. The same unevenness in the number of

<sup>30</sup> The divine epithet « Lord of the worlds, » although in all probability based on the rabbinic *ribbôn hā-'ôlāmīm*, came to be so closely associated with Islam, mainly because of its presence in the Opening Sura of the Koran, that its Arabic form is but rarely used in the standard works of Judeo-Arabic literature. By contrast, the Arabic *عليه السلام* and its Hebrew equivalent (mostly abbreviated to *עליו*) appear to be used in Judeo-Arabic works with about equal frequency; but merely the unidiomatic flavor of the Hebrew phrase (*עליו השלום*) should suffice to indicate its dependence on a locution of Arabic origin.

non-arabized references to personages and institutions of Judaism and, especially, in the degree of stylistic arabization and islamization may be observed in « comfort » stories recounted by Ibn Shahin, the prototypes of which do lie before us in the rabbinic sources commonly available. There is therefore nothing to obviate the inference that in both of our Elijah stories, the second no less than the first, we deal with units of authentic early Agada which were known in the eleventh century in their erstwhile Hebrew or Aramaic documentation, and which were adapted by Ibn Shahin, together with a great many units of demonstrably such a documentation, to the particular needs of medieval Judaism — needs developed under the ever growing religious and cultural impact of Islam.

As has been shown elsewhere in some detail,<sup>31</sup> the Book of Comfort must be seen to represent a work of agadic-islamic syncretism brought about by the conscious design of its author — a seemingly paradoxical, but acutely realistic, design to fuse two heterogeneous worlds of religious lore and thought: the Hebrew-rabbinic heritage of the past and the Arabic-islamic challenge of the present. The fusion was achieved, astonishingly enough, by an adaptation as inventive and ingenious as it was daring and radical: the adaptation of the substance of rabbinic Judaism to the vocabulary and style of literary Arabic, and to the terminology and ideology of Mu'tazilite Islam. If, but for their non-arabized references and their presence in a work composed by an outstanding rabbinist, we would be obliged to see in our two narratives « tales » of Muhammadan *faraġ*, plain and simple, this merely testifies to the thoroughness with which Ibn Shahin proceeded and succeeded in bringing his design into realization.

It is well-nigh incredible that he should have been the sole exponent of the syncretistic trend in the sense just described. Rather, we are all but compelled to suppose that he did not

<sup>31</sup> See *Synkretismus* (above, n. 3), pp. 14 ff.

achieve his task single-handed and without precedents — the enormous task of transposing the old and unwieldy rabbinic materials into the style and spirit of a new age. It was by a chance discovery that the original form of his work came into our possession — nearly a millenium after it had been composed. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect that future discoveries will bring to light other Judeo-Arabie works of this species to confront us with literary units of early Agada over and above the « unidentified material » preserved in the Book of Comfort.

## DIE KLAGE MARDUKS ÜBER BABYLON IM IRRA-EPOS

ALFRED POHL  
Pontificio Istituto Biblico

VOR etwa 15 Jahren erwarb das Päpstliche Bibelinstitut durch gütige Vermittlung von Prof. Dr. O. Krückmann, der sich damals in Bagdad aufhielt, dort eine literarische Tafel, die von P. F. Gössmann O.E.S.A. bei eingehenderem Studium als die 4. Tafel des Irra-Epos erkannt wurde. Die je 2 Kolumnen enthaltende Tafel (jetzt IB 212) ist 14,5 cm lang, 10,5 cm breit und etwa 2,5 cm dick. Quer über die Tafel (etwa 7 cm unter der linken oberen Ecke beginnend und bis etwa 4 cm unter die rechte obere Ecke reichend) zieht sich ein ziemlich starker Riss, der auf der Rückseite gut zusammengeleimt ist, so dass dort die Zeichen und Zeilen unmittelbar an einander anschliessen. Dagegen bleibt auf der Vorderseite ein grosser Spalt. Dieser ist mit Erdpech geschlossen und darüber sind noch kreuz und quer wenigstens 3 deutlich unterschiedene Oberflächensplitter mit ganz deutlichen Keilschriftzeichen gepresst. Diese Splitter werden kaum zur Vs. unserer Tafel gehören, weil die Zeilenabstände der Tafel kleiner sind. Durch diese Lücke fallen aber auf Vs. I sicher 2 Zeilen und auf Vs. II sogar 4 Zeilen vollständig aus. An beiden Enden dieses Risses sind nochmals 2 kleine Dreiecke herausgebrochen. Diese Lücken wurden ebenfalls mit Ton geschlossen. Gerade dieser Schaden macht sich im Kolophon besonders bemerkbar. Denn durch diesen Riss fallen die ersten Zeichen der Unterschrift und damit auch die Tafelnummer aus. Im übrigen ist die Rs. gut erhalten und ohne Schwierigkeit lesbar. Anders hingegen die Vs. Der über dem Riss liegende Teil ist noch gut erhalten. Aber der viel grössere untere Teil bietet ein geradezu trost-

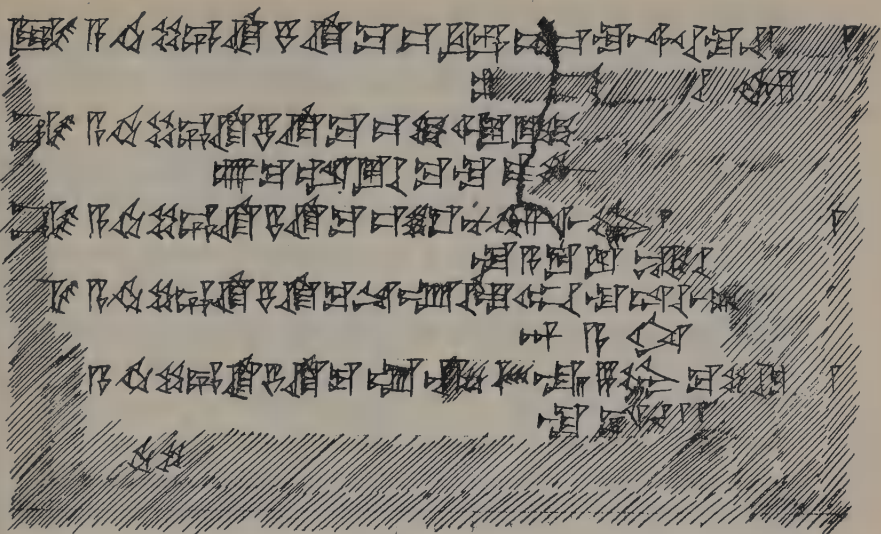
loses Bild, er ist stark abgeblättert, sehr brüchig und somit vielfach überhaupt nicht mehr lesbar. Leider geht dieser Prozess bei aller Vorsicht sehr rasch voran.

Auf Vs. I dürften etwa 51 oder 52 Zeilen gestanden haben, auf Vs. II etwa 50 oder 51; Rs. I bietet 44, Rs. II 23 Zeilen. Im ganzen wird also die Tafel etwa 170 Zeilen enthalten haben. Davon sind etwa 11 Zeilen vollständig abgebrochen, aber von den übrigen 160 Zeilen werden etwa 50 ganz oder zum grösssten Teil neu sein. Über diesen Zuwachs hinaus bringt uns aber IB 212 noch eine Anzahl von Textvarianten und Zeilerergänzungen und endlich die Möglichkeit, den Text von KAR 169 Rs. II:1 bis zum Ende des Epos lückenlos zusammenzuschliessen.

Wie aus der Fangzeile von IB 212 hervorgeht, haben wir es mit der 4. Tafel des Epos zu tun.

Unter den durch IB 212 neu gewonnenen Zeilen ist auch die Klage Marduks über seine Stadt (Vs. I:40-51). Leider ist gerade diese Stelle am Ende der ersten Kolumne der Vorderseite sehr stark abgeblättert, und es ist höchste Zeit, davon zu retten, was noch zu retten ist. Denn bereits nach wenigen Monaten wird der Kopist wahrscheinlich vor noch grösseren Schwierigkeiten stehen. Aber ich glaube, dass auch das wenige so Gewonnene genügen wird, uns den Sinn und die Schönheit der Stelle zu zeigen.

IB 212 Vs. I:40-51 ist an sich ein Parallelstück zu KAR 169 Rs. II:43-49. Aber bei dem KAR-Text fehlen fast ausnahmslos die Anfänge, nur der unmittelbare Anschluss der ersten Zeile ist erhalten. Dagegen sind die Zeilenenden, die in IB 212 meist fehlen, in KAR bedeutend besser erhalten. So lässt sich für die Übersetzung doch noch ein recht guter Text herausbringen,



## Umschrift

- 40) 'ù-a TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> šá ki-ma <sup>i</sup>gišim<sup>ma</sup> bi-la-ti-šú la [.....]  
41) ú-[.....]  
42) 'ù-a TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> šá ki-ma giš<sup>2</sup>HAR ù zíd<sup>2</sup>HAR [.....]  
43) ú-ma-al-lu-šú-ma la áš-pu-[.....]  
44) 'ù-a TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> šá ki-ma <sup>i</sup>škirê nu-uh-ši az-[.....]  
45) la a-ku-lu enba-šú  
46) 'ù-a TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> šá ki-ma abankunukki el-mé-šú la GUB-šú  
ina tik[-ki]  
47) ila-nim  
48) ['ù]-a TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> šá ki-ma tup šimâtimeš ina qâtê<sup>2</sup>-iá  
aš-ba-tu-[.....]  
49) la uš-[.....]  
50) [...] TIN.TIR [.....]  
51) noch undeutbare Spuren zu erkennen.

## Bemerkungen

Z. 40. In KAR 169 Rs. II:43 sieht man am Anfang 'ù-a KÁ MEŠ. Es ist aber sicherlich zu lesen KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>. Tatsäch-

lich erscheint auch noch nach einer Lücke der letzte Keil von ki. Darauf folgt *šá ki-ma iṣgi[šimmari]*. Der Rest der Zeile fehlt. — In IB könnte das Zeichen nach dem letzten *la* vielleicht *m[aḥ-]* sein. Ist etwa *m[aḥ-ra-ku]* zu lesen?

Z. 41. KAR bietet noch gut deutlich *ú-rap/b*, vielleicht *ú-rap[-pi-iq]*. — In IB ist selbst das *ú-* nicht mehr ganz klar.

Z. 42. Diese Zeile ist in KAR vollständig beschädigt und abgebrochen. — In IB steht ganz deutlich *gišḪAR*, hier wohl *kiškanû* zu lesen (ŠL 401,91 a). Vielleicht wurden die Körner dieses Baumes gegessen oder auch gemahlen (vgl. a.a.O. den letzten Beleg). *zidḪAR* = *samîdu* = Feinmehl.

Z. 43. Die Parallelzeile in KAR bietet am Schluss ein *-ma*, davor noch einen senkrechten Keil. Man wird also kaum *mim-ma* lesen dürfen. — Den IB-Text kann man vielleicht zu *áš-pu-[ku]* ergänzen.

Z. 44. KAR bietet am Ende der Zeile [...] *lal-šú*, das E. Ebeling in seinem *Akkadischen Mythos vom Pestgotte Era* (Berlin, 1925) zu *iṣ-lal-šú* ergänzt. Dies dürfte aber kaum richtig sein; denn man erwartet nach IB eine erste Person Sing. — IB liest vielleicht *az-q[u...]*, das man zu *az-qu[-pu-šú]* ergänzen möchte.

Z. 45. In KAR wird das erste Zeichen der Z. 47 nicht *ina ab* o.ä. zu lesen sein, sondern *la*. Der KAR-Text bietet die Variante *a-ku-la*.

Z. 46. KAR bringt dieses « Wehe » in einer Zeile unter. Im IB-Text ist *elmêšu* = glänzendes Metall, Glanzlegierung (vgl. etwa MVAeG 44,256), also ein « Siegelstein aus glänzendem Metall ». Das GUB-*šú* beider Texte möchte ich als Ideogramm auffassen, etwa *šaknu-šú*.

Z. 48-49. Die Parallelzeile in KAR bietet *qâtê<sup>2</sup>-iá DÍB-šú-ma la ú-maš-šá-ru-šú ana man-ma*. — Der IB-Text ergänzt gerade den Anfang und löst das Ideogramm auf, In der nächsten



Zeile ist vielleicht *uš-[šá-ru]* zu ergänzen, obwohl die Spuren sehr schwierig zu deuten sind.

Z. 50-51. Während in KAR 169 Rs. II:50 sicher etwas Anderes folgt, gehört IB Vs. I:50, nach den wenigen Resten zu schliessen, sicher noch zur Wehklage Marduks. Und die nächste Zeile 51 wird als siebentes « Wehe » den Abschluss dieses schönen lyrischen Stückes gebildet haben.

### Übersetzung

- 40-41) Wehe, o Babylon, das ich wie eine Dattelpalme, deren  
Erträgnisse nicht [.....].
- 42-43) Wehe, o Babylon, das ich wie *kiškanû* und Feinmehl  
[...] angefüllt habe, aber nicht auf[schütten konnte].
- 44-45) Wehe, o Babylon, das ich wie einen üppigen Baum-  
garten angepflanzt habe, dessen Frucht ich aber  
nicht geniessen konnte.
- 46-47) Wehe, o Babylon, das wie ein Siegelstein aus glänzen-  
dem Metall nicht am Halse Anus hängt.
- 48-49) Wehe, o Babylon, das ich wie die Tafel der Schicksals-  
bestimmungen in meine Hände nahm und niemandem  
überlassen will.
- 50) Wehe, o Babylon, [.....]
- 51) [.....]



## SEDAKA, CHARITY

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

University of Pennsylvania

IT is well known that in post-Biblical Judaism, the charity which a Jew is required by law to give to the poor is called  $\text{\$}^e\text{\underline{d}}\text{\acute{a}}\text{\acute{k}}\text{\acute{a}}$  in Hebrew, or its equivalent  $\text{\$}i\text{\underline{d}}\text{\acute{k}}\text{\acute{a}}$ ,  $\text{\$}d\text{\acute{a}}\text{\acute{k}}\text{\acute{a}}$  in Aramaic.<sup>1</sup> It is equally well known — though this investigation will require us later on to discuss some of the salient details — that the evidence for this meaning of  $\text{\$}^e\text{\underline{d}}\text{\acute{a}}\text{\acute{k}}\text{\acute{a}}$  goes back to late Biblical times and at least as far as the second century B.C.<sup>2</sup> The significance of the term  $\text{\$}^e\text{\underline{d}}\text{\acute{a}}\text{\acute{k}}\text{\acute{a}}$  and the root  $\text{\$}d\text{\acute{k}}$  in Biblical Hebrew has been the subject of a large number of books, articles, and notes.<sup>3</sup> It has, however, hardly ever been explained in detail how, and when, and under what circumstances a word meaning primarily «justice, righteousness»<sup>4</sup> came to signify charity stipulated by law.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for instance, G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian era*, Cambridge 1927, Vol. 2, pp. 84 f., 162-179, 180 f.; F. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1934, p. 79 f.; P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Vol. 4, Munich 1938, p. 536 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for instance, A. Cronbach, «Social Ideals of the Apocrypha,» in *HUCA* 18, 1944, pp. 131-9; R. Bultmann, article ἔλεος etc., in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. 2, Stuttgart 1935, p. 482 f.; F. C. Conybeare-J. R. Harris-A. Smith Lewis, *The story of Ahiqar*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1913, p. LI f.

<sup>3</sup> The latest book-length treatment is that by K. Hj. Fahlgren, *Sedākā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im Alten Testament*, Uppsala 1932.

<sup>4</sup> Our understanding of the word «righteousness» is entirely depending on the meanings which many centuries of theological interpretation have given to Hebrew  $\text{\$}^e\text{\underline{d}}\text{\acute{a}}\text{\acute{k}}\text{\acute{a}}$ . For clarifying the semantic range of

It would be an unjustified application of modern social thought to ancient conditions if one would derive the meaning of «charity» from «justice > social justice», and, perhaps, combine *ṣēḏāḱâ* «charity, alms,» with the «claim to a share» (cf. *ṣēḏāḱâ* in this meaning in Nehem. 2.20 and 2 Sam. 19.29) in the general welfare which the poor had. No scholar, therefore, appears to have advanced such an idea. The prevalent opinion of those few authorities who in passing discussed a connection between the two meanings of *ṣēḏāḱâ* appears to be that justice (righteousness) is an action of religious merit, that charity also is an action of religious merit, and that, consequently, justice (righteousness) could be used and was used as a synonym of charity.<sup>5</sup> In this connection, it might have been advisable to mention the use of the plural of the

*ṣēḏāḱâ*, the statement that «*ṣēḏāḱâ* means righteousness» is about as valuable as to say: «*ṣēḏāḱâ* means *ṣēḏāḱâ*.»

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, p. 94 f. (in connection with *zakâh*); O. Klein, *Syr. griech. Wörterbuch zu den vier kanon. Evangelien*, in *ZATW Beiheft* 28, 1916, p. 10 ff.; J. A. Montgomery, *A commentary on Daniel*, New York 1927, p. 239 f. (*International Critical Commentary*); T. H. Weir, article *ṣadaqa*, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Weir states that the Pharisees considered alms giving the main duty of the pious Israelite and, therefore, used *ṣēḏāḱâ* «honesty» in the sense of «alms giving.» Weir's probable source for his statement is Matthew 6.1 ff., or a discussion such as that of W. Bousset-H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1926, p. 140 f. (*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* 21). Cf. also Bousset-Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 380: «*Ṣēḏāḱâ* means at the same time 'justice (δικαιοσύνη)' and 'kindness (ἔλεος, ἐλεημοσύνη)'. And since the main characteristic of kindness in Jewish ethics is the giving of alms, *ṣēḏāḱâ* (*ṣāḱūtâ*) takes on the meaning of charity, alms.» It is obvious that the transition in the meaning of *ṣēḏāḱâ* is here presented as if it were the result of Greek (or modern western) terminology. Cf. also J. Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. I, Strelitz 1870, p. 74, s.v. *Almosen*: «... So ist: צדקה 'Wohltun' als die zwischen 'Recht und Liebe' die Mitte haltende That; ein mit dem bibl. Geiste verwachsener Begriff, der in dem Worte 'Almosen' seinen Ausdruck nicht findet,»

word with reference to God (Judg. 5.11; 1 Sam. 12.7), which might be taken to indicate that justice (righteousness) as shown by God to human beings takes on various concrete forms, one of which might have been something akin to the human action of charity to the poor. The use of the plural with reference to human beings is not common; it occurs in Ez. 3.20 (33.13); Jer. 51.10; (Ps. 11.7?), and in Dan. 9.18, where the meaning of «charity» may already have influenced the use of the word.

Though the assumed logical process which in the described manner is stated to have led to the equation of justice (righteousness) and charity obviously is weak, it cannot be said that in actual fact the transition in meaning did not take place along similar lines. It remains, however, to be explained why, in such a case, *šēdâkâ* should have assumed a legal connotation in preference to other expressions. *Mišwâ*, for instance, which also came to denote «charity» and in Greek translation imparted that meaning to ἐντολή,<sup>6</sup> remained a much looser and wider term. Above all, proof must be brought to show that the logical deduction tallies with the factual evidence. No such proof has so far been forthcoming.

The philological approach which was followed in this paper would seem to lead to another result which may be the natural solution of the problem: The root *šdk*, in the Semitic languages, developed connotations which can approximately be rendered by right-privilege-grant-gift. Aramaic *šidkâ* in this meaning was used by the Jews, and, in a time of social and religious fermentation, combined with the usual Hebrew meaning of *šēdâkâ* to yield a term which expressed the idea of giving a stipulated gift as the appropriate course of action. That this may have been the actual origin of *šēdâkâ* in the meaning of «charity, alms» was obviously not concealed to some of

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S. Liebermann, in *JBL* 65, 1946, pp. 69-72; Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 25.

those scholars who had to grapple with the manifold problems which arose from the different connotations of the root *ṣḏk* in the various Semitic languages.<sup>7</sup> To many of them, the following remarks may have contained nothing new in addition to what they themselves had said or thought. However, it should not be entirely useless to present the evidence in a coherent form, this time centering around Jewish *ṣḏdākā*.

*South Arabic* presents a difficult problem. Scholars disagree regarding the proper interpretation of the root *ṣḏk* which occurs quite frequently in various forms in South Arabic inscriptions. There seems, however, to be agreement with regard to the fact that, with the exception of the proper names composed with *ṣḏk*,<sup>8</sup> the derivations of *ṣḏk* in most instances appear to lead rather far away in their meaning from the meaning of «justice» or «righteousness.» Nevertheless, our understanding of South Arabic has not yet quite reached the point where the fine shades and subtle transitions of meaning even of a term which in general is quite well understood can be grasped with a full assurance of correctness. From a methodological point of view, it is rather dangerous to draw, with A. Vincent, the conclusion that the meanings (of *ṣḏk*) in South Arabic can lead to the Arabic (!) meaning of «alms,»<sup>9</sup> for it just was the knowledge of the existence of the latter meaning in other Semitic languages which prompted South Arabic

<sup>7</sup> Cf. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Vol. 1.2, Leipzig 1894, p. 183 f.; Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, sixteenth ed., s.v. *ṣḏk* and *ṣḏdākā*; D.S. Margoliouth, *The relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam*, London 1924, p. 15 (Schweich Lectures for 1921); A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-araméens d'Éléphantine*, Paris 1937, pp. 173-181.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, Louvain 1934-5, Vol. 1, pp. 182, 246, 254, 269, 405; E. Mittwoch-H. Schlobies, *Altsüd-arabische Inschriften*, in *Orientalia N.S.* 5, 1936, p. 21 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* (fn. 7), p. 174.

scholars, whether they say it expressly or not,<sup>10</sup> to interpret the root *ṣḏk* in the way they did.

Among the occurrences of the root *ṣḏk* in South Arabic inscriptions<sup>11</sup> which must be considered in this context, the one most easily eliminated is the adjectival use of *ṣḏkm* in the combination *w'tmr ṣḏkm*<sup>12</sup> and the frequent *mng(y)t ṣḏkm*<sup>13</sup> which has occasionally but, it seems, incorrectly been read *mnl(y)t ṣḏkm*.<sup>14</sup> The *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* employs the translation «et fructus excellentes» in the first case, and «et salutes eximias» in the second. However, it is definitely safer to follow scholars such as C. Conti Rossini who has «recte, opportune, convenienter,» or M. Höfner who translates «und gehörige Rettung.»<sup>15</sup> The meaning which would fit these cases is «proper,» that is, «fruits (salvation) as they ought to be.» The identical expression is found in the *môz'enê ṣeḏek* «proper weight,» etc., in the Bible (Lev. 19.36, etc.). *Ṣḏk* in this meaning comes close to what in Arabic as a

<sup>10</sup> N. Rhodokanakis, for instance, refers to the Têma inscription in his *Katabanische Texte*, Vienna 1919, p. 57 ff. (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 194,2). A. Jaussen-R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909-1914, Vol. 2, pp. 253 ff., 293 f., tacitly translate «a fait l'aumône,» in a very doubtful context. In the inscription Glaser 1083<sub>6, 8</sub>, Glaser suggests the alternative interpretation: «was er ihm als Wohltat erwies,» but this interpretation is entirely unfounded and rejected by Glaser himself (*Altjemenische Studien I*, in *MVAeG* 28, 1923, p. 40 f.).

<sup>11</sup> The material was collected by C. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Rome 1931, p. 222, whose references, however, are not complete. An inscription of importance in connection with *ṣḏk*, which was published after 1931, is that of E. Mittwoch-H. Schlobies, in *Orientalia N.S.* 7, 1938, p. 347.

<sup>12</sup> *CIS* IV, No. 293<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>13</sup> For instance, *CIS* IV, Nos. 308<sub>26</sub>; 365<sub>15</sub>; 502<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> Cf., for instance, J. H. Mordtmann-E. Mittwoch, *Himjaritische Inschriften in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, in *MVAeG* 37, 1932, Nos. 21<sub>9</sub>; 37<sub>2</sub>. The editors translate: «und mit reichlichem Gut.»

<sup>15</sup> *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1943, p. 130.



rule would be expressed by the root *hkk*, and it was correctly observed by I. Guidi that in the marginal Arab linguistic areas, the meanings of the two roots go over into each other,<sup>16</sup> as they are very close in Arabic proper. The meaning of « proper » for *ṣdk*, in the same syntactic construction as in South Arabic, also can be assumed for literary Arabic. At least, this meaning would make much better sense than « truthful, » or the like, in the Qur'ānic phrases *mubawwa'a ṣidkin* « a proper place » (Qur'ān 10.93); *mudhala (muḥraja) ṣidkin* « a proper entrance (exit) » (Qur'ān 17.80 = 82 Flügel); and *fî mak'adi ṣidkin* « in a proper place » (Qur'ān 54.55).<sup>17</sup> The later Arabic occurrences of *ṣdk* in this construction may, of course, all have been formed after the Qur'ān.<sup>17a</sup> In Ibn Hišām, we read: « Why do you not leave for Abyssinia where there is a king under whom nobody is treated unjustly, *wa-hiya arḍu ṣidkin*, a land as it should be. »<sup>18</sup> Also the expression *wazîru ṣidkin*, which is applied to Ḥadîjah in the *Sîrah*,<sup>19</sup> may mean « a wazîr as he ought to be. »

<sup>16</sup> *EB N.S.* 7, 1910, p. 423, in connection with Nabataean '*ṣdk*.

<sup>17</sup> In Qur'ān 26.84: *wa-j'al-lî lisâna ṣidkin fî l-âḥirîna*, the meaning could be « truthful, » but in view of the other examples of the use of *ṣidkin* in this construction, such a translation would hardly deserve acceptance.

<sup>17a</sup> However, the expression is also found in pre-Islamic poetry, cf. al-A'šâ, *Diwân*, ed. by R. Geyer, *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N. S.* 6, London 1928, p. 150, no 33, l. 54, who has *yadd ṣidkin* « two hands as they ought to be, generous hands. » A verse quoted by al-Balâdurî, *Ansâb*, in the life of Yazîd II, speaks of *âbâ' ṣidkin* « ancestors as they should be. »

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Hišām, *Sîrah*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858-60, p. 208. The Arabic lexicographers confirm this interpretation when they translate *ṣidkin* in this construction through « good. » Cf. *Lisân al-'Arab*, Bûlâq 1301, Vol. 12, p. 62: *wa-yuqâlu rajulu ṣidkin ... wa-ma'nâhu ni'ma r-rajulu, wa-mra'atu ṣidkin kaḍâlika*.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 277. Cf. also Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, Vol. 6, p. 70.

Obviously related are the South Arabic expressions *kl ṣḍkm*<sup>20</sup> and its opposite *bḡyr ṣḍkm*,<sup>21</sup> as well as *b'sy ṣḍkm*.<sup>23</sup> All of them signify that the qualified action was as it ought, or ought not, to have been, in accordance with, it seems, the legal situation.

The *t*-reflexive of the verb *ṣḍk*, in its occurrence in the *Corpus*, was there translated by «et meritum dare,» with a reference, added in the notes, to Derenbourg's translation «justum praemium.»<sup>24</sup> In an inscription of the Vienna Süd-arabische Expedition 89<sub>2-3</sub>, M. Höfner translates «so sollen ihr Recht finden die Qatabaner.»<sup>25</sup> Again, it would appear to be the question of what one properly ought to get or deserves to get, according to the law. The «Recht» is right in the legal sense.

The verb in the doubled conjugation, or rather, as in Arabic, in the simple conjugation, has as its subject the deity and is constructed with an accusative object. Another object introduced by the preposition *b* may follow.<sup>26</sup> The meaning clearly is that

<sup>20</sup> CIS IV, No. 648<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>21</sup> CIS IV, No. 86<sub>12</sub>.

<sup>22</sup> For the problem of the *s*-sounds in South Arabic, cf., most recently, W. Leslau, in *JAOS* 69, 1949, p. 98b. Leslau bases himself on the sound values in modern South Arabic. He suggests š for the sign which has here been transcribed by *s*.

<sup>23</sup> Glaser 1000A<sub>1-2</sub>.

<sup>24</sup> CIS IV, No. 429<sub>11</sub>.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 78, cf. *WZKM* 42, 1935, p. 58. A denominative meaning for the *t*-reflexive («ist urkundlich beglaubigt») is assumed by N. Rhodokanakis in his *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen* 2, p. 86 (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 185,3, 1917).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. CIS IV, Nos. 72<sub>8</sub>; 84<sub>9</sub>; 104<sub>8</sub>; 282<sub>4</sub>; 348<sub>13</sub>. In the last inscription, the preposition *b* may have been omitted by haplography, but the Qur'ānic use of the double accusative makes such an assumption uncertain. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Qur'ān very often uses *ṣadaqa* for the fulfilment of a promise, thus 3.152 (145 Flügel); 19.54 (55); 21.9; 33.22 f.; 39.74; cf. also 46.16 (15); 51.5; 36.52; 6.146 (147); 49.15.

the deity made the supplicants as they ought to be, gave them what they deserved, with regard to their vows. Another instance, doubtless of the first conjugation, appears to occur in *CIS* 973<sub>5</sub> *šdk bnm 'mqmd* which the *Corpus* translates «ultus est.» The passage might rather more literally be translated: «'mqmd was as he ought to have been (got what was due to him) regarding them (from them).» However, the interpretation here seems uncertain.<sup>27</sup> The strongest objection to an interpretation of the verb *šdk* as it has here been proposed might be raised in connection with a fragmentary inscription published by E. Mittwoch and H. Schlobies. It contains the phrase *wšdk 'sns* «und schenkte seinen Grund.»<sup>28</sup> There also is the inscription Halévy 188<sub>3</sub> (Glaser 1083<sub>6</sub>) whose *šdk ... kl ddynsm* is translated by Conti Rossini through «expleverunt ... omnia quae debitum ipsorum erant.» In both cases, the accusative object is something concrete. The transitional meaning may, however, also in these cases have been «to make something as it ought to be, from the legal point of view.»

In the inscription Glaser 1602<sub>7</sub> *bšdksm*, translated by N. Rhodokanakis as «ihre Gerechtsame» and by Conti Rossini as «privilegium, immunitas templo sacrisve collegiis spectans,» *šdk* evidently is some concrete object which is in the possession of someone or something. It is «that which ought to belong to someone or something,» his «rights» or «privileges.»

In sum, the root *šdk* in these South Arabic occurrences has the basic meaning of «propriety,» or «that which one deserves,»<sup>29</sup> and «rights» which belong to someone, more or

<sup>27</sup> The same uncertainty attaches to the inscriptions of Jaussen and Savignac which have been referred to in fn. 10.

<sup>28</sup> *Loc. cit.* (above, fn. 11).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. E. Kautzsch's «Normgemässheit» as the most original meaning of the root *šdk* (*Die Derivate des Stammes* שִׁדַּק im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch, Tübingen 1881, p. 53). Similarly also Johs. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg 1914, p. 131 (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients. Zwanglose Beihefte zu der Zeitschrift Der Islam*): «sein wie man sein soll;» *idem*, *Israel, its life and culture*,

less all meanings which, in some form or other, are found in the Arabic root *hkk*. There is not much to show that the root *ṣdk* in South Arabic also took on the outright meaning of «gift,» or «grant» of material things, although this remains a possibility and would certainly be a natural development. The line of development which South Arabic *ṣdk* followed is thus somewhat parallel to that which we will find in Aramaic but it seems of course to have stopped long before it reached so specialized a meaning as that of gifts to the poor.

*Arabic* presents problems of a different order. The root *ṣdk* is widely used there in a variety of meanings, most of which are of no concern to us here. The derivation of the root *ṣdk* which is important in this connection is the word meaning some kind of dowry : *ṣadâk* and related forms (*ṣaduḳah*, etc.). Something may also be learned from the history of the Islamic terms *ṣadaḳah* and *zakâh* though they are loans which were ultimately derived from Hebrew-Aramaic words meaning charity. In both cases, the problems are historical and not semantical. While the meaning is certain, it remains to be ascertained what historical processes caused the words to assume their specific meanings.

London-Copenhagen 1926, p. 388 : « They always denote the healthy and normal, that which is in entire accord with its being, i.e. that which is a whole. » Cf. further, Fahlgren, *op. cit.* (above, fn. 3), p. 78.

It may be stated that the legal meaning of *ṣdk* certainly is not the original one, as it was maintained by G. Wildeboer, *Die älteste Bedeutung des Stammes צדק*, in *ZATW* 22, 1902, p. 168; W. W. Baudissin, *Der gerechte Gott in altsemitischer Religion*, in *Festgabe ... A. von Harnack ...*, Tübingen 1921, pp. 4 f., 7 (on the meaning of the root in South Arabic).

That the root had no specific religious connotation in the original Yahweh religion was pointed out by H. S. Nyberg, « Studien zum Religionskampf im Alten Testament, » in *ARW* 35, 1938, p. 375. A religious connotation was not germane to the root as such. I doubt whether Nyberg is right when he qualifies the quoted statement by saying that *ṣdk*, like all such terms, had a religious coloring.

The word *ṣadâḳ* is not mentioned in the Qur'ân which only has one instance of *ṣaduḳah* (Qur'ân 4.4[3]). In the *ḥadîṭ*, it is used as an equivalent of *mahr*. Although no certain pre-Islamic instances of the use of *ṣadâḳ* or *ṣaduḳah* are known to me, the word and the institution clearly are pre-Islamic, and, since no foreign origin suggests itself, genuinely Arabic.<sup>29a</sup> Its history and original significance are, however, little known. *Ṣadâḳ* in Islam is a gift to the bride herself. This has been considered its original meaning which distinguishes it from *mahr*, originally the price for the bride paid to her parents. More cannot be said with certainty. As I. Goldziher showed in a brief note to the second edition of W. R. Smith's *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*,<sup>30</sup> Smith's connection of *ṣadîḳah* «girl friend» with *ṣadâḳ*, and the resulting speculations concerning a *ṣadîḳah* type of marriage are not sufficiently supported by the available evidence. However this may be, we lack any concrete information as to how *ṣadâḳ*, *ṣaduḳah* assumed the meaning of «dowry.» We may guess that it was considered the «right» or «privilege» granted to the bride, voluntarily or as required by law. This is an inference which is drawn from the Semitic material here under investigation and which would hardly be possible on the basis of the internal Arabic evidence alone. In its support, we may rely only upon one Nabataean inscription. Nabataean inscriptions often have the word *'ṣḍḳ*, frequently in the combination *'ṣḍḳ b'ṣḍḳ*, which always refers to those entitled to share in a sepulchre and certainly is an Arabic elative formation, meaning possibly «legitimate» or, perhaps «most entitled (by birth).»<sup>31</sup> However, when we

<sup>29a</sup> In his review of the first edition of Smith's *Kinship*, Th. Nöldeke referred to a pre-Islamic occurrence of the verb *aṣḍaḳa* in the meaning of «to give,» cf. *ZMDG* 40, 1886, p. 154.

<sup>30</sup> London 1903, p. 93 f.

<sup>31</sup> The phrase *'ṣḍḳ b'ṣḍḳ* may be distributive and thus mean that preference should be given to members of the family according to the closeness of their relationship. The references were collected by J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, Paris 1930-32, Vol. 2, p. 139.

read that others may be entitled to share in a sepulchre *bšdkt* of the builder (*CIS* II, No. 224), the word *šdkt* probably must be understood as «legitimate gift,»<sup>32</sup> and as such could be a predecessor of Arabic *šadâk*, *šadukâh*. A connection of *šadâk*, *šadukâh* with *šadaqâh* «alms» was natural for Arabic lexicographers, but since we are entitled to assume that *šadaqâh* was borrowed from *š<sup>e</sup>dâkâ*, such a derivation, for us, meets with insurmountable difficulties.

In Islam, the two terms *šadaqâh* and *zakâh* are used for voluntary charity and the legally fixed charity taxes, respectively, but, as a result of the undetermined Qur'anic usage, both terms are also considered synonymous and used interchangeably.<sup>33</sup> In the Qur'an, *šadaqâh*, in many cases, may mean voluntary charity, and in some definitely does mean that,<sup>34</sup> but in the only passage in which the Qur'an speaks of the official regulations which should govern the distribution of charity, it is *aš-šadaqât* which is used.<sup>35</sup> The verb *tašaddaka* «to give charity» also is frequently used. There is no instance of the root *šdk* in this meaning being used in the Meccan period. The root *zkw*, in turn, is used in two different religious meanings in the Qur'an. It refers to moral purity,<sup>36</sup> and it appears as *zakâh*, a term nearly always coupled with *šalâh* «prayer.»<sup>37</sup> *Zakâh* appears restricted to the Medinese period. One would, therefore, hesitate to assume the meaning of «to give *zakâh*» for the fifth conjugation in

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Cantineau, *loc. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> Cf., for instance, aš-Šûlî, *Adab al-kuttâb*, Cairo 1341, p. 199, and, especially, al-Mâwardî, *al-Aḥkâm as-sultânîyah*, ed. by M. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 195.

<sup>34</sup> For instance, Qur'an 4.114, or 2.196 (192 Flügel).

<sup>35</sup> Qur'an 9.60.

<sup>36</sup> The noun *zakâh*, too, is used in this meaning, cf. Qur'an 18.81 (80 Flügel) and 19.13 (14). In all likelihood, this meaning also applies in 23.4, see below, fn. 39. *Zkw* is a religious loan also in this meaning.

<sup>37</sup> The only instances, in which it is not, are Qur'an 30.39 (38 Flügel) and 41.7 (6).



Qur'ân 92.18, although the context might suggest such a meaning.<sup>38</sup> With one exception where moreover the meaning of «charity taxes» appears to be highly doubtful,<sup>39</sup> the verb which is employed in connection with *zakâh* always is *âtâ* «to bring.» This indicates that *zakâh* is preferably thought of as a concrete object.

The precise relationship of *ṣadaqah* and *zakâh* in the Qur'ân is very difficult to determine, if there actually existed a distinction between the two terms. There hardly is a difference in origin, as both words seem to be of Jewish rather than Christian origin.<sup>40</sup> Muḥammad's use of them in their

<sup>38</sup> *Tazakkâ*, in Qur'ân 20.76 (78 Flügel), could hardly have the meaning of «giving charity.»

<sup>39</sup> Qur'ân 23.4 : *wa-llaḏīna hum li-z-zakâti fâ'ilûna*, in a description of the characteristics of the believers. Although prayer is mentioned before, the context, in addition to the use of the verb *fa'ala* «to make,» would make it seem very doubtful that *zakâh* here must mean «charity.» If the word were a genuine Arabic term which was employed by Muḥammad for expressing the idea of charity taxes, this passage (and 92.18) could be cited in order to show how the transition of meaning took place. But since it is a foreign loan, we must assume that the transition to the meaning of «charity taxes» had already taken place in the language from which it was derived (see the following footnote). At most, we might assume that Muḥammad here associated the two different meanings of the word.

<sup>40</sup> The *ṣ* in *ṣadaqah* is the normal form in (Hebrew and) Jewish Aramaic, whereas Syriac has *z*. But the Christian Aramaic dialect from which the Arabic term would most likely have been borrowed if it was taken from a Christian source, namely, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, also has preserved *ṣ*. The vowels of the Arabic word give no clue to its provenience. Cf. J. Horowitz, in *HUCA* 2, 1925, p. 212f.

The use of *zakâtâ* in the meaning of «charity, alms», on the other hand, appears not to be attested in Christian Aramaic dialects (in Syriac, it may serve as a translation of Hebrew *ṣedâqâ* but in a different meaning, cf. C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed., Halle 1928, p. 196a), whereas in Jewish Aramaic, at least the use of the verb *zâ* in the meaning of «giving alms» is well attested. The use of the noun in this sense is late and might possibly have been influenced by the Arabic word, cf. G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2nd ed.,



technical meaning seems in both cases to date from the Medinese period. The established use of a denominative verb *ṣadaqah* might well indicate that it is the more familiar term. There is the possibility that for Muḥammad, the two words originally designated gifts (to the poor) in different forms and for different purposes, but such an assumption cannot be proved and is not likely. The most likely hypothesis which might indicate a semantic difference between the two terms starts from the observation that the plural of *zakāh* is not used in the Qur'ān, in contrast to *ṣadaqah* where the plural form is familiar. *Ṣadaqāt* may thus have referred to alms, individual gifts, whereas *zakāh* represented the general idea of charity in its concrete expression. For our investigation, the philological problem of *ṣadaqah-zakāh* in Islam is a good illustration of the wide range of possibilities which present themselves even in a well-documented area and among which a choice has to be made.

Before we turn to the discussion of the Aramaic evidence, it must be stated that the root *ṣḏk* does not exist in *Akkadian*. The proper names in which it occurs are Westsemitic. Special attention has been paid to those names, in which the root appears in the form *z(ṣ)a-du-kā*. This element has wrongly been explained as the name of a deity (similar to the deity *ṣidk* in other proper names), and better as an adjective.<sup>41</sup> In view

Leipzig 1905, p. 246. Dalman was quoted by J. Horowitz, in *Der Islam* 8, 1918, p. 137 f., against Th. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* (above, fn. 6), who had denied the existence of either Jewish or Christian *zākātā* in the meaning of «charity.» On the strength of the argument that the root *zḵā* did not have the meaning of «alms» in the time of the New Testament, C. C. Torrey (*The translations made from the original Aramaic Gospels, in Studies in the history of religions presented to C. H. Toy*, New York 1912, p. 312 f.) rejected Wellhausen's ingenious but very uncertain hypothesis that the juxtaposition of «alms» and «cleanliness» in Luke 11.41 (Matthew 23.26) reflected an original *zky*. Cf. also G. Dalman, *The words of Jesus*, Edinburgh 1902, p. 62 f.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Th. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, Leipzig 1926, p. 66.

of an Akkadian interpretation of the name Ammišaduḫa as *kimtu kittu*,<sup>42</sup> it has been held to be a noun,<sup>43</sup> and, in accordance with well-founded philological considerations, it has also been considered to be a verbal form.<sup>44</sup> But, however the root *ṣdk* in such composite proper names has to be explained — and in other proper names, of which there are very many in the Northwest Semitic languages containing different formations of the root with different meanings<sup>45</sup> —, there is nothing that would connect any of them with the meaning of charity or the like.

However, there exists an Akkadian word which was combined with Westsemitic *ṣdk* and even with *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dâḫâ* in the meaning of «charity.» This word, is *sattukku*. H. Winckler seems to have been the first to suggest this hazardous combination.<sup>46</sup> On the strength of his comparison of *sattukku* with the *ṣdk* of the Têma inscription (see below), Winckler attributed to the Akkadian-Sumerian word the approximate meaning of «fixed sacrifice, income (of the temple).» The word has in the meantime become much better known from Sumerian texts. Sumerian *sa<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>* appears to have two (related?) meanings. It refers to a measure for liquids, and to fixed gifts for religious (and commercial) purposes.<sup>47</sup> It obviously is a genuine Sumerian

<sup>42</sup> Cf. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg 1925, Vol. 2, p. 360.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. J. Lewy, The old West Semitic Sun God Ḥammu, in *HUCA* 18, 1944, pp. 430, 435.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. W. F. Albright, in *JBL* 54, 1935, p. 199, and A. Goetze, in *BASOR* 95, 1944, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 161 f. Cf. also the Phoenician names in Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician language*, New Haven 1936, p. 140 f. (*American Oriental Series* 8), and N. Aimé-Giron, *Textes araméens d'Égypte*, Cairo 1931, p. 27. For Ugaritic, cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, Rome 1947, p. 264 (*Analecta Orientalia* 25).

<sup>46</sup> *Loc. cit.* (above, fn. 7).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Glossar*, Rome 1925-37, Vol. 3.2, p. 342, and Vol. 2 (3), p. 888, No. 457.39,

word and attested in a very ancient period. Winckler's suggestion that the Sumerian word was a loan from Akkadian which was made at a time when the latter language still possessed the root *šdk* is no longer acceptable. On the other hand, it also is not very likely that the Akkadian loan word *sattukku*, with all its consonants apparently differing from *šdk*, was assimilated by the eastern Aramaeans to their root *šdk* and thus imparted to the Aramaic word the meaning of gift. Attractive as such an assumption would be for our argument, it lacks any philological probability.

When the root *šdk* appears first in *Aramaic* inscriptions, it is in a form which would seem to have been derived from the Canaanite formulary for royal inscriptions. In Canaanite (including Hebrew), the root *yšr* usually appears as the corollary of *šdk*, but the recently discovered inscription of Karatepe has *bšdky wbhkmty*.<sup>48</sup> The juxtaposition of these two words is found in the Panammû inscription line 11. In the Zenjirli inscriptions (Panammû line 19; Barrakab line 4 f.), we also have *šdk* alone. It signifies the proper course of action in all human affairs, the paramount political virtue whose possession may be rewarded with a royal throne. In the Nerab inscriptions, then, the feminine noun makes its first appearance. It refers to a man's good behavior before the deity which assures him a blessed life, exactly as Noah was saved because he behaved properly before the Lord (*šaddîk l'pānay*, Gen. 7.1).

The Têmâ inscription needs some restoration in the crucial passages of lines 11 and 15 but the suggested restorations are virtually certain. The first passage contains a verb *šdkw* in the meaning of « they granted. » The second passage contains the noun *šdkî*. The word refers to the grant described in the

<sup>48</sup> The inscription, scarcely found, has already been edited many times, cf., for instance, C. H. Gordon, in *JNES* 8, 1949, p. 110.

inscription. The verb which governs it is *jhbw* «they gave.» This shows that *šdkt'* is a concrete object.<sup>49</sup>

The *šdkt'* of the Têma inscription cannot be connected with Akkadian *sattukku* as Winckler once suggested (see above). Considering the geographical location of Têmâ, it could, however, be an Arabic technical term which was used only locally and did not penetrate any further into the Aramaic language. No definite answer which would refute such an assumption seems to be available, but the general linguistic character of the Têmâ inscription would hardly support it.

The Elephantine papyri twice have a *šdkh*, *šdkt'* which looks as if it might be of some interest for our investigation. But the papyrus which contains these words is severely damaged and the context no longer ascertainable.<sup>50</sup> There is, however, the often discussed passage in the Bagoas papyrus, No. 30, line 27 (Cowley) : *wšdkh yhwk lk kdm Yhw 'lh šmy'*... Unfortunately, those words are not preserved in the fragmentary duplicate papyrus. E. Sachau thought that the word here referred to a «share» in the merit of the enterprise which Bagoas would acquire by his coming out in favor of it.<sup>51</sup> W. Staerk translated «(rich) reward.»<sup>52</sup> J. Barth dodged the issue by translating «Gerechtigkeit.»<sup>53</sup> E. Meyer,<sup>54</sup> followed

<sup>49</sup> For *šedâkâ*, *šidkâ*, in its abstract meaning, the proper verb would be '*âšâ*, '*baš*. The double meaning which the word had for the Jews of a later period shows itself in the alternate use of '*âšâ*, ποιεῖν and *nâtân*, διδόναι in connection with it (cf. R. Bultmann, *loc. cit.*, above fn. 2). One can also find a phrase such as *bgyn d'bd wyhb šdkt'*, cf. the *Targûm Šênî* to the Book of Esther, ed. by M. David, Berlin 1898, p. 518.

<sup>50</sup> No. 71, lines 5 and 28, in A. Cowley's edition, Oxford 1923.

<sup>51</sup> *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin 1908, p. 11 (from the *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1907).

<sup>52</sup> *Alte und neue aramäische Papyri*, Bonn 1912, p. 29 (*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* 94).

<sup>53</sup> *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft* 5, Frankfurt a. M. 1907-8, p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, Leipzig 1912, p. 84.

by A. Ungnad<sup>55</sup> and A. Cowley, has «merit.» A. Vincent apparently thought of «wordly reward granted by the deity.»<sup>56</sup> It is, however, obvious — and the fact could have been stressed more strongly by those who were aware of it — that the Aramaic phrase corresponds to Hebrew phrases such as Dt. 24.13 : *û-lêkâ tihye šêdâkâ lîp̄nê Yhwh lôhekâ*. It may be as genuine in Aramaic as it is in Hebrew and, as other phrases in the older Aramaic inscriptions, may be the result of the common Northwest Semitic heritage. In this particular case, it would, however, seem more likely that it simply is a transposition of a Hebrew phrase peculiar to Jewish usage and has no independent meaning in the Aramaic context. According to Hebrew religious phraseology, it must therefore be understood in the sense indicated by Vincent.

The Têma inscription remains the only Aramaic document which constitutes a clear instance for the use of the root *šdk* in the meaning of privilege-gift-grant. Yet, this would seem sufficient to justify the assumption that the occurrence of the root in a related meaning in the Aramaic part of the Bible represents a genuine Aramaic development. The famous passage Dan. 4.24 : *wa-hâtâyāk b-šdkâ pruk wa-<sup>a</sup>wâyâtāk b-miḥḥan <sup>a</sup>nāyîn* has been the subject of much controversy. The only clue to the proper interpretation of the word *šdkâ* lies in the parallelism with *miḥḥan <sup>a</sup>nāyîn*. The latter means «showing pity for the poor (and oppressed).» Such pity expresses itself in giving them what is due to them, cf. Ps. 37.21 : *lôwe rāšā' wê-lô yêšallēm wê-šaddîk hōnēn wê-nôtēn* (cf. also Ps. 112. 4b-5a).<sup>57</sup> Thus *šdkâ* in Daniel must mean something more tangible than «proper behavior.» «Giving charity» indeed seems well indicated as its meaning there. Here, we thus

<sup>55</sup> *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, Leipzig 1912, p. 5.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.* (above, fn. 7), p. 181.

<sup>57</sup> The juxtaposition of «giving to the poor» and the «eternal persistence of *šêdâkâ*» which we find in Ps. 112.9 seems to be incidental,

have the first Jewish testimony for the use of the word in the meaning of « alms, charity. »

Our next fixed point in the history of  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$  is the New Testament. In it, ἔλεημοσύνη, obviously a translation of  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$ , is firmly established in the meaning of « alms. » For the intervening period of over two centuries, we have to rely upon the information which can be elicited from the Greek translation of the Bible and the Apocrypha.<sup>58</sup> Whatever instances of the use of  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$  there may be in passages of the Mišnā and the Targūms which, according to general considerations, can be dated much earlier than the final redaction of those works, they cannot be used in our investigation, since it would always remain doubtful whether the original text contained just the particular word which interests us. And it is not yet known whether the great recent finds of Hebrew and Aramaic documents from Palestine might happen to contribute to our understanding of the history of  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$ .

In the case of the Greek translation of the Bible and the Apocrypha, an important question must be raised : Did the translator who used the word ἔλεημοσύνη in his translation of  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$  actually think of charity, alms given to the poor? Greek ἔλεημοσύνη acquired that meaning under the influence of the Judaeo-Christian usage. Where it was not so influenced, ἔλεημοσύνη apparently did not show even the slightest tendency to develop into the direction of such a specialized meaning. Therefore, it is possible that originally the translator, in translating  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$  through ἔλεημοσύνη, may not have thought of alms proper. His purpose might have been to distinguish in his translation  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$  from  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāḳā}$ , and he occasionally translated the latter through ἔλεημοσύνη which is a more abstract term and denotes more of an exclusively moral quality than δικαιοσύνη. A decision in this respect is not made easier by the fact that no valid principle according to which

<sup>58</sup> Cf. R. Bultmann, *loc. cit.* (above, fn. 2), and the other references given in fn. 2.



the one or other translation of *ṣḏâkâ* was employed has yet been discovered. In Judg. 5.11, the translator wrongly read *yittēnû* «they will give» as the verb governing the plural of *ṣḏâkâ* and considered God as the object to whom the *ṣḏâkôt* were given. In view of *yittēnû*, one might have expected a translation ἐλεημοσύνας, but we find δικαιοσύνας (δικαιοσύνην). It might be concluded that ἐλεημοσύνη had the connotation of alms for the translator, and he therefore avoided the word as the recipient of the ἐλεημοσύναι, in this case, was God. Another element in favor of the assumption that ἐλεημοσύνη had the connotation of alms for the translator may be found in double translations which possibly suggest that ἐλεημοσύνη represented a concept rather different from δικαιοσύνη.<sup>59</sup> Finally, there is the fact that ἐλεημοσύνη eventually did become the chosen term for charity, alms to the poor. It is, therefore, likely, but not proved and not by necessity valid in each particular instance, that ἐλεημοσύνη as a translation of *ṣḏâkâ* in the Septuagint and the Apocrypha reflected that specialized meaning.

We have now reached the stage in our investigation where we might ask when actually and under what circumstances *ṣḏâkâ* assumed the meaning of «charity, alms.» The answer, unfortunately, must remain entirely hypothetic in view of the scanty historical material we possess. The first occurrence of the word in that meaning, in the second century, need not necessarily mark the earliest date of its use in the Aramaic speech of the Jews. It could have been considerably older and still have left no trace in our limited sources. It should be taken into consideration that in Deutero-Isaiah who, to an

<sup>59</sup> The best instance is Tobit 12.9, where the Sinaiticus has οἱ ποιῶντες ἐλεημοσύνην χορτασθήσονται ζωῆς, while the Alexandrinus and Vaticanus give the following text: οἱ ποιῶντες ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ δικαιοσύνας πλησθήσονται ζωῆς, cf. A. Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint, Stuttgart 1935, Vol. 1, p. 1031. Cf. also Tobit 14.9, 11.



even greater degree than Psalms and Proverbs, used the root *šdk* as a fundamental moral term, a certain concretization of the meaning of *š<sup>c</sup>dâkâ* makes its appearance, as evidenced by the parallelism. It was no longer an abstract quality but something as material as well-being (peace), help, strength, or blessing.<sup>60</sup> This was a good preparation for the adoption of the Aramaic term, meaning something like gift. It is, therefore, not impossible that the fusion of the Aramaic term and the Jewish concept already started in the period of the Babylonian exile. Rather than during the Maccabaeen struggles, it might have been in the course of the resettlement of Israel in the fifth century which required great financial contributions for the success of the whole and for the support of those of small means, that the Aramaic word came into use for the stipulated sums which were levied upon the people first for the common welfare, and then for that of indigent individuals. It would thus have been in the fifth century that the long history of a Semitic root of great importance for the moral development of mankind entered upon its last stage. That last stage turned out to be no less significant than all the preceding ones. From it, not only the Jews but also the many Muslim nations of the east and Christian nations of the west derived, either in its original root or through loan translation, the word for and the concept of what once was and to a large degree still is one of the fundamental pillars of civilized human society.

<sup>60</sup> The best instances are Is. 46.13; 48.18; 54.17; 59.16, 60.17; 61.10; Ps. 24.5; Ps. 112; Prov. 8.18; 10.2(?); 11.4. Cf. also above, p. 411.

# LE SACRIFICE DBH DANS LES INSCRIPTIONS ŞAFAÏTIQUES

G. RYCKMANS  
University of Louvain

ON ne relève dans les inscriptions şafaïtiques que de rares allusions à des sacrifices sanglants offerts à la divinité. Comme on le verra plus loin, ces allusions ne font aucun doute dans les textes où se présente le verbe dbh. Ces textes, au nombre de 16, se répartissent, à une exception près, en quatre groupes, dont chacun présente un caractère homogène nettement accusé, eu égard à la proximité immédiate dans laquelle se trouvent les unités de chaque groupe, à leur appartenance aux membres d'une même famille, ou à la mention des mêmes divinités<sup>1</sup>.

Le premier groupe a été relevé par M. et M<sup>me</sup> M. Dunand à Ḥadjr el-Helle, dans une région basaltique, à 30 km. à l'ouest de Ridjm el-Mara.

C. 852 = Dn. 1202a : *lhr bn mgyr wdbh*, « A Ḥurr, fils de Muğayyir. Et il a immolé ».

C. 853 = Dn. 1202b : *lbd'r'l bn s'd wdbh fgd'wd slm*, « A Badr'il, fils de Sa'id. Et il a immolé. Et, Gadd-'Awīd, salut ».

C. 857 = Dn. 1203c : *lswd bn rgl bn hgy wdbh fhgd'wd slm*

<sup>1</sup> Abréviations : C = *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*. Pars V, Inscriptiones saracenicæ continens, Fasc. I : *Inscriptiones safaiticæ* [à paraître prochainement]; D.M. = R. Dussaud et F. Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne*, Paris, 1903 [les chiffres renvoient aux numéros des inscriptions şafaïtiques]; Dn. = [Inscriptions şafaïtiques relevées par M. et M<sup>me</sup> M. Dunand, à paraître dans C.]; Dussaud-Macler, *Mission...* [voir D.M.]; L.P. = Enno Littmann, *Safaitic Inscriptions*, Leiden, 1943; Ryckmans, *Les religions [arabes préislamiques]*, dans M. Gorce et R. Mortier, *Histoire générale des religions*, t. IV, Paris, 1947.]

*wrd fnwy by*, « A Sawâd, fils de Rigâl, fils de Ḥaggay. Et il a immolé. Et, ô Gadd-ʿAwîd, salut. Et préserve. Et il s'est déplacé; il s'est établi (?) ».

C. 860 = Dn. 1205 : *lgrn bn mgyr bn sr wdbbh fhgd'wd slm wtrd frmd bqr snt 'ty 'sf qr*, « A Qirân, fils de Muḡayyir, fils de Sûr. Et il a immolé. Et, ô Gadd-ʿAwîd, salut et protection. Et le gros bétail a péri l'année où est venu ʿAṣaf. Repos. » [E. Littmann nous propose de lire la fin de l'inscription : *snt 'ty 'sfqr*, « l'année où vint l'inspecteur », c'est-à-dire « l'agent de l'administration romaine », « inspector ».]

Ces quatre inscriptions sont voisines les unes des autres. Les textes C. 852 et 860 se rapportent à deux frères, Ḥurr et Qirân, fils de Muḡayyir. Dans C. 852, le verbe *dbbh* termine l'inscription; il est suivi d'une invocation à Gadd-ʿAwîd dans C. 853, 857 et 860, sans qu'il soit dit toutefois que le sacrifice soit offert à ce dieu; l'invocation se borne à lui demander d'assurer le salut à ses fidèles; C. 857 y ajoute la demande : « Et préserve ».

Le deuxième groupe se compose de graffites copiés par R. Dussaud et F. Macler dans le Wâdî eš-Šâm, entre Ghadir Abou Za'rour et El-Ḥifné, à proximité de puits peu profonds utilisés comme points d'eau quand la nappe d'eau apparente est desséchée. Les environs de ces points d'eau étaient des lieux de campement riches en inscriptions<sup>2</sup>.

C. 3945 = D.M. 157 : *lhny bn 'nf bn grm'l wdbbh fh'(t)' slm*, « A Ḥannay, fils de ʿAnaf, fils de Garam'il. Et il a immolé. Et, ô ʿI(t)a', salut ».

C. 3946 = D.M. 158 : *lgrm'l bn 'nf bn grm'l wdbbh fh'(t)' slm mb's*, « A Garam'il, fils de ʿAnaf, fils de Garam'il. Et il a immolé. Et, ô (ʿI)ta', salut (= délivrance) du mauvais.

C. 3947 = D.M. 159 : *l'n'm bn 'nf bn grm'l wdbb[h]*, « A ʿAn'am, fils de ʿAnaf, fils de Garam'il. Et il a immo[lé] ».

C. 3948 = D.M. 160 : *l'nf bn grm'l wdbbh fh'(t)' slm*, « A

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dussaud-Macler, *Mission...*, p. 26.

'Anaf, fils de Garam'il. Et il a immolé. Et, ô 'I(ṭa)', salut ».

Ces quatre inscriptions, comme celles du groupe précédent, sont voisines les unes des autres. Elles concernent les membres d'une même famille. Ḥannay (C. 3945), Garam'il (C. 3946) et 'An'am (C. 3947) sont fils de 'Anaf, fils de Garam'il; 'Anaf lui-même est le titulaire de la dernière inscription (C. 3948). Chacun de ces quatre personnages « a immolé ». Il n'est fait mention ni de la victime ni de la divinité à laquelle le sacrifice est offert. Toutefois, dans C. 3945, 3946 et 3948, la mention du sacrifice est suivie d'une invocation au dieu 'Iṭa', dont le nom est une variante de yṭ<sup>3</sup>.

Le troisième groupe comprend trois inscriptions copiées par R. Dussaud et F. Macler dans le Wādī el-Gharz où de nombreuses inscriptions safaitiques ont été relevées dans le voisinage des points d'eau<sup>4</sup>.

C. 4358 = D.M. 470a : *lh̄l bn 'qr(b) bn [bn]y d̄'l rf't wdb̄h lb[']lsmn*, « A Ḥayl, fils de 'Aqra(b), Fils de [Bani]y, de la tribu de Raf'at. Et il a immolé à Ba[']alsamîn ».

C. 4360 = D.M. 471 : *lšdd̄ bn mlkt̄ bn ḥṭst̄ bn f(l)ṭt̄ bn b(h)š wdb̄h lb'lsmn fw(q)yt*, « A Šaddād, fils de Mâlikat, fils de Ḥaṭṭasat, fils de Fâ(li)ṭat, fils de Bu(hay)š. Et il a immolé à Ba'alsamîn. Et protection ».

C. 4409 = D.M. 518 : [...] *bn 'ṭs bn 'šḥr [w]db̄h lb'lsmn* », « [...], fils de 'Aṭṭās, fils de 'Ašḥar. [Et] il a immolé à Ba'alsamîn ».

Les deux premières inscriptions ont été relevées au même endroit. La troisième a été gravée dans leur voisinage presque immédiat. Le sacrifice, d'après les trois textes, est chaque fois offert au dieu Ba'alsamîn<sup>5</sup>, mais il n'est donné aucune pré-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. Ryckmans, *La mention de Jésus dans les inscriptions safaitiques*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVII (1949) [Mélanges P. Peeters], p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dussaud-Macler, *Mission...*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ryckmans, *Les religions...*, p. 312, 314.

cision au sujet de la victime. L'inscription C. 4360 se termine par une demande de protection adressée à Ba'alsamîm. Enfin, la famille citée dans C. 4358 appartient à la « tribu Raf'at ».

Les quatre inscriptions qui forment le quatrième groupe proviennent également du Wâdî el-Gharz. Elles ont été relevées par R. Dussaud et F. Macler, à proximité les unes des autres à Ghadîr ed-Derb, « simple flaque d'eau bourbeuse »<sup>6</sup>.

C. 4620 = D.M. 708 : [...] *bn yd' wdbh*, « [...], fils de Yada'. Et il a immolé ».

C. 4646 = D.M. 731 : *lqdm bn (')slm bn qdm bn (')th bn nhb bn 'qwm d(')l slm wdb[h] fhlt slm whll hdr snt qb...fn fš(y)r tm whgd'wd 'wr ld y[w]r hsfr*, « A Qadam, fils de ('A)slam, fils de Qadam, fils de ('A)tahh, fils de Nâhib, fils de 'Aqwam, de la tribu de Sâlim. Et il a im[molé]. Et, ô Lât, salut. Et il a demeuré en ce lieu, l'année ... Et il est ar(ri)vé à Tam (?). Et, ô Gadd-'Awîd, cécité à celui qui ef[fa]cerait cette inscription ».

C. 4647 = D.M. 732 : *ltm bn (')s(l)m bn qdm bn 't()h bn nh[b] bn 'q[wm] wdbh f(h)lt slm*, « A Taym, fils de ('A)s(la)m, fils de Qadam, fils de 'A()tahh, fils de Nâhi[b], fils de 'Aq[wam]. Et il a immolé. Et, (ô) Lât, salut ».

C. 4652 = D.M. 737 : *lslm bn 'sd wdbh h...*, « A Sâlim, fils de 'Asad. Et il a immolé ... ».

Les inscriptions C. 4646 et 4647 se rapportent à deux frères, Qadam et Taym, fils de 'Aslam, de la tribu de Sâlim (C. 4646). Notons que le Sâlim, petit-fils de Sâlim, dans C. 4652, pourrait appartenir à cette même tribu, ce qui expliquerait la prédilection témoignée dans sa famille pour ce prénom. Les textes ne fournissent aucune précision quant à la victime; ils ne nous font pas connaître la divinité à laquelle est offert le sacrifice. La mention de celui-ci est toutefois suivie dans C. 4646 et 4647 d'une invocation à la déesse Lât, et C. 4646 contient, en finale,

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dussaud-Macler, *Mission...*, p. 27.

une menace de représailles de la part de Gadd-'Awîd à l'égard de celui qui effacerait l'inscription.

La dernière inscription de la série dbh a été relevée par E. Littmann à Qabr Nâsir, sur son itinéraire de Nemâra, dans le Wâdî eš-Šâm, à Senaiyim, dans le Wâdî el-Gharz. Je reproduis le texte de l'inscription d'après ma lecture.

L.P. 649 : *lbrd bn 'slh bn 'bgr wšty hdr wdbh fhlt slm*,  
« A Burd, fils de 'Aslah, fils de 'Abgar. Et il a hiverné en ce lieu. Et il a immolé. Et, ô Lât, salut ».

Le sacrifice dont l'inscription ne précise ni la victime ni la divinité destinataire, a été offert au cours d'une période d'hivernage. L'inscription se termine par une invocation à Lât.

On a eu l'occasion de constater que les renseignements fournis par ces textes au sujet du sacrifice dbh se réduisent à peu de chose. Ils peuvent être résumés comme suit :

Le sacrifice sanglant était en usage chez les demi-nomades du Šafâ. Les graffites qui en font mention proviennent pour la plupart des lieux de campement situés à proximité des points d'eau. Ces sacrifices n'étaient donc pas offerts dans un lieu de culte; les auteurs des copies ne signalent aucune trace d'édifice ou d'installation quelconque pouvant présenter un caractère cultuel dans le voisinage des endroits où ils ont relevé des inscriptions. On a vu plus haut qu'un père et ses trois fils commémorent, chacun dans une inscription indépendante, l'offrande d'un sacrifice (C. 3945-3948). Ailleurs (C. 4646, 4647), pareille mention est faite par deux frères, dans deux inscriptions voisines l'une de l'autre.

Les sacrifices dont il est question paraissent donc appartenir au culte familial et privé. Du fait qu'il n'en est fait mention que dans 16 inscriptions sur un total de plusieurs milliers de textes connus, on peut conclure qu'ils n'étaient pas couramment pratiqués. Ils avaient lieu dirait-on, à l'occasion d'un événement qui intéressait la famille tout entière. Les textes ne nous renseignent que parcimonieusement sur les circonstances concomi-

tantes à leur rédaction. D'après C. 857, Sawâd « s'est déplacé, et il s'est établi ». Nous savons par C. 860 que « le gros bétail a péri l'année où est venu 'Aṣaf (?) ». Le sacrifice dont il est fait mention dans cette inscription est-il en relation avec le fléau dont a été frappé le bétail? Cette relation n'est certainement pas exprimée en termes explicites. L'auteur de C. 4646 « a demeuré en ce lieu l'année ..., et il est arrivé à Ṭam (?) ». Une mutilation de la pierre nous laisse dans l'ignorance de l'événement qui a caractérisé cette année. Ailleurs il est question d'un déplacement effectué par l'auteur de l'inscription (C. 857), ou encore, d'une levée du camp (C. 4646). Le sacrifice a-t-il eu lieu à cette occasion? On pourrait en douter, pareils épisodes étant fréquemment mentionnés, sans qu'ils aient donné lieu à un sacrifice quelconque.

Nous n'avons aucun détail concernant les victimes. Ils conviennent toutefois de rappeler ici deux inscriptions qui fournissent peut-être une précision à ce sujet.

C. 1658 = Dn. 388 : *lwql bn y'l hgmln qsyn l'lt wrdw fhyt' 'wr m'wr h[h]tt*, « A Waqal, fils de Ya'al, ces deux chameaux mis à part pour 'Ilat et Ruḏâ. Et, ô Yaṭi', aveugle celui qui effacerait ces [i]mages ».

L'inscription est tracée dans un cadre au milieu duquel sont représentés deux chameaux et un homme tenant d'une main une lance, et de l'autre main un bouclier. En arabe, *qṣw* signifie « écarter, mettre à part ». De cette racine dérivent *qaṣiyy*, « sélectionné, séparé des autres et exempté de travail »; *qaṣiyya*, « chamelle sélectionnée ». Le contexte indique nettement que l'action est posée au bénéfice des divinités Ruḏâ et Yaṭi'. S'agit-il d'un sacrifice? La lance tenue par le chamelier ne suffirait pas à le suggérer; le bouclier semble plutôt indiquer qu'il s'agit de l'équipement guerrier dans lequel sont représentés la plupart des personnages figurant auprès des graffites. Les chameaux en question pourraient être simplement destinés à enrichir l'un des troupeaux sacrés qui paissaient dans l'enceinte des sanctuaires<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Qoran, V, 102; cf. Ryckmans, *Les religions...*, p. 308.



L.P. 317. Je lis : *ln(z)r bn qn'l bn qhš bn ḥdg hqnt qṣyt lnḥ(y)*, « A Na(za)r, fils de Qayn'il, fils de Qāḥis, fils de Ḥudāg, cette chamelle mise à part pour Nah(i) ».

A droite de l'inscription est tracée l'image d'un chameau. D'après le contexte parallèle de C. 1658, le dernier mot doit être un n. pr. de divinité. La copie porte *nhl*; je lis *nh(y)*<sup>8</sup>. Littmann traduit : « This she-camel [that can endure to be] far away from the watering place [belongs] to Ḥūr b. Kain-ēl b. Kāḥish b. Ḥādīg »; il signale dans ses *Addenda* (p. 348) la correction à laquelle je lui avais proposé de soumettre sa lecture.

De toutes les inscriptions dans lesquelles se rencontre le terme dbh, trois seulement nomment la divinité à laquelle est offert le sacrifice. Elles appartiennent au deuxième groupe (C. 4358; 4360; 4409); il s'agit dans ces trois textes de Ba'alsamīn (*wdbh lb'lsmn*), dont le nom est suivi dans C. 4360 de l'invocation optative *fwqyt*, « et protection ».

Ailleurs, la mention du sacrifice est suivie, dans plusieurs textes, d'une invocation à une divinité, sans qu'une relation quelconque soit établie entre le sacrifice et cette divinité. On relève ainsi les noms de Gadd-'Awīd (C. 853; 857; 860), 'Ita' (C. 3945; 3946; 3948), Lāt (C. 4646; 4647; L.P. 649). On leur demande « le salut » (*slm*), et en outre « la protection (*rd* : C. 857; *trd* : 860). Enfin, dans un texte l'invocation à Lāt est suivie d'une menace des représailles de Gadd-'Awīd contre quiconque effacerait l'inscription (C. 4646).

Ce sont là tous les renseignements que les inscriptions nous permettent de recueillir concernant le sacrifice sanglant dans la mouvance šafaïtique. Les sources épigraphiques qui nous fournissent ces renseignements sont des graffites tracés sur les parois rocheuses des vallées, au hasard des haltes ou des campements. Il n'est pas étonnant dès lors que leur contenu se limite aux

<sup>8</sup> Cf. E. Littmann, *Thamūd und Šafā*, Leipzig, 1940, p. 79, n° 128; p. 141, n° 61.

perspectives de la vie privée des semi-nomades du limes de Syrie, et aux manifestations de leur activité quotidienne. L'exploration des régions qui constituent leur habitat n'a livré aucun document épigraphique officiel qui les concerne; cette carence s'explique par le niveau médiocre de ces tribus à peine évoluées.

NOTES ON THE  
« CHRONICLE OF JOSHUA THE STYLITE » <sup>1</sup>

CHARLES C. TORREY  
Yale University

THE Notes are based on the edition of William Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* : Cambridge University Press, 1882. The Syriac text with an English translation.

Because of the great importance of the brief but famous historical work, which for more than two hundred years has been known under the above title; in view also of the fact that in the approximately seventy years which have elapsed since the last publication of the Chronicle, a number of errors in either the Syriac text or the English translation have been observed, it would seem that the publication of a series of critical notes, such as are here offered, would be a real desideratum. I am not aware that there has been any such attempt to supplement Wright's work. The changes suggested are generally slight, but any contribution to the perfection of this gem of Syriac literature will doubtless be welcomed.

It is necessary to prefix to the Notes a brief statement in regard to the Chronicle and its author. It might seem sufficient to give a reference to the Preface of Wright's edition; but the fact is, that new manuscript evidence and recent investigations have overthrown conclusions which had seemed well established.

The Chronicle is anonymous, the ascription to Joshua the pillar saint was mistaken. We know, indeed, when and where it was written, and by reading between the lines it is possible to learn much about the personal qualities of its author, who writes in the first person. The work has survived in a single

<sup>1</sup> Now rather to be called *The Chronicle of the Persian War*.

manuscript, now preserved in the Vatican Library. The writing is often indistinct and sometimes quite illegible.

Wright's edition, the work of a high authority in the field of Syriac literature, made full use of the labors of his predecessors, see the Preface, pp. v. f.<sup>2</sup> It presents a text which can rarely be improved.

The history covers the year 495-506, thus including especially the period of the war of the Byzantine Greeks with the Persians under the redoubtable Qōwādh, the « Kaikobad » of Firdansi. It was written in Edessa, apparently immediately after the end of the war, as Wright conjectures, see the Preface, p. ix.<sup>3</sup>

Its author, an eye-witness of many of the things which he described, was a keen observer and possessed of first-rate literary ability. From the fact that he wrote his Chronicle at the request of the abbot of a convent near Edessa, a man with whom he is evidently in close touch, it has been conjectured that he was a professor in the theological school in the city. In this time of violent theological controversy, he never appears as the adherent of a party; indeed, his habitual moderation, the broad and liberal view which everywhere seems characteristic of him, would show him incapable of partisanship.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> He names especially the Maronite scholar J. S. Assemani (18th century), the Abbé Martin, who first edited the complete text, Theodor Nöldeke of Strassburg, and Ignazio Guidi of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque*<sup>2</sup> (see below), p. 187, prefers the date 518, on the ground that the author of the Chronicle speaks of the end of the reign of Anastasius. This is not quite accurate, however. The author's words are (Chapter CI): « If this emperor appears in a different aspect towards the end of his life, let no one be offended at his praises, » etc. Now the emperor died as a very old man. At the time when the war ended he was 76 years old, and even before that time a writer could feel sure that he was nearing the end of his life.

<sup>4</sup> Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 77, pronounced him a monophysite; this because he speaks approvingly of Jacob (afterward Bishop of Serūgh), Chap. LIV, and of Philoxenos of Mabbōgh, Chap. XXX. Baumstark, *Gesch. d. Syr. Lit.*, p. 274, accepts this judgment. But the first sentence of Chap. CI, quoted above, proves the contrary (Wright

A few words must also be said in regard to « Joshua the Stylite, » Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē, and the former theories which now have been abandoned.

Our Chronicle is known only as part of a more extensive work which has incorporated it entire. The latter is also an anonymous chronicle, dating from about the year 775. It was formerly believed to be an abridgment of the Chronicle of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē, and so Wright regarded it, but this was later shown to be a mistake.

Near the point in this composite work where our Chronicle begins, it appears that a leaf of the manuscript had become so torn or otherwise disfigured as to be beyond repair; it was necessary to make a copy of it. The leaf was the one which immediately preceded the beginning of the author's narrative (Chap. VII). At this point the text of the manuscript reads as follows :

« Pray for the wretched Elisha, of the convent of Zūqnīn, who wrote this leaf, that he may find grace like the thief on the right hand. Amen and Amen. May the mercy of the great God and our Redeemer Jesus Christ be upon the priest Mār Yēshūa' the stylite, of the convent of Zūqnīn, who wrote this Chronicle of the evil times that are past, and of the calamities and troubles which the tyrant wrought among men. » <sup>5</sup>

Since the main work had been assigned (by Assemani and his successors) to Dionysius, it was never doubted that Elisha's note referred to the author of the little chronicle. The theory was, that this pillar saint of Zūqnīn had had occasion to live some time in Edessa, where he wrote his history, and then had returned to his convent. It now seems plain, however, that the scribe Elisha intended the author of the whole composite work.

supposed this sentence to be a later addition to the text). That which the emperor did toward the end of his life was to turn so actively monophysite as to make trouble in the empire.

<sup>5</sup> Wright gives also the Syriac text of the passage, and its exact location in the manuscript. Zūqnīn was a village near Āmid.

The true state of the case was first seen by two scholars, independently : F. Nau, *Bulletin Critique*, June 15, 1896; *Journal Asiatique*, 1896, VIII, 346 ff.; Th. Nöldeke, *Wiener Zeitschrift*, July, 1896.

For the literature dealing with our Chronicle, see also especially the following : Wm. Wright, *Syriac Literature*, 1894, pp. 77 f.; R. Duval, *La Littérature Syriacque*, 2<sup>e</sup> ed. 1900, pp. 187 f., 204 ff.; F. Haase, *Oriens Christianus*, second series, VI, pp. 65-90, 240-270; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 1922, pp. 146, 273 f.

To introduce the student to the best Syriac of the best period, this little *Chronicle of the Persian War* has no superior in the native literature. The unusual interest of the subject matter, the skill of the narrator, and the excellence of his literary style combine to render the work truly unique.

#### I. THE TEXT

One or two matters concerning the Syriac orthography may be mentioned at the outset.

The work was originally written in the Estrangelā script, beyond doubt, and knowledge of this fact will sometimes aid the criticism of the text. Especially, the frequency of the confusion of *dālath* or *rēsh* with *waw* in this script has not been generally understood. Examples will be given.

A fine point of orthography that calls for notice is the « defective » writing of a long vowel (omission of *waw* or *yōd*) in *one* of the two or more occurrences of the same vowel in a given word. This *finesse* of writing is familiar in classical Hebrew script, especially in the earlier books of the Old Testament; thus, נָסוּ, נָזְרוּ, נָסוּ, נָזְרוּ etc. In our Chronicle the habit is quite regularly followed, the examples numbering about thirty.

Wright, not recognizing the scribal custom, treats the defective writing as incorrect, and constantly queries the resulting forms; thus, p. 14, note 8, « Read ܐܠܗܝܡ ? » and this again

(same word), p. 18, note 1. P. 3, note 3, and p. 21, note 4, he corrects the text by inserting a second *Waw*; and thus also in the many similar cases. It might have been better simply to state the ancient rule and let the student interpret the forms.

In regard to the very frequent queries in Wright's notes : it is always to be understood that the reading which he proposes is to be adopted, unless express objection to it is made.

P. 7, n. 6. The proposal, to read the imperfect tense instead of the participle, is not fortunate; see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, p. 272.

P. 8, n. 1. The first example of the confusion of *dālath* with *waw* (see above). P. 11, n. 7 gives another example.

P. 8, n. 6. The fact that the *possession* of the city is the main subject of the chapter would favor the reading ܐܠܐ.

P. 13, l. 16. It seems likely that a passage is missing after the second word in the line.

P. 14, l. 10. Transpose the punctuation to follow ܠܒܝܢܐ.

P. 15, n. 4. Yes, or else insert ܕܐܡܐ.

P. 19, n. 2. The true reading would seem to be ܠܒܝܢܐ, « Every day he was *begging* before him ».

In the middle of Chapter 27 there is a gap, serious but perhaps not extensive, which has escaped the notice of the previous editors and translators of the text.

Each year, on the 17th day of Īyār (May), there was celebrated in Edessa a certain pagan festival which the author of the Chronicle mentions several times with horror. The first mention, accompanied by a description of the main features, was in this 27th Chapter, but both the original mention and the description (except for a few incidental features) have been lost from the text through some accident.

Chapter 30, at the beginning, alludes to the passage : « There came round again the time of *that festival at which the heathen tales were sung.* » This refers to Chap. 27, but not a word is said there about either singing or pagan stories. Again, in Chap. 46 we read : « In this month (Īyār), when the day came



on which the wicked festival of the tales of the (ancient) Greeks was held, *of which we have spoken above*, there came an edict. » etc.

Even in Chap. 27 itself there is good evidence of the lacuna, when in lines 10 f. it is said that « they kindled lamps without number in honor of *this festival* »(!), although no festival had been mentioned.

The now missing passage told of the festival, and of its principal feature the song-recital of the stories of the Greek gods, perhaps also of the festal procession, by night, through the city (as in Chap. 30). All of this might have been contained in five or six lines. The place where the gap occurs is after the first word, **ܐܒܬܐ**, in line 10.

The word, a feminine noun, which is missing at the point where the text resumes, can only be guessed at. It might designate either a place or a ceremony. If the latter, the Greek word at the end of the sentence might be **τριμέγαια**, « tripartite, » indicating a ceremony that included other features than the dance.

P. 22, notes 5 and 6. Keep the reading of the manuscript, supposing a scribal miswriting of the word for « grain » (see Wright's note on the translation).

P. 26, n. 6. The original reading was certainly **ܫܚܒܝܢ**, quoted from Mark 6:39, 40 (both Peshittā and Old Syriac).

P. 27, n. 1. This is the familiar Aramaic idiom (see Wright's translation) which appears in Matt. 28:1 and parallels and in Luke 23:54, where the translators of the Aramaic Gospels try to do justice to the root **ננה** by employing the verb **ἐπιφώσκειν** ! Other examples in our Chronicle are p. 22, line 9, and p. 44, line 1.

P. 27, n. 3. Read perhaps **ܐܘܪܝܬܐ**, « which gives evidence. » — Note 4. Read **ܕܒܕܐܝܠ** « Evidence of impending (evils) which are to come upon the houses. »

P. 28, n. 3. Throughout the manuscript, this masc. plur. ending may be used for the fem. also.

P. 29, n. 8. Or else ܠܫܡܐ, see line 6.

P. 30, n. 6. Another example of the confusion of *waw* with *dālath*; see above. — In line 16, the period is in the wrong place, it should follow ܠܫܡܐ.

P. 32, n. 2. See above, p. 28, n. 3.

P. 33, n. 6. Is not the picture rather this, that the sea of locusts *flowed over* the child and smothered it? The Arabic verb *sāḥa*, middle *i*, has just this meaning, the flowing of water over a level surface. May we not retain the reading of the manuscript?

P. 35, n. 6. Is not the reading of the text to be preferred? « He remitted to the villagers a follis each, *of* the price (confusion of *dālath* and *waw*) which they were paying. »

P. 37, n. 1. The true reading of the noun is ܠܫܡܐܝܬܐ *sh'raddūdhē*, « corpses »; see Payne Smith, *Lex.*, col. 4326 f., Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. A word of Assyrian origin.

P. 41, n. 5. The true reading is ܠܫܡܐ ܠܫܡܐ ܠܫܡܐ ܠܫܡܐ ܠܫܡܐ. The three dots over each of two adjoining words mean that the words are to be transposed. See my *Ezra Studies*, p. 7, and the note there. This sign of transposition is very unusual, as appears from the fact that it was unknown to Wright. In our MS, the *first* ܠܫܡܐ was the one to be deleted.

P. 44, l. 1. See the note above, on p. 27, note 1.

P. 45, n. 5. Either that, or else insert ܠܫܡܐ. The presence of the preposition makes this most probable. Compare p. 46, line 8.

P. 46, n. 1. The reading of MS is right, and Wright's emendation is mistaken. The letter supposed in 2 Thess. 2:2 is sent ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, that is, *in Paul's name*. Wright sees here a form from root ܠܫܡܐ and renders « beguiling, » but the word actually written is ܠܫܡܐܝܬܐ, « disguised, » from root ܠܫܡܐ see e.g. Payne Smith, s.v., *mutato habitu ut personam alterius*

*simularet*. The best rendering would be «spurious,» or, more exactly, «falsified.»

Note 4. Better retain the reading of the text. There are good examples of this passive participle used in the active sense.

Note 7. Wright's note appears to show that the original reading of the manuscript was ܠܐܪܒܝܐ, and «Arabia» is frequently written in this way. For still another frequently used way of writing the name, see p. 71, line 4.

P. 48, n. 10. Read ܠܚܝܬܐ. «And by the hoofs of the Arabs' horses they were trodden.» See Ex. 10:26 Syr., etc.

Note 11. The author seems to employ the *pe'al* and the *af'el* of this verb interchangeably according to the rhythm of the sentence. Cf. 33 1.9, 45 1.6, 51 1.1, 54 1s.1 and 11, etc.

P. 50, n. 2. Retain the text. This passive participle means, properly, «patched,» but here might be rendered «folded.»

P. 55, n. 3. There is no need of emendation.

P. 59, n. 1. It has been plausibly conjectured that this was originally written as the proper name Rufinus, meaning the officer mentioned in Chapters 50 and 54. See A. Mez, *Geschichte der Stadt Harrān* (Diss.), p. 55.

P. 60, l. 14. I think that ܠܐ «except,» is a mistake here for ܠܐܠܐ «not even.» The two words are so alike in form and sound and in the manner of their introduction, that a scribe may simply write the one which he happens to expect. The circumstances in this case, compared with the similar conditions in p. 62, lines 8 and 19, make «not even» almost certainly the author's meaning. (The same mistake in the Aramaic of Mark 6:8 and 9:29.)

P. 62, n. 4. It is not necessary to emend, see p. 68, line 11.

P. 66, line 12. ܠܝܬܐ is another example of the confusion of *dālath* with *waw*. F. Schulthess, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. 27, p. 239, showed that the true reading is ܠܝܬܐ; also, that the word here has not the usual meaning, «table,» but (as occasionally elsewhere) «plate,» namely the paten holding the consecrated wafer.





of Chapter 27. According to our present text, the monstrous wickedness of « the greater part of the citizens of Edessa » consisted in seeing a dancer perform and in lighting the streets of the city!

P. 21, middle. Render : « of whom beyond all others it was thought acceptable that he should labor in teaching. » The participle is fem. passive and impersonal.

P. 22, below. « All the artisans were reclining in groups and enjoying themselves in the court of the church, » etc. See the note on the text.

P. 30, above. « He remitted two folles, » etc. See the note on the text (p. 35, n. 6).

P. 31, middle. Instead of « jackals » read « corpses ».

P. 38, below middle. Instead of « beguiling epistle » render « falsified epistle. » See the note on the reading of the manuscript.

P. 44, beginning of Chapter 55. A word is omitted in the translation : ... « until they were driven to the gate of Nisībis, *being cut down* (as they fled), and many of the fugitives were suffocated, » etc.

P. 52, above middle. Render : « They slew many Persians, but of them there fell *not even* one man. » See the note (p. 60, line 14) in regard to emending the text.

P. 53, bottom. Instead of « like an upraised mound of earth, » render : « like a swelling wave of dust. » The noun is « wave, » not « mound, » and the phrase is fixed in Syriac usage; see Payne Smith, *Lex.*, col. 1148. Cancel the second note on the page.

P. 57, above middle. See the notes on the Syriac text of Chapter 68. The inscription on the egg was :

OIPΩMAIOI

NIKHΣOYΣI

P. 65, end of Chapter 81. Translate : « He gave orders that a public magazine should be established in every city, but

especially at Āmid. With the view, then, of putting an end to hostility and drawing closer the bonds of peace, he sent gifts and presents to Kāwād, » etc.

P. 72, Chapter 94. The following is the translation of the restored text (printed above) of the corrupt passage beginning in the bottom line of p. 85 and ending at the middle of line 4 on p. 86.

[« Those who were below were in their fury compelling those who were above them] to ascend by the stairs and force their way in upon him. When therefore the first who had gone up were unable to get in, because of their fear of the sword, and those behind were pressing upon them, the stairs of that house held very many people, as your holiness may well believe, and because of the weight they broke and fell upon them. »

Both the cause and the manner of the corruption in the Syriac text are explained in the critical note.



# RABBINICS



## FOUNDATIONS OF RABBINIC JUDAISM

ALEXANDER GUTTMANN

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

RELIGION, more than any other component of human experience, physical and reflective, includes tension as one of its most characteristic elements. This tension arises mainly from the divergence of the rest of life and thought, which is incessantly changing, from religious creed and practice, which is basically static. While the degree of tension at any one time will depend on various factors, on changed inner and outer circumstances, it may be safely asserted that, as a rule, the tension increases with the passage of time. Invariably, attempts are made to find a way out of the dilemmas to which the tension leads. When religious tradition and new ideas are in conflict, which is to be relied upon? When the implementation of practices required by the Torah as understood by authoritative interpreters is either impossible or exceedingly difficult in a particular era, what is one to do? Three solutions may be offered: (1) cleave to tradition and reject the new; (2) adopt the new and reject tradition; (3) reconcile the two. The last of these has been the prevalent solution, molding Judaism as well as other religions in all epochs, and therefore most meriting examination.

While the intention to reconcile dominated in all ages, the methods of harmonization varied considerably in the history of Judaism. The direct way, i.e., making or endorsing the changes by legislation, was feasible only as long as the legislators were vested with the authority to enforce their decisions by the ruling powers. Up to Herod's time, certain individuals or

assemblies were empowered to do just this. The last <sup>1</sup> Pharisaic leaders to possess such authority were Shemaiah and Abtalion <sup>2</sup>. The circumstances leading to the disintegration of the (Pharisaic) Sanhedrin by Gabinius <sup>3</sup> and its eradication by Herod are well known.

The Sanhedrin, supported by the ruling powers, was now replaced by a body which had no official standing. Z. Frankel calls it *Beth Midrash Gadol* <sup>4</sup>; ancient sources already called it *Beth Hamidrash* <sup>5</sup>. Still, it is not a *beth hamidrash* in the usual sense of the expression. It was not merely a school, an educational institution, but also a Sanhedrin or *Beth Din Hagadol* <sup>6</sup> which, despite its lack of support by the ruling power, continued to reshape Judaism even as the earlier Sanhedrin had done. How was this possible?

Pharisaic Judaism was a living force. Infusing its static basis of beliefs and practices was the dynamic urge to grow, to develop, to stay in contact with, and control of, actual life. But this growth, though a natural phenomenon, required channeling and disciplining if chaos was to be avoided.

The leaders of Pharisaic Judaism were recognized by the people, though not officially, as the true interpreters of Judaism. Thus authority based on voluntary fealty substituted for that based on governmental power. This loyalty was not, of course, the full equivalent of the authority of the Sanhedrin (or *Keneseth Ha-gedolah*) of old. It did not permit direct legislation, and could not grant those rights which are reserved for officially authorized bodies, e.g., condemning to capital

<sup>1</sup> We disregard the High Priests who, though occasionally close to the Pharisees, played no important role in the development of Pharisaic Judaism.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herod's trial: Josephus, Ant. XIV, 9,3-5; B.J. I, 10,6-9.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus, Ant. XIV, 5,4.

<sup>4</sup> דרכי המשנה p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Sanhedrin 94b.

<sup>6</sup> The designation *Sanhedrin* for this body was, according to S. Zeitlin, JQR vol. 36, pp. 314-315, not in use until the Fall of the Temple,

punishment. The last Pharisaic Sanhedrin which tried capital cases was that of Shemaiah<sup>7</sup>. The Talmudic statement that forty years before the Fall of the Temple the right to impose capital punishment was taken from the Jews (by the Romans)<sup>8</sup>, refers to the Sanhedrin headed by the High Priest<sup>9</sup>. All the trials against the early Christian leaders were conducted by such Sanhedrins. At the trial of Jesus, for example, Rabban Gamaliel I, head of the Pharisaic Sanhedrin, was an ordinary member of the Sanhedrin headed by the High Priest<sup>10</sup>.

Pharisaic leaders, recognized as the authoritative transmitters and interpreters of Judaism but no more, had to achieve their ends through the transmitting of the teachings of old and by interpreting them. The principal way of molding Judaism, of harmonizing changing conditions of life with hallowed ideas and practices was that of interpretation. The effectiveness of interpretation as a substitute for direct legislation was dependent on the degree of authority the various interpreters possessed, the need for the new law, and, as in the case of the *gezereth*, on the readiness of the people to accept it<sup>11</sup>, and their ability to carry it out<sup>12</sup>.

This indirect way of legislating is a major characteristic of Rabbinic Judaism. It commences with Hillel, though he was not the first to head the «unofficial» Pharisaic Sanhedrin. The Bene Bathyra, who preceded him as leaders, appear to have been but interim administrators, and have left no evidence

<sup>7</sup> Cf. note 2.

<sup>8</sup> A. Zarah 8b; Shab. 15a. Cf. Honig, חורב, 1936-7, p. 171, where he suggests reading 4 instead of 40.

<sup>9</sup> The Romans, bringing Judea into their provincial system in 6 C.E., entrusted the High Priest with the conduct of affairs in the Jewish province. Cf. Josephus *op. cit.*, XX, 251.

<sup>10</sup> Mark 14, 43ff.

<sup>11</sup> Ab. Zarah 36a. יֵשׁוּב רְבוּתֵינוּ וְבִדְקוּ עַל שְׁמֵן שְׁלֹא פָשַׁט אִיסּוּרוֹ בְּרֹב יִשְׂרָאֵל

<sup>12</sup> B.K. 79b; B.B. 60b אֵין גּוֹזְרִין גְּזִירָה עַל הַצְבוּר אֵלֹא אִם כֵּן רֹב צְבוּר יִכּוּלִין לַעֲמֹד בָּהּ

of achievement. Wherever the *Zugoth* are enumerated, their names do not appear<sup>13</sup>.

Hillel's great distinction was not the use of Bible interpretations to establish the law. This method was as old as the Bible itself; and as a faithful disciple of Shemaiah and Abtalion, he could not well introduce a new system. Neither are the hermeneutic rules attributed to him his invention. The *qal vehomer*, for example, is already found in the Bible<sup>14</sup>. Classical parallels to some of the hermeneutic rules have long been observed. Hillel's distinction lies in the fact that he *emphasized* interpretation as a method. He demonstrated its usefulness as an instrumentality for defending and further developing Pharisaic Judaism which, in that period, required defending against the Sadducees and other sects (which sprang up in considerable number throughout the Roman Empire). More important than defense, however, was development. This was a response to the changing conditions of life whose purpose it was to keep Judaism relevant to the times. The endorsement of a practice or the introduction of a new practice could be made effective, usually, by pointing to a basis in the Torah. Of course, the interpreter had to be a recognized authority, and the interpretation had to be plausible or, at least, acceptable. Whenever an interpretation advanced by Hillel or another sage is opposed, it is not the interpretation *per se* that is rejected, but the method or logic by which it was expounded.

<sup>13</sup> See Mishnah Hag. II, 2; Ab. I; Cf. particularly Z. Frankel, *Darke Hamishnah*, p. 42; Halevi, *Doroth Harischoim*, l.c., pp. 51 ff. pointing to the fact that the Bene Bathyra were not *Nesiim* but merely acting officers while the Sanhedrin was under suspension. Cf., however, G. Alon in *ספר קלוזנר* pp. 154 ff. After the proofs of this article had been read, L. Finkelstein's learned book *כנסת הגדולה ואנשי הפרושים* came off the press in which he suggests (chapter I) that the Bene Bathyra never headed the Sanhedrin but served merely as the heads of a Temple committee. Present circumstances do not permit me to discuss this and other relevant items.

<sup>14</sup> For example, Gen. 44,8; Ex. 6,12; Num. 12,14; Deut. 31,27.

According to an account in the Palestinian Talmud (Pesahim VI,1:33a) the very reason for Hillel's coming to Palestine was the need to have some passages from the Torah expounded. Let us examine the passage more closely :

1. על ג' דברים עלה הלל מבבל : טהור הוא יכול יפטר וילך לו ת"ל וטהרו הכהן אי וטיהרו הכהן יכול אם אמר הכהן על טמא טהור יהא טהור ת"ל טהור הוא וטהרו הכהן על זה עלה הלל מבבל.
2. כתוב אחד אומר וזבחת פסח ליי אלהיך צאן ובקר וכתוב אחד אומר מן הכבשים ומן העזים תקחו הא כיצד צאן לפסח וצאן ובקר לחגיגה.
3. כתוב אחד אומר ששת ימים תאכל מצות וכתוב אחד אומר שבעת ימים מצות תאכלו הא כיצד ששה מן החדש ושבעה מן הישן. ודרש והסבים ועלה וקיבל הלכה.

Tosefta Nega'im, 1, 16 (619) gives a version which is certainly more accurate than the PT version. It reads : וזה אחד מן הדברים : «...This is one of the matters because of which Hillel migrated from Babylon (to Palestine).» The PT version, «because of this», (i.e., the first interpretation) is somewhat ambiguous.

The above passages reveal that Hillel came to Palestine to reconcile certain Biblical passages that seemed to be contradictory, and thus to clarify and confirm certain practices. The concluding words ודרש etc. indicate that his conclusions were in accord with the Halakah as he received it in Palestine<sup>15</sup>.

This shows that the providing of a Biblical basis, even for (certain) existing practices, or reconciling them with the Torah, was considered of primary importance. Why? One thinks first of the Sadducees because of their opposition to oral tradition. However, considering the fact that there were many Halakoth e.g., the הלכות למשה מסיני, where no Biblical basis was sought, this could not be the only reason for the new trend. For

<sup>15</sup> As to the meaning of מסכים Tosefta Zeb. I, 8 (480) אני שמעתי and P. Hor. III, 5; 47d, similar wording, are revealing. According to these passages מסכים refers to an incongruity which had been reconciled.



Pharisaic Judaism, a Halakah supported by a reliable tradition was often more acceptable than a law derived from Scripture. (Cf. p. 461). The major reason undoubtedly was the lack of an official Sanhedrin empowered to legislate according to the needs of the time, as well as to decide controversial matters. Therefore, whatever clarifications, endorsements or new legislation were required, had been based, whenever possible, on an authoritative source; either the Bible, or a tradition originating with a person or body possessing legislative power, might serve as such a source.

The scope of the latter category was limited by its nature. While it could re-establish a forgotten practice or clarify a law whose real meaning and details had become controversial, it seldom sufficed to introduce or endorse a new practice. The scope of Biblical interpretation, however, was almost unlimited. Practically every new practice and law could be associated with a verse of the Torah if a suitable method were utilized. Although Biblical interpretation was used on a large scale by the leaders of Rabbinic Judaism, for they recognized its utility, they saw, too, its implicit dangers. If unrestricted and undisciplined, its natural consequence would have been chaos. This danger lay not only in simple exegesis but even more in the very techniques of interpretation. Thus, when Hillel publicized the seven *Middoth*, his aim was not merely to promote Biblical interpretation as a source of the Halakah, but also to exclude other methods which were in vogue among scholars of extraneous groups. The best known example of such an extraneous method is Philo's allegoristic exegesis. That Hillel might have had a similarly radical Greek method particularly in mind becomes plausible if we keep in mind his contacts with Alexandrian Jews. These contacts were so strong that some scholars have even attempted to prove that Hillel, himself, hailed from Alexandria<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> A. Kaminka in *Zion*, IV, 259ff.; JQR, vol. 32, p. 110. Ch. Tchernowitz in *Bitzaron* V, pp. 335 ff. and תולדות ההלכה IV, pp. 208 ff.

We do not know to what extent the Talmudic accounts of the reason for Hillel's becoming head of the Sanhedrin are accurate. Nevertheless, they reveal more clearly than any learned conjecture, where Hillel's distinction lay. At the same time, they shed light on certain conditions which existed at the beginnings of Rabbinic Judaism.

Let us analyze the source in question. In B. Pes. 66a the following details are included <sup>17</sup> :

1. The Bene Bathyra did not know whether the (sacrificing of the) Pascha supersedes the Shabbath or not.
2. It happened that the fourteenth of Nisan fell on Shabbath and they (the Bene Bathyra and all the others present) forgot the law (whether the Pascha etc.).
3. To the question of the Bene Bathyra, whether anyone knows the law, the reply is given that there is a man from Babylon, Hillel the Babylonian by name, who has studied with the two greatest men of the generation, Shemaiah and Abtalion, and he knows the law in question.
4. They send for him and put the question before him.
5. He replies : Yes, just as is the case with more than two hundred other sacrifices during the year.
6. He is asked to prove his point.
7. He uses the analogy to the Tamid, a *gezerah shavah*.
8. Then he applies a *qal vehomer*, again referring to Tamid.

1. תנו רבנן הלכה זו נתעלמה מבני בתירא
2. פעם אחת הל ארבעה עשר להיות בשבת שכחו ולא ידעו אם פסח דוחה את השבת אם לאו
3. אמרו כלום יש אדם שיוודע אם פסח דוחה את השבת אם לאו אמרו להם אדם אחד יש שעלה מבבל והלל הבבלי שמו ששימש שני גדולי הדור שמעיה ואבמליון ויודע אם פסח דוחה את השבת אם לאו
4. שלחו וקראו לו אמרו לו כלום אתה יודע אם הפסח דוחה את השבת אם לאו
5. אמר להם וכי פסח אחד יש לנו בשנה שדוחה את השבת והלא הרבה יותר ממאתים פסחים יש לנו בשנה שדוחין את השבת
6. אמרו לו מנין לך
7. אמר להם נאמר מועדו בפסח ונאמר מועדו בתמיד מה מועדו האמור בתמיד דוחה את השבת אף מועדו האמור בפסח דוחה את השבת

9. Immediately the ones present appoint him Nasi over themselves.
10. All that day he expounds the laws of Pesah.
11. He rebukes the listeners : Why was it necessary for me to come from Babylonia to you? Because of your laziness in not having studied with Shemaiah and Abtalion.
12. They ask him the law in the case in which one forgets to bring the knife before the Shabbath (coinciding with the fourteenth of Nissan).
13. Hillel avers having heard the Halakah, but admits having forgotten it. He advises their observing the practice of the people. The people let the animals carry their knives in a certain way.
14. Hillel, seeing this, recalls the Halakah and asserts that this practice is indeed the Halakah he received from Shemaiah and Abtalion.
15. The *gezerah shavah* is clarified.
16. The *gal vehomer* is refuted.

8. ועוד ק"ו הוא ומה תמיד שאין ענוש כרת דוחה את השבת פסח שענוש כרת אינו דין שדוחה את השבת
9. מיד הושיבוהו בראש ומינוהו נשיא עליהם
10. והיה דורש כל היום כולו בהלכות הפסח
11. התחיל מקנטרן בדברים אמר להן מי גרם לכם שאעלה מבבל ואחיה נשיא עליכם עצלות שהיתה בכם שלא שמשתם שני גדולי הדור שמעיה ואבטליון
12. אמרו לו ר' שכח ולא הביא סכין מע"ש מהו
13. אמר להן הלכה זו שמעתי ושכחתי אלא הנח להן לישראל אם אין נביאים הן בני נביאים הן למכר מי שפסחו טלה תוחבו בצמרו מי שפסחו גדי תוחבו בין קרניו
14. ראה מעשה ונזכר הלכה ואמר כך מקובלני מפני שמעיה ואבטליון
15. אמר מר נאמר מועדו בפסח ונאמר מועדו בתמיד מה מועדו העמור בתמיד דוחה את השבת אם מועדו האמור בפסח דוחה את השבת ותמיד גופיה מנלן דדחי שבת אילומא משום דכתיב ביה במועדו פסח נמי הא כתיב ביה מועדו אלא מועדו לא משמע ליה הכא נמי מועדו לא משמע ליה אלא אמר קרא עולת שבת בשבתו על עולת התמיד מכלל עולה דתמיד קרבה בשבת
16. אמר מר. ועוד ק"ו ומה תמיד שאין ענוש כרת דוחה את השבת פסח שענוש כרת אינו דין שדוחה את השבת איכא למיפרך מה לתמיד שכן תדיר וכליל
17. ק"ו אמר להו ברישא ופרוכה ותרר אמר להו גזירה שוה

17. Whereupon the (anonymous) Amora conjectures that Hillel first applied the *qal vehomer* and then, after its refutation, advanced the *gezerah shavah*.
18. In reply to the question, why did not Hillel utilize the *gezerah shavah* to begin with, an Amora replies :  
Hillel admitted that his opponents were justified in rejecting the *gezerah shavah* since they did not possess it as a tradition; therefore he suggested to them that they accept his *qal vehomer*, for which no tradition is required. Nevertheless, his *qal vehomer* was rejected as faulty.

Although the version of the Palestinian Talmud, Pes. VI, 1; 33 a is shorter, it possesses distinct importance. The two versions supplement and clarify one another. The more essential differences are as follows :

According to PT, Hillel used a *heqqesh* first, an analogy, reasoning that since both Tamid and Pesah are congregational sacrifices (*qorban zibbur*). Pesah supersedes Shabbath just as Tamid does. BT does not give this reasoning at all. The order of arguments in PT is then : *Qal vehomer*, *gezerah shavah*. While in BT, the refutation of the *qal vehomer* and rejection of the *gezerah shavah* are in the Amoraic section, in PT they appear as part of the original account. The refutation of the *qal vehomer* is also somewhat different, though not essentially. Of greatest significance is the following section in PT :

Even though Hillel expounded for them (gave them interpretations) all the day, they would not accept (his Halakah) until he related the law as a tradition from Shemaiah and Abtalion. Only then did they appoint him Nasi.

P. Shab. 17d contains a partial version. Tosefta Pes. IV, 1, 2 (162) gives a briefer version which is closer to PT. The terms *heqqesh* and *gezerah shavah* are not used, although the respec-

18. וכי מאחר דגמר גזירה שוה ק"ו למה לי אלא לדידהו קאמר להו בשלמא גזירה שוה לא גמריהו דאין אדם דן גזירה שוה מעצמו אלא ק"ו דאדם דן מעצמו איבעי לבו למידן אמרו ליה קל וחומר פריכא הוא.

tive analogies are given. For the names of Shemaiah and Abtalion, « my teachers » is substituted. The words « the entire Azarah gathered around him » indicate that the discussion was held in the confines of the Temple.

Brief partial versions are found in the Tannaitic Midrashim, also. Cf. Mekilta; Massekta de-Pisha; Parasha 3, 5; Sifre Behaaloteka, sections 65 and 142; Yalqut Shimoni, 196.

The startling fact about these versions is that they do not mention Hillel. R. Josiah (second century) replaces him. This has led some scholars to all sorts of conjectures.

Chwolson tries to solve the conflict by suggesting that the Talmudic passages convey only a partial truth. In reality, Hillel advanced his view in conjunction with his various interpretations and reasonings, but was rejected. Moreover, he was completely ignored by the Sadducean High Priestly authorities, whose decision was final in this matter. One hundred fifty years later when the matter was brought up again, the situation was different, since there was no Temple and no High Priest. Chwolson doubts that Hillel's Halakah was ever practiced, even shortly before the Fall of the Temple, when the Pharisees were quite influential<sup>18</sup>.

Kaminka's solution is much simpler. For him, all the versions referring to Hillel (i.e., both Talmuds and the Tosefta) are fictitious; all the Midrash versions, naming R. Josiah in place of Hillel, are true<sup>19</sup>. Kaminka's principal argument is that later sages would not have omitted to mention Hillel if he had originated the idea.

Lauterbach<sup>20</sup> and Karlin<sup>21</sup> advance reasons for upholding the historicity of the accounts mentioning Hillel. Lauterbach

<sup>18</sup> D. Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl* etc. particularly pp. 27ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Zion* IV, 258.

<sup>20</sup> Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, vol. XII, 1942, pp. 49 f.; s. ff.

<sup>21</sup> Karlin in *Zion*, V, 170.

explains the conflicting Midrash versions as follows : The opposition to Hillel's view that the Pascha may be sacrificed on Shabbath continued after his time ; therefore, the arguments for Hillel's view had to be emphasized again and again.

In attempting to determine the measure of historicity of the account, we must keep in mind that BT, PT and the Tosefta give three independent versions. There is no justification whatsoever for discarding three independent sources in order to «solve» a problem. The discrepancy can be best understood if we realize that the Midrashim give merely one phase of the discussion. Theirs is obviously a shortened version related at a time when the discussion did not command the interest it did at the time of the Temple. The persons named as relating a view are, in Talmudic and Midrashic literature, often only transmitters of old traditions. This is unquestionably the case in our instance. Some of the originality in the Midrashic passages results from the formulations characteristic of Halakic Midrashim. R. Josiah's name is given as that of the transmitter and formulator of the old tradition.

What conditions do the sources under discussion reveal? First, they show that the law regarding whether the Pesah supersedes the Shabbath was forgotten at the time of the Bene Bathyra. How was this possible? Lauterbach and others refer to sources indicating that there were groups, even among the Pharisees, who interpreted the Torah as permitting sacrifice of the Pesah prior to the fourteenth of Nisan. These groups would prohibit the slaughtering of the Pascha on Shabbath, since, in their view, it could be done on weekdays. This explanation is inadequate for the following reason :

The majority of the Pharisees, not accepting the interpretation of the aforementioned groups, could not permit slaughtering the Pascha prior to the fourteenth of Nissan, even if that day coincided with a Shabbath. As the adduced passages show (12, 13), Hillel himself as well as the other sages present, actually forgot a practice that should have occurred every few



years. Yet, not only Hillel but every person present should have remembered the practice.<sup>22</sup>

This indicates that many a year must have passed between the last time the Pascha was slaughtered on Shabbath (in accordance with Pharisaic law) and the memorable discussion. The Bene Bathyra and the others present actually forgot the law, as the Talmud correctly states. The sources do not reveal the reason for this. It might have been the consequence of prolonged persecution of the Pharisees after Herod's massacre of numerous sages, or voluntary exile of remaining leaders and teachers. Yet, we have no indications at all that the Temple service was suspended at that time.

It is more probable that the Pharisees lost their influence after the Sadducees took over the Sanhedrin<sup>22a</sup>, and either complied with the Sadducean regulations or altogether refrained from participation. At the time of the memorable discussion, the Pharisees must have regained some of their influence. It is also possible that a tolerant High Priest permitted the Pharisees to make their own arrangements. This suggestion may be supported by the following :

The Tosefta gives as the place of the discussion the Azarah, i.e., the Temple court. This would not have been possible had the priesthood objected. We adduce, also, the Semikah controversy, which occurred in the Temple, and in which Hillel and the Shammaites, i.e., only Pharisees, were the active participants. The Priesthood, which performed the act of sacrificing, is not mentioned, which indicates that they refrained from any interference in legislation, limiting themselves to practicing their craft when they were called upon to do so<sup>23</sup>.

The sources under discussion also throw light on the position of the Bene Bathrya, who have often been understood

<sup>22</sup> See, however, I. Goldberger in *Hazofeh* X, pp. 68 ff. Cf. also L, Ginzberg's detailed objections in *קובץ מרעי ליזכר משה שור* pp. 85 ff.

<sup>22a</sup> Cf. Tchernowitz, *op. cit.* pp. 212 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Beza 19-20.



as being in principle opposed to Hillel in two respects : they oppose the « new » Halakah that Pesah supersedes the Shabbath; they oppose Hillel's interpretive technique<sup>23a</sup>.

A careful reading of the texts does not bear out either of these contentions. As was pointed out above, no real evidence has been produced, to date, against the historicity of the accounts to the effect that the law under discussion had actually been forgotten. Now, while the various interpretations offered by Hillel were rejected, in no case was the objection against the hermeneutic rules as such. It was their applicability to this particular case which was questioned.<sup>24</sup>

After persistently arguing his view by means of various interpretive techniques and, being rebutted each time, Hillel referred to a tradition and no objection was attempted. Why? Because his listeners wanted only to know the authoritative law; they knew that they had no power to establish a new law. But Shemaiah and Abtalion, as we know, possessed authority backed by the ruling power. Whatever they decided was official and recognized as binding.

Why did not Hillel begin with a reference to his tradition? In our opinion, the most plausible answer is that Hillel was eager to develop Torah interpretation as an effective substitute for straight legislation, i.e., for legislation by a body supported by a ruling power. We have referred above<sup>25</sup> to a passage in PT stating that the very reason for Hillel's

<sup>23a</sup> Cf. e.g. I. H. Weiss דור דור ודורשיו I pp. 155 ff, and Tchernowitz, *op. cit.* pp. 119 f.

<sup>24</sup> P. Kil. 9,4; 32b is revealing. Rabbi Judah Ha-Nassi states that he would do anything asked of him pertaining to humility save what the Bene Bathyra did who resigned from their office in favor of Hillel. That means that R. Juda the Patriarch, certainly better acquainted with the history of the Patriarchate than are we, understood Bene Bathyra's resignation as a voluntary one, confirming the *Peshat*, the obvious meaning of the respective accounts. Cf. also the parallels : P. Ket. 12, 3; 35a., Babli B.M. 85a., B. Rabba, Parasha 33 (ed. Theodor 305).

<sup>25</sup> Pp. 456 f.

coming to Palestine was to demonstrate that Bible interpretations can clarify the Halakah. By giving his tradition only after having advanced several interpretations to the same legal effect, he demonstrated his thesis, i.e., that interpretations are a reliable source of Halakah. In the specific cases of Pesah, his interpretations, though rebutted, nevertheless point to the correct Halakah.

The main differences in the versions of BT, PT, and the Tosefta lie in the following: The Tosefta does not use a term for the hermeneutic rules *heqqesh* and *gezerah shavah*. BT does not use the term *heqqesh*. In fact, *heqqesh*, where used in connection with this case, means a simple *analogy*, i.e., an inference drawn from a comparison of two analogous cases. The meaning of this term in our case should be distinguished from that of *gezerah shavah*.

The Tosefta does not include the refutations of Hillel's interpretations. This may be insignificant, since its version of the incident is quite brief. In BT, the refutations are given in the Amoraic section. This is somewhat startling, since in PT they are obviously part of the original (Tannaitic) account. The refutations in BT no doubt represent a paraphrase of the original (or an older) version, « edited » and enlarged by Amoraim. Most conspicuous of the additions is the elaboration on the *gezerah shavah*, beginning with *אמר מר נאמר מועדו בפסח* and ending with *מכלל דתמיד קרבה בשבת*.

If we consider closely the objections to Hillel's interpretations, we realize that only one of them was of fundamental character. Against the *heqqesh* and *qal vehomer*, *per se*, no objection was raised; only their applicability to the case in point was denied. In regard to *gezerah shavah*, however, the situation is quite different. According to the older version, as preserved in PT, Hillel does not admit that a *gezerah shavah* needs to be a traditional one. This requirement exists for his opponents only. Hillel's « admission » in BT *בשלמא* *נזירה שזה לא גמרינו* belongs to the Amoraic stratum. When

Hillel recommended the hermeneutic rules, including the *gezerah shavah*, he certainly wanted them applied whenever feasible. But a *gezerah shavah* that requires tradition is not a tool capable of furthering necessary developments. It is merely another tradition.

Most significant is the fact that the requirement of tradition for a given *gezerah shavah* does not occur elsewhere in the entire Tannaitic literature! The only other instance, aside from our Pesahim passage, where such requirement is mentioned, is in an anonymous Amoraic stratum in Niddah 19b, representing a quotation from our Pesahim passage.

These facts suggest that the requirement of Hillel's opponents that the *gezerah shavah* must be a traditional one was rejected, or at least disregarded throughout the Tannaitic period<sup>26</sup>. In Amoraic times, the *gezerah shavah*, like some of the other hermeneutic rules, ceased to be a potent method of interpretation, and gave way to new methods. When the sages revived requiring a tradition for a *gezerah shavah* thus altogether barring its further use, they did so because it had developed into a formal analogy. The danger was obvious; practically everything could be «inferred» (i.e., justified) by employing a *gezerah shavah*<sup>27</sup>.

All three versions agree that the discussion led to Hillel's appointment as head of the Sanhedrin, as leader of Pharisaic Judaism. There is no reason to doubt the basic historicity of the concurring accounts. Of course, other reasons, too, might have urged Hillel's appointment, but the sources give us no tangible alternatives. Reasons forwarded without considering the Talmudic accounts are conjectures or guesses. We shall not discuss them.

<sup>26</sup> A. Schwarz: *Die hermeneutische Analogie*, p. 191, claims that the requirement of a tradition for a *gezerah shavah* was introduced at the very earliest by Yochanan b. Zakkai.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. P. Pes. VI, 1; 33a ר' יוסי בי ר' בון אמר בשם ר' אבא בר ממל אם בא אדם לדין אחר גזירה שוה מעצמו עושה את השרץ מטמא באהל ואת המת מטמא בבערשה וכו'.

Though the sources under discussion speak of Hillel's designation as Nasi, this does not mean that he was Nasi in the technical sense of the term. He had hardly any political standing. Josephus does not even know him by name. When referring to him, which he does probably no more than once<sup>28</sup>, he confuses him with Abtalion, calling him (i.e., Hillel) Pollion. In another instance, Josephus refers to R. Simon b. Gamaliel I as being of noble descent, without mentioning Hillel by name<sup>29</sup>. Had Hillel been known to him as a man of some official standing, he would have taken pains to ascertain his name and to mention it.

The Talmud observes that, up to the time of Hillel and Shammai, there were no controversies, with the single exception of the Semikah controversy<sup>30</sup>. It indicates also how to understand this lack of controversy. In reality, within the Sanhedrin, there were differences but these were resolved by that body<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Z. Frankel, MGWJ I, p. 120, maintains that Josephus had no knowledge of Hillel's existence at all. S. Zeitlin, *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, pp. 61 ff., holds that in Ant. XIV, ch. 9,4, Sameias refers to Shammai (general opinion), Pollion to Hillel (19 B.C.). We have, however, to keep in mind that the name Pollion can be linguistically associated with Abtalion, rather than with Hillel. Josephus attaches to Pollion the epithet « the Pharisee » (which he does not do with Sameias) possibly in order to distinguish him from a namesake who was not a Pharisee.

<sup>29</sup> Vita 13, 18, 19.

<sup>30</sup> P. Sanh. I, 4; 19c. B. Sanh. 88b.

<sup>31</sup> The above Talmudic sources do not state explicitly that there were controversies within the Sanhedrin. They merely say that new issues (concerning which there was no tradition) were decided by majority vote. Yet, a vote by such a body without previous discussion is inconceivable. Sherira's inference (ed. Lewin p. 8) that the names of the early authorities, except for those of the leaders, were not made known because there were no controversies, is not valid. The omission of names indicates that the Sanhedrin of that time was not a Beth Ha-Midrash, but an official body interested solely in issuing its decisions authoritatively, not as opinions of individuals.

and only the results of their deliberations were made public. This account is quite accurate. It describes the normal process of direct legislation and jurisdiction in ancient times. The Talmudic explanation for the development of controversies resulting in divergent practices blames the disciples of Hillel and Shammai, who are described as not altogether faithful to their masters<sup>32</sup>. This explanation is not valid. It is conjecture to understand a complicated phenomenon. In order to arrive at a more adequate solution, we have to keep in mind the following: The tension between the innate force of static religious beliefs and practices on the one hand, and circumstances requiring changes on the other, had been eased until our day in practically the same way as advocated by Hillel, i.e., by interpretation and re-interpretation. However, since interpretation was not always possible or sufficient, additional methods had been developed to supplement it. But all methods remained within the confines of indirect legislation and, as such, open to considerable discussion and disagreement. This hint must suffice for the time being.

The interpreters could not be strictly scientific and still achieve their purpose. They often used what was in certain instances admitted to be an *esmakta*<sup>33</sup>. That is, the new thought or practice came into existence first, and only afterwards was the Biblical basis sought and found. Of course, if the interpretations were too far fetched, or if they were advanced by a person not possessing sufficient personality, they were met with the sharpest resistance. The methods Hillel recommended, his seven *middoth*, appealed to the majority of the Pharisaic sages and they adopted them. The modifications made later<sup>34</sup> are not essential. Hillel's methods, in their effect, represent, roughly speaking, the middle road between the literal

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> See Michael Guttman, מִשְׁמָכָה, Breslau, 1924.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. particularly the 13 Middoth of R. Ishmael (Sifra, at the beginning).

interpretation of the Bible applied by the Sadducees, and the allegoristic interpretation applied later by Philo. From Hillel's time on, the main difference among the Pharisaic sages as to the hermeneutic rules lay in their application of the rules to suit their individual purposes.

What is true for the hermeneutic rules is true for interpretation in general. Throughout the Talmudic period, most instances of interpretation employed no hermeneutic rules. We have seen that the interpretations given as the reason for Hillel's coming to Palestine did not mention hermeneutic rules<sup>35</sup>.

The employment of all the hermeneutic rules, except for the *gezerah shavah*, never had been banned. Nevertheless, their use became increasingly infrequent until most of them died a natural death. This does not mean that interpretation *per se* ceased to be a source of legislation. It continued down through the ages, but had to conform with prevailing ways of thinking. However, interpretation alone, although the principal method for keeping Judaism alive, could not meet every situation. It required supplementation by other methods. This was already true in Hillel's time.

Various factors determined the extent to which methods other than interpretation were used. Examples of such methods are the legal fiction, *seyag*, *taqqanah*, *gezerah*, and the dictum that *minhagim* have a binding character. The determining factors might be political, economic or social needs, the distribution of authority by secular rulers, etc. Success in easing the tensions by the employment of interpretation and other methods varied to a large extent with the limitations the circumstances imposed upon the leading rabbinical authorities and the personal authority they commanded.

One very important matter should not be overlooked. This is the significant role played by the *central* authority. Legislative and doctrinal matters, however petty, would tend to further disintegration if they were not regulated by a body of persons

<sup>35</sup> P. 457.



possessing some kind of authority over all or at least the core of the Jewish community<sup>36</sup>. Groups outside the main stream either found their way back or, if they could not, were absorbed by foreign cultures and peoples, or continued as sects. The process often extended over many centuries, but was inevitable.

Throughout the Talmudic and Gaonic periods there had been two main centers, one in Palestine and one in Babylonia. But it was inevitable that one of the centers would eventually play a secondary role and finally cease to remain a center. The fact that neither of these two communities was completely absorbed by the other is due to special circumstances. Up to the end of the Tannaitic period there seems to have been little spiritual activity in Babylonia to compare with that of Palestine. Even that little was strongly influenced by sages from Palestine, or by Babylonians who studied in Palestine. When the center of gravity shifted to Babylonia to remain there until the end of the Gaonic period, a close association of the sages from both countries kept a watchful eye on their peoples so that they would not drift apart. This effort was supported in the Amoraic period by the circumstance that the Babylonian schools, at the beginning of their great upswing, were headed by scholars who had been trained in Palestine. These men made the Palestinian Mishnah the basis of all further development.

Creativeness in the Gaonic period was limited compared with that of Talmudic times, so that less discrepancy and tension arose between the two communities<sup>37</sup>. The Babylonian

<sup>36</sup> Central authority is here used in a broad sense, and includes leadership recognized as such by the major part of the Jewish people. We disregard the leadership of the High Priests since it was limited to certain functions and displayed no creativeness of consequence for Pharisaic Judaism. On the other hand, the leadership of the Babylonian schools we consider «centralized» because of the close ties connecting these schools.

<sup>37</sup> The differences which developed during this period are seldom fundamental. They are mostly confined to the realm of *Minhagim*, customs. Cf. Mordechai Margaliyoth *החילוקים שבין אנשי מורה ובני ארץ ישראל*.



leadership, viz., Exilarch and Gaonim, whose authority reached the majority of their people, were still able to meet new situations and to issue *takkanoth* binding upon all of their communities<sup>38</sup>.

After the Gaonic period there existed no concentrated leadership possessing authority over all or most of Jewry. Yet the need to meet new situations, to keep the religion alive, persisted. Responsible rabbis with insight, *e.g.*, Maimonides, endeavoured to remedy the situation. Their attempts to re-establish an authoritative Sanhedrin remained, however, theory<sup>39</sup>.

Individual rabbis, *e.g.*, Rabbenu Gershom, possessed great personal prestige. Their enactments and interpretations had a beneficial influence, easing the tension between the static forces of religion and the progressive ones of life. But they had to go about their task very cautiously. The authority they possessed was limited, in most instances, to small areas. Abetting fundamental developments in particular, small areas would have led, necessarily, to disintegration. In the Jewish Middle Ages, which lasted up to 1800<sup>40</sup>, the seclusion of the Jewish communities, the ghettos, permitted a certain stagnation. But afterward, when the Jews left the confines of the ghetto and became an integral part of the restless, changing world, the tension grew stronger and stronger. The consequences are well known and need not be recounted<sup>41</sup>.

The most characteristic criterion of Rabbinic Judaism is the manner in which the Rabbis met the challenge of changing times. Their principal method for furthering and endorsing new

<sup>38</sup> See H. Tykocinski, *Die Gaonäischen Verordnungen*, Berlin 1929.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Alexander Guttman, « Judaism and the New Jewish State » in *Hebrew Union College Monthly* 1949, Passover issue.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Jacob R. Marcus, *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto*, p. VII.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. A. Guttman, *ibid.*, discussion of the possibilities and prospects of sound developments in view of the establishment of the new State of Israel.

developments was that of interpretation. The methods constantly varied and underwent more or less radical changes. Fully to understand the foundations of Rabbinic Judaism, we must examine closely its beginnings, particularly the activities and achievements of Hillel and his contemporaries. This should be our next task.



# GAONIC INTERPRETATIONS OF THE TRACTATES GITTIN AND QIDDUSHIN

SAMUEL LÖWINGER

Jewish Theological Seminary, Budapest

MOST of the Gaonic responsa in the Genizah material of the Kaufmann collection at Budapest have been published by Max Weiss and Chajjim Kiss.<sup>1</sup> Recently I myself published fragments of the *Sefer Metiboth* which contains remnants of Ketuboth, Baba Mezia, and Baba Batra.<sup>2</sup> In addition to smaller fragments of responsa, there is also a fragment, seventeen pages in length, regrettably impaired in part, containing the answers of Sherira Gaon and of Hai Gaon to questions put by Jacob b. Nissim of Kairuwan.<sup>3</sup> Likewise worth mentioning is a fragment, four pages in length, which reproduces, in lettering like that of Rashi, the story of Baia Michsa quoted in Sanh. 44b.<sup>4</sup> Similarly notable are parts of the *Halakot Gedolot* and of the *She'eltot* with readings of unusual interest; as well as an Arabic fragment of Hai Gaon's *Sefer Meḳaḥ Umimkar*<sup>5</sup>. We may soon be in a position to publish all of this material.

<sup>1</sup> See Löwinger-Scheiber, *Genizah Publications in Memory of Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann*, I. Budapest 1949, pp. XIII-XV, A Tentative Bibliography of the Texts Published from the Kaufmann Genizah.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-61.

<sup>3</sup> See also S. Poznański, *Esquisse historique sur les Juifs de Kaïrouan*, Varsovie, 1909, pp. 30-33.

<sup>4</sup> See S. Lieberman: על המאמרים וענשם (ס' היובל לכ' לוי גינצבורג, ניוירק, תש"ו, ע' רמ"ט-ר"ע) in which he treats, in detail, the variations of the story and of its motifs.

<sup>5</sup> Five further fragments of the Arabic original of this work are to be found at Cambridge /JQR. XVI, p. 411.; Mann: *Texts and Studies*, I. 674./. Prof. Teicher was so kind as to make me photographs of some Arabic fragments which are presumed by him to contain parts of this work. There exists, unfortunately, no catalogue of the Arabic-Jewish fragments in the Genizah collection at Cambridge.

The fragment copied in the present article is ten pages long. It is written on parchment and in square characters. The pages are 18.5 by 22 cm., each page holding twenty-eight lines. The upper edges and the lower margins of the pages are, in many places, worn by age. The text of the first four pages is consequently defective. I have undertaken to complete the text where such appears warranted.

As the reader will perceive, we have here not a commentary on a coherent series of topics. What we have is a philological and halakic interpretation of several hard passages from two different tractates. It is probable that the compiler of this small collection, as well as of the larger collection of which this smaller collection is a remnant, made use of Gaonic responsa and commentaries with which entire tractates may have been equipped. Examples would be the lost commentary of Hai Gaon on Gittin<sup>6</sup> or the no longer extant comments of Hanina on Qiddushin.<sup>7</sup>

The collector of these notes or a later hand which completed these notes endeavored to number them. These numbers, beginning with 7, are framed in marginal figures.

A new division is indicated after the letter ט which has the word סומה written under the figure, although that word pertains not to the entire division but only to the first part. It may be that our fragment is a portion of a series each member of which comprises a group of nine or ten different topics.

I shall not attempt to determine the authorship of the several statements. The material thus far published furnishes insufficient evidence. None of the halakic interpretations appears in its entirety in any of our published texts. Nor is any conjecture as to authorship suggested by the literary style.

Some of the linguistic comments occur verbatim in the

אמר צריך אתה לידע שיהא באותו ענין שפיר[שתו] בסוף המביא גם 6  
במסכת גיטין "ס' מקח וממקח לר' האי גאון, שער י"ג, ל"ה ע"ב, הוצ' ווין תק"ע).

7 See Lewin, *Otzar ha-Geonim*, Qiddushin. Jerusalem, 1939, p. 12.

Aruch.<sup>8</sup> Of especial interest is the story, appearing in Git. 59a, with regard to the name **בִּנְיָאֵל בֶּן נִנְיָאֵל**. The author of the Aruch doubtless had before him either the manuscript of our fragment or, what is more likely, some collection which drew from the same sources as did our fragment. Kohut<sup>9</sup> was without justification in his surmise that the second part of the commentary quoted in the Aruch «in the name of the Gaon» was the work of Nathan b. Jechiel.

Still more striking is a remark in the Aruch relating to the word **יִדְקֶרֶת** in Qid. 16b. The numerous explanations of this word, proffered throughout the centuries,<sup>10</sup> produced a corruption of the text. That altered text, retained in the Aruch, came to be printed in the margin of commonly used editions of the Talmud.<sup>11</sup> Kohut, dealing with some of the Aruch readings, allows himself some venturesome interpretations.<sup>12</sup> The reading of the Aruch, duplicated in our fragment almost literally, is in all probability based on sound Gaonic tradition. At the appropriate passage in Qiddushin, this Gaonic interpretation should have been cited by Lewin. Whether or not the interpretation is correct constitutes, of course, a different question.

In the notes, I quote, for most of the passages, the variant readings of the printed texts and of the Codex Monacensis.<sup>13</sup>

Valuable and interesting is the statement, in Qid. 62a, about the *Tenai Kaful*, a Gaonic parallel to which has been discovered and published.<sup>14</sup> As Lewin has pointed out, this issue figures

<sup>8</sup> Others are found in the commentaries of R. Chananel.

<sup>9</sup> Aruch s.v. **סִבֵּן** VI, 10<sub>6</sub>.

<sup>10</sup> See Kohut, *Aruch* and S. Krauss, *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum*. Vienna, 1937, s.v.

<sup>11</sup> **פִּי גֵאוֹן דִּידְקֶרֶת שֶׁם חֲכָם הוּא** instead of the **פִּי גֵאוֹן יִדְקֶרֶת שֶׁם עִיר** of the original text.

<sup>12</sup> Aruch Completum, s.v.

<sup>13</sup> In the comparison, I have used the edition of Shulsinger, New York, 1948. I refer to this with mark **דפ'** in the notes. I refer to the readings in the Codex Monacensis with the mark : **בי"ט**.

<sup>14</sup> See Lewin, *Ginze Kedem*, V, Jerusalem, 1934, pp. 105-107.

in the list of Gaonic responsa preserved at Dropsie College. Lewin considered it probable that the responsum on this point originated with Hai Gaon.<sup>15</sup> A list containing the responsa of Hai Gaon, later published by Asaf,<sup>16</sup> indicates that Hai Gaon had dealt with that subject. Considering, however, that we do not know any particulars about the Asaf list and considering further that the passage in Qid. 62a is one of the most difficult in the Talmud, the fact that Hai Gaon had discussed this subject does not yet prove that the responsum in the *Ginze Kedem* really originated with Hai Gaon or that our own text has any connection with Hai Gaon.

Further worthy of attention is the series of comments on Qid. 72a. This is where some Babylonian author informs us about the location of certain Babylonian places and the etymologies of their names.

Some orthographic peculiarities of our fragment are these : The letter א is frequently used where, in later texts, it is commonly omitted. For example : גמארא = גמרא ; לישנא = לישנא ; רבנה = רבא ; רבינא = רבינא ; יכיל = יכיל ; כתוב = כתוב ; באבי = באבי ; etc.

The letter י is used where ordinarily ך is used and vice versa : מקשינן = מקשינן ; תניי = תניי ; אי = או ; כנון = כנון ; שליח = שליח . It also has דאלמא instead of דילמא , as frequently in Gaonic texts.

It must finally be noticed that, in vocalized words, the vowels are sometimes placed above the letters,<sup>17</sup> for example הַנְּקִי while, on the same line, the identical word is also rendered with the punctuation sublinear as in our own customary way, thus : הַנְּקִי . Sometimes the several components of a word are separated.<sup>18</sup> In those cases, vocalization is always the mode.

<sup>15</sup> See *Otzar Hageonim*, Qiddushin, Jerusalem, 1934, p. 148.

<sup>16</sup> See *Responsa Gaonica*, Jerusalem, 1942, p. 148.

<sup>17</sup> P. IX, line, 4.

<sup>18</sup> VI, 27-28 : ש-כובשין ; IX, 11-12 : בש-תשתי .



## א

ולענין איסורא · כרב עבדינן · . . . . . מתיב . . . . .  
 לדרב · בהא דאביי · למפיטרה מח' יוב אחריות לע' נין מתנה היכא דלא חזר  
 בו שולח · פשיטא דאזיל שליח ויה' [ביה ל'] מקבל · והיכא דהלך ובקשו  
 ולא מצאו · כי דמסקא שמעתא בסוף המביא גט רבה · בהנך באבי כולו ·  
 5 אבל היכא דחזר בו נותן · בת' דאמ' ליה לשליח הולך מנה זה [לפלוגי] · הא  
 תניא כוותיה דרב · ושמעתיה סלקא אליבא דהולך כוכה · דאו הוה הולך  
 לא כוכה · אם בא לחזור חוזר · ואו אמרת שאני מן דאמ' שני חייב לו מיעדף  
 עדיף · דאית ביה מגו · ושליח מתנה לית ביה מגו · וקא קימא נמי בת' [רא] · י  
 ורובה דרבנן קא סמכי דאבבי דאמ' נקיטין · ואנחנא ברירא לנא ונמי  
 10 קא חזיינא · דהולך כוכה · לא שייכא בהא שמעתא ד[אב] · יי ורבא אלא  
 הכין היא · מר סבר שלוח מתנה משוי שליח לאמטויה למתנה · וקאי כרב  
 דאמ' מתנה אינה כגט · ומר סבר · שליח מתנה · לא משוי שליח לאמטויה  
 למתנה · וקאי כשמואל · דאמ' מתנה הרי היא כגט · ומיסתברא דאביי הוא  
 דסבר שלוח מתנה לא משוי שליח · דאיכא בזיונא לבעל ולא קאפיד  
 15 כרב · ורבא סבר משוי · דלאו מילי נינהי · ולא דמיאן לכתובת גט כשמואל ·  
 והדא היא דעתנא בהא שמעתא · ☪ ובבואה דבבואה ·  
 לשון בבואה · הוא הדמות הנראית לעין · וקומת הנראה ופניו ·  
 בזמן שמראיתו גופה היא הנראית · נקראת בבואה · ובזמן שמציב  
 כנגדו מראה או שעומד על המים המקבלין צורה · ונראית בהן אותה  
 20 הצורה נקראת דמות בבואה · כמה שאמר אותו בחזר לשמעון הצדיק  
 באתי [למ'] לאות מים מן העין ונסתכלתי בדמות בבואה שלי ופהו יצרי  
 עלי · [ל'] עינין לא תעשה כל תמונה · דורשין לא בדמותן · ולא בדמות  
 [בבואה] שלהן · והצל הנופל על הארץ מן האדם · כשהוא עומד בשמש  
 . . . . . זיוה מן הארץ נקרא בבואה דבבואה · והשרים כספקלאריה הן  
 25 [בבואה] יש להן · שנראית קומה ודמות וגם בצורת אדם · אבל צל בחמה  
 . . . . . כמראה · אין להן · ☪ והא דבעא מיניה אביי מראבה ·  
 מ[הו] לעש[ות] מגלה לתינוק להתלמד בה · ומיבעיא בין למאן דאמ' תורה  
 [מגילה] מגילה ניתנה · ובין למאן דאמ' תורה חתומה [ניתנה] . . . פרשת

## ב

אמ' . . . . . בעא . . . . . יהב לה · אלא אמ' ליה קבלה היא  
 שאין כתב . . . . . [אי] תיביה א[ף היא עשתה] טבלה של זהב שפרשת סוטה  
 כתובה (ע)

עליה · שהרי נכתבה [מגלה מגלה ב] פני עצמה · ופריק רבא אמ' ריש לקיש משום ר' ינאי באלף בית · ופרישו בה ראשונים דהוה כתיב נטרקים מן כל מילא [א] ת דרישא · כגין יוד מן יתן · יוד מן י"י · אלף מן אותך · לבר מן לאלף · כן עד סוף · ואמרין נמי אלף בית בלכד עד סופה היתה כתובה על הטבלה שרואה וכותב באותיות · אותיביה רואה וכותב מה שכתוב בטבלה · מאי כתיב · הוה כאתיב · ורחמ' אמ' וכתב את האלות האלה דאלמא הוה כתיבא מילתא מילתא [והש] לימוה · תריץ ליה רבא אימא כמה שכתוב שהיה כתוב אותיות או סיר [וגין] ולפיהם כותב דברים תמימים · אותיביה ומה כתוב בטבלה אם שכב אם לא שכב · דאלמא מילי שלימות · ופריק ליה הכא במאי עסק' בסירוגין

פיסקי פיסקי הוה כתיבין בטבלה · ולאן פרשה שלימה · וקמא כתנאוי ועמה דבר כר' יהודה · ☸ · והא דאמ' אמימר המפקיר עבדו אותו עבד אין לו תקנה · מאי טעמ' גופא לא קני ליה איסורא היא דאיכא איסורא לא מפקע · זו ברורה היא · והכי קאסבר אמימר כיון דאפקריה יצא לחירות דלא יאכיל איניש לאישתעבודי ביה ומרשות רבו נפק ליה והוא כמאן דקדם ותפסה לנפשיה דאמי · אבל לאישתרווי בבת יש' אין לו תקנה משום דצריך גט שחרור וליכא מאן דכאתיב ליה גט שחרור · וללישנא אחרינא דאמימר · המפקיר עבדו ומת אותו עבד אין לו תקנה לאישתרווי בבת יש' משום דשיעבוד ליכא (ע) עליה · ואיסורא הוא דאיכא וההוא איסורא לבניה לא מורית · אמר ליה רב אשי

לאמימר · והא כי אתא רב דימי אמ' ר' יוחנן מי שאמ' בשעת מיתתו פלגית שפחתי אל ישתעבדו בה כבר פקע ליה שיעבודא מינה · וכופין את [היורש] שים וכותבין לה גט שחרור דאלמא קא משתרי איסורי בנט חרות מן ה [יורשים] אמ' ליה דרב דימי טעותא ללישנא קמא דאמימר אף על גב די צא לחרות אין לו תקנה אחר שהפקירו · שאף הרב לא מצי מפקע ליה לאיסורא [ללישנא] א בתרה דאמימר · או איתיה לרבו יאכיל למיכתב ליה גט ולמישרי [א] בל יורשין לא · והכי נקיטין רבנן משמא דראשונים רבואתא · דלאו [א] מימר אפילו · · · · · אילא כדכתבי ליה יורשים גיטא דחירותא [מי] שתרי

## ג

דאמרין ההוא דסקרתא דעבדי דא [זרבן לג] וים כלו [מרוותא ב] תראי אתו לקמיה דראבינא אמ' להו זלו חדרו אב [ני מרווא] תיכו קמ [אי] וניכיתבו לכו גיטא דחירותא אמרי ליה רבנן לראבינא והאמ' אמימר המפקיר עבדו ומת אותו

- העבד אין לו תקנה אמ' להו אנא כרב דימי סבירא לי . ועיקר הא דרבינא .  
ההיא דתנו
- 5 רבנן . המוכר עבדו לגוים יצא לחירות וצריך גט שחרור מרבו ראשון  
וקא משוי להו
- ליורשיו כמותו . ושמאל פליג על אמימר . ואמ' אין צריך גט שחרור . וסוניין  
(כדע)
- כדעולא אמ' ר' יוחנן דצריך ויש לו תקנה . ו . והא דאמור רבנן  
תא ש' המית
- מי שחציו עבד וחציו בן חורין נותן חצי קנס לרבו וחצי כופר ליורשיו .  
מאי פירוש'
- עיקר דילה . במי שחציו עבד וחציו בן חורין דאיתמר ביה הדין מימרא נגחו
- 10 שור יום שלרבו לרבו . יום שלעצמו לעצמו . לפום מאי דתנן . עובד את רבו  
יום אחד . ואת עצמו יום אחד . עד שכופין את רבו ועושה אותו בן חורין .  
ובההוא זמן עד שיעשה בן חורין אם נגחו שור ביום של רבו מאי דחוי  
ליה (מח)
- מחמת ההיא נגיחה . לרבו . ואם נגחו שור ביום שלעצמו . לעצמו . ומקשונן  
עלה .
- מעתה . יום שלרבו ישא שפחה . יום שלעצמו ישא בת חורין . ומפרקינן  
איסורא
- 15 לא קאמרינן . והדר מותבינן . תא ש' מאי דתני בשור המועד . המית מי  
שחציו
- עבד וחציו בן חורין . מחמת חציו דעבדות . אית ליה קנס . כסף שלשים  
שקלים .
- יטול רבו חציין . ומחמת חציו דחירות . אית ליה כופר . יטלו יורשיו  
חציו . (וא)
- ואמאי . הכא נמי . אם נגחו שור יום של רבו להוי חצי כופר וחצי קנס  
לרבו . ואם
- נגחו שור יום שלעצמו . ליהוי חצי כופר וחצי קנס ליורשיו . ומשנינן .  
שאני
- 20 הכא דקא כליא קרנא . וכי תנן עובד את רבו יום אחד ואת עצמו יום אחד .  
וקאמרינן מאי דחוי ליה יום שלרבו . לרבו . ויום שלעצמו . לעצמו . היכא  
דהוא
- גופיה [קאי] . ואתי ליה מדעם . אבל היכא דקא כליא קרנא . חולקין .  
כל דחוי

[מחמת] עבדות · לרבו הוא · וכל דחוי מחמת חירות · ליורשיו הוא ·  
והדר דקנן

... א קמא · דאמרנן נגחו שור יום שלרבו לרבו · יום שלעצמו לעצמו ·  
[היכי דמי] דלא כליא קרנא · ופריקנן כגון שנגחו שור על ידו וצמחה  
ידו (וס)

וס [ופת] [ל] חזור והא מילתא מיבעיא ליה לראבה · בנוקסין בהחובל · מי  
אית ליה

נוק ... וקארי לה שבת הפוחתתו בדמים · ולאביי פשיטא ליה לחד גיסא  
וראבא פשיטא ליה לאידך גיסא דאמ' אביי נותן לו שבת [גדולה ו] שבת

קטנה

### ד

ורבא אמ' אין [נותן אל] א שבתו [שככל יום] ויום · ושבת גדולה דקאמ'  
אביי אלו

נקטעה ידו לגמרי הוה עאילא ... ק · ולא הוה אית ליה אלא שבת קטנה ·  
ורואין אותו כאילו הוא מטחן בריחים · שהרי נטל דמי ידו · ולא לקתה מדת  
הדין · דמעיקרה שימין ליה שבתו מחמת ידו · אבל הכהו וצמחה ידו (וס)  
5 וסופה לחזור · הא תניא בהדיא · בין בסיפרי בי רב · ובין בתוספתא רואין  
אותו אם עושה סלע ביום · נותנין לו סלע ביום · מנה · נותנין לו מנה  
ביום · ונותנין לו כל נזקו · וכולן שמין ונותנין לו מיד · והאיי הוא  
דקאמ' רבא ·

אין לו אלא שבתו שלכל יום ויום · ואביי קאמ' נותן לו נמי דמי צמת  
ידו · דהוה

ליה נזק · כי דקאמ' רבא בביעיה · דהשתה · הרי פחתו דמיו · השתה (דאוק)  
10 דאוקימנה למימרא דמפרש לעילא · נגחו שור יום שלרבו לרבו · יום של  
עצמו לעצמו · כגין שהכה השור על ידו וצמחה ידו וסופה לחזור · דלא  
קא כליא קרנא · ואלו נקטעה ידו לגמרי · הוה כליא קרנא · ופלגין ליה ·  
אקשינן

הא ניחא לאביי דאמ' אם הכהו על ידו וצמחה ידו וסופה לחזור · אית ליה שבת  
גדולה · דהיא דמי ידו דהוה נזק · או ביום שלרבו לרבו · ואו ביום שלעצ'  
15 לעצמו · אילא לרבא דאמ' אין לו דמי ידו · במאי קאי הדין מימרא · נגחו  
שור יום שלרבו לרבו · ויום שלעצמו לעצמו · אפילו אם הכהו על ידו (וצ)  
וצמחה · דכיון דשור הוא · לית עליה לא צער ולא ריפוי ולא שבת · ולא (ב)  
בשת · ולית עליה אילא נזק בלבד · ולראבא · האיי לית ליה נזק · ואסיקנן ·

תרין · טעמי · חד דחלופי דאימיר נגחו שור · איכא למימר · הכהו אדם  
 20 על ידו וצמתה · דלא קא כליא קרנא · דאף על גב דלרבא לית ליה קנס ·  
 אית ליה שבת ובשת · יום שלרבו לרבו · ויום שלעצמו לעצמו · אינמי  
 איכא למימר דהאי דאימיר לעילא · נגחו שור לאו שמעתא ניהו · אלא  
 מימרא הוא · כגין סבארא · ומימרא לרבא לא סבארא ליה · ☸  
 והא דתנו רבנן · זה גיטיך מהיום אם מתי מחולי זה ונפל עליו  
 25 בית או שנשכו נחש אינו גט · אם לא יעמד מחולי זה · ונפל עליו בית  
 או שנשכו נחש הרי זה גט · מאי שנא רישא · ומאי שנא סיפא · שלחו  
 מיתם אכלו ארי אין לזו · לישאנא הכין הוא · והכין פירושה · הכי  
 קא מקש'ינן] מיכדי האי מת והאי מת · ושניהן מוטלין מתים לפניך

## ה

מה שנא זה גט וזה אינו גט · שלחו מיתם אלו . . . . . אם מתי מחולי זה  
 ואכלו ארי מי הוה מת מוטל לפניך [הכין] נמי נשכו נחש ונפל הבית  
 עליו אף עכ פי שהוא מוטל לפניך לא מן החולי מת · ☸ והא  
 דכי אתא רב דימי אמ' שיגר לו בן ניום לר' סובני וחומס סובני סלסלה  
 5 ומלמלה · סובני וחומס סובני · כאמגוזא · ופלגו אמגוזא · סלסלה ומלמלה  
 כי פיסתקא · ופלגו פיסתקא · מאי מלמלה · דבר הנמלל ונמתח · הכין לישנא  
 דגמרא · ודכתבתון בן ננס · לאו הכין הוא אלא בן ניום · ובגמרא  
 דעירובין · בכאי צד משתתפין · בן ניום איקלע לקמיה דר' אמ' להו פנו  
 מקום לבן מאה מנה · ופירושה דהאי לשון אחרת הוא ולא לשון חכמים ·  
 10 אלא מעמוקות דלשון סורסי · או לשון רומי · והא מפרש סובני וחומס  
 סובני · סיבני · בגד דק מאד · שמקפלין אותו ומכניסין אותו בקליפת  
 אגוז · וחומס סובני · חצי אגוז · בגד שמקפלין אותו ומכניסין אותו  
 בחצי קליפת אגוז · ודומה כי סובני שם האגוז בלשון זה · וחומס חצי  
 בשלון זה · וכן סלסלה · שמו שלפיסתקא · והוא בלש' ישמעאלי פוסתקה ·  
 15 וכן שגר לו קליפת אגוז שיש בה בגד · וחצי קליפת אגוז שיש בה בגד ·  
 ופוסתקה שיש בו בגד · ומלמלה · הרי אמרו · כי הוא מלשון מלתחה ·  
 דבר הנמלל ונמתח · ופירושו · שאם נמלל יהא קטן · וכשימתח יהא גדול ·  
 ☸ והא דתנן מצודות חיה עופות ודגים יש בהן גזל מפני דרכי שלום ·  
 ר' יוסי או' גזל גמור · אמרינן עלה באיזלי ואוהרי כולי עלמא לא פליגי ·  
 כי (פל')

20 פליגי בלוחי וקורקי · פירושה · מי שמציב מצודות לחיה ולעופ' ולדגים  
 ומניחן והולך לביתו כדי שיפל בהן מה שיפל מן ההפקר ויבא ויטלנו ·

ונפל בהם כלום ובא אחר ונטלן תנא קמא סבר דלאו גזל גמור הוא • אלא מפני דרכי שלום • מנעו רבנן מיניה • ור' יוסי סבר גזל גמור • ופרישנן ואו אוזלי ואוהרי אוקים כולי עלמ' לא פליגי דגזל גמור שהרי נפלו בכליו וקנה לו כליו • ופירושו' אוזלי חוטים טוויים • כי דמתגמ' בידיה טו • בידהא עזלן • ומיתן כד עזיל • ועשוין מצודות שמטילין אותן בנהר או בדרך ונהג או החיה או העוף נלכדין בו • ובלשון ישמעאלי נקרא אלאיזל • אוהארי בטיית אלכראטאת ואלפכוך (ומפר)

## ו

ומפרשין בנמרא דמשקין • רב שרא ליה לרב חייה בר אשי למיגדל אוהארי (בח)  
בחולי דמועדא • מאי טעמא מעשה [הדיו]ט הוא • אבל איזלי אסיר מעשה אומן הוא •  
אבל לוחי הוא כמשמעו לוחים • וקוקרי בלשונינו ברור מנעול • ובלשון ישמעאלי  
נקרא סאקטה • ובזמן שהיא קלה והיא ממהרת ליפול ולנעול קוראין לה קלקלה •  
והן לוחים מוצבים על מקום מסויים • ויש להן פתח ועליו תרים • דמקרי וקאי  
על דבר קל • כשהעוף או הדג או החיה נכנסין לשם ומנדנדין אותו כמעט הרי (הת)  
התרים נופל • והקוקרא נסגר וננעל • והתם ביציאות השבת אמרינן 'אמ' רב יוסף גזירה משום שביתת כלים • או הכי מגמר וגפרית נמי • כי קאמרינן כלים דעבדי מעשה • כלים דלא עבדי מעשה לא קאמרינן • והא מצודות חיה ועופות ודגים דקא עבדי מעשה • וקא שארו בית הלל • התם בלוחי וקוקרי • כשהעוף בא לשם • הרי הוא בכלוא ואינו בכליו שלציד • וביה קאמרי רבנן גזל מפני דרכי שלום • ר' יוסי או' גזל גמור • ס' מציאת חרש שוטא וקטן • ר' יוסי הכי קאמ' גזל גמור מדבריהן • ואמ' רב חסדא להוציא  
בדיאנין • כדאמרינן התם בשבועת הדוינין • רר' יוסי סבר בדרבנן נמי (נח)  
נחתנין לניכסי מהא ולית היל' כוותיה • ס' עני המנקה בראש הזית או בשביעית או במקום מופקר או פאה והזיתים נושרין מניסופו ויורדין לארץ קסבר תנא קמא מה שיש תחתיו גזל מפני דרכי שלום • ור' יוסי או' גזל גמור • ואם

[11] נטל ונתן ביד והפילם מידו לארץ כדי שירד ויטלם הרי הן שלו • ומן דשקיל (מי)

מינהון גזל גמור הוא לדברי הכל •  $\textcircled{\text{S}}$  רב כהנא הוה קא אזיל להוציל •  
20 חזייה לההוא גברא דהוה קא שאדי אנפי וקא נתן תמרי • אנפי הן העיקר חריות

שלדקל • ושמן בלשון ישמע' אלכרב • היה משליך אופי לארץ והתמרים (נוש) נושרות עימהן • בא רב כהנא וליקט מן התמרים ואכל • דהוה ליה ההוא גברא כעני המנקה בראש הזית אמ' לו לרב כהנא חייה דמר דבידאי שדיתנהי •

נשבע לו בחייו כי בידו נטלן והשליכן לארץ • וכשראה רב כהנא דבריו דבריו 25 חכם אמ' לו מאתריה דר' יאשיה את דמגמר לכו כהני מילי מעליאתא • כי רבי יאשיה מן הוציל הוא • ששם ביתו שלעזרא הסופר שממנו עלה • וקארי רב כהנא אר' יאשיה • וצדיק יסוד עולם •  $\textcircled{\text{S}}$  כפישה • סל גדול ש כובשין בו את הענבים לכמרן • וכובשין בו את הפירות • והתם באהלות

## ז

תנן • בוצר ונותן לתוך כפישה • ומוליך לגת • ובמסכת טהרות תנן • המניח זיתיו בכופש שימתינו • שיהו נוחין לכתישה • ותניא נמי הבור והדות בחצר וכפישה נתונה עליו טהור •  $\textcircled{\text{S}}$  אנהותה כלי כיוצא בו הוא •  $\textcircled{\text{S}}$  כל היכא דאמרינן תברא מי ששנה זו לא שנה זו • כמו שבועה 5 הוא • ששתי משניות הללו חלוקות זו על זו • ואמתת תברא • אלה וקללה • כי ההיא • דאלו מנלחין • מאי שמותא • אמ' רב שום מיתה • ושמו' אמ' שמה

תהיה • ובסוף שמעתא מאי תברי • אמ' רב יצח' בריה דרב יהוד' תברי בתי • ותברא באלף הוא •  $\textcircled{\text{S}}$  אמ' רב יוסף דיודקרת קא חזינא הכא • שם חכם הוא •  $\textcircled{\text{S}}$  אמ' ליה אבוי הכי אמ' רב יוסף תיטאי היא • ובסדר תעניות 10 האלו • איכא ר' יוסי דמן יודקרת •  $\textcircled{\text{S}}$  והא דאמור רבנן • עד כאן לא פליגי אילא בחנוני • דמר סבר כבעל הבית דאמי • ומר סבר כשלחני (ד)

דאמי • אבל בל' עלמ' שלחני מעל • ר' מאיר לדבריו דר' יהוד' קאמ' ליה לדידו אפילו

שלחני לא מעיל • לדידך אודו לי זי מיהא דחנוני כבעל הבית דאמי • והוא אמ' ליה

כשלחני דאמי • האיי לישאנא דגמרא • פירושה • עיקר מתניתין המקדש



- 15 בהקדש • במזיד קידש • בשונג לא קידש • דב' ר' מאיר • ר' יהוד' או' בשונג קידש
- במזיד לא קידש ומאן דאתי למיחזא דביעיי דרב חייה בר אבון ודראבה (מר) מרב חיסרא • אליבא דר' יהוד' לא סלקא ליה לעולם • דהא נפישא מעילה לר' יהוד' •
- משום דמעילה לא הוויא אילא כשמתחלל ההקדש ולא הוויא נמי במזיד • אלא בשונג •
- וכיון דלר' יהוד' • המקדש בהקדש בשונג קידש • וקא מיתהני • ואיתחל ליה הקדש •
- 20 נפישא מעילה אליביה • וליכא לאותובי ממימריה • אבל ר' מאיר • לפום האי סברא •
- ובכי הני מילי • לית ליה מעילה בהקדש כל עיקר דסבירא ליה בשונג לא קידש • ולא
- מיתחל קדש • ואליבא דר' מאיר • קא באעי מיניה רב חייה בר אבין • מרב חיסרא •
- המקדש בהקדש בשונג לר' מאיר ודאי אשה אינה מקודשת • מעות מהו שיוצאין
- לחולין • אמ' ליה • מאחר שאשה אינה מקודשת מעות היאך יוצאין לחולין • ולפום
- 25 הכין נמי בעא מיניה ראבה מרב חיסרא במכר מהו אמ' ליה אף במכר לא קנה דאלמא
- מעות חוזרין למקומן וליכא קרבן מעילה • איתיביה המפקיד מעות אצל שלחני •
- אם צוררין לא ישתמש בהן לפיכך אם הוציא לא מעל • ואם מותרין ישתמש בהן •
- לפיכך אם הוציא מעל • ופירושה גיזבר שהפקיד מעות הקדש אצל שלחני אם

## ח

- צוררין לא איבעי ליה לשלחני לאישתמושי בהו • לפיכך אם הוציאן לחולין • הרי הוא כמזיד • ואף על פי שנהנה • וליכא עליה קרבן מעילה • אבל אם מותרין
- ואית ליה רשותא לאישתמושי בהו • אם הוציאן • כסבור שהן חולין • ונמצאו הקדש • הריני קורא בו • נפש כי תמעול מעל וחטא' בשגגה מקדשי י"ו •
- 5 ומחוייב קרבן • ובעל הבית כיון שאסור להשתמש בהן • אם נשתמש • כמזיד

הוא · ואין בו מעילה · וחנוני · כבעל הבית · ואין בו מעילה · דבריו ר' מאיר · ר' יהוד' או' בשולחני · ויש בו מעילה · וקאמ' ליה רבא לרב חסדא עד כען לא

פליגי אלא בחנונו · אבל בשלחני · אפילו ר' מאיר מודי · שיש בו מעילה · דקאמ' חנוני כבעל הבית · אלמא · שאני משולחני · הוכי מצית אמרת · (רב) 10 דבמכר לא קנה · ומעות חוזרין למקומן · אהדר ליה רב חסדא רישה דמתניתין ·

אליבא דר' יהוד' היא דתני והאי דקאמ' ר' מאיר חנונו כבעל הבית · ודיקת מיניה · דקא מודי שהשולחני מעל · לדבריו דר' יהוד' קאמ' ליה · והכי קאמ' לדינא

אפילו שלחנוני נמי לא מעל · אילא לדינך אודי לי זי מיהא דחנוני לית ביה מעילה · ואמ' ליה ר' יהוד' חנוני בשולחני ·

15 ודכתבתון · הא דאמור רבנן בשלמא לר' חנניה בן גמל' · הינו דכת' אם שכב איש אותך ואם לא שטית הנקי · אלא לר' מאיר הנקי מיבעי ליה · אמ' ר' תנחום הנקי כת' · מאי פירוש' · ויש שגורסין חנקי בחית · חנקי לא שמיע לנא מעולם · ולית ליה אפא · ושמעתא נמי (ל) לאו כי דכתבתון · אלא הכין היא · בשלמ' לר' חנניה בן גמל' הינו דכת' ·

20 אם לא שכב איש אותך ואם לא שטית · ולא כתיב אם שכב · אילא לר' מאיר אמאי לא כת' אם שכב · אמ' ר' תנחום הנקי כת' · בשלמא לר' מאיר הינו דכת' הנקי · אילא לר' חנניה בן גמל' מאי הנקי · מהו דתימ' אם שכב הנקי ואם לא שכב לא הנקי ולא הנקי קא' מש' לן · הכין הוא גמרא · וכל דמשכחיתון טופיאנא שבשתא הוא · והכין חזיינא פירושה · דר' מאיר סבר כל תנוי דלא כפיל לאו תנוי הוא · ומילתא (דא) 25 דאיתלייא ביה קואמת · בין מיקיים תנוי ובין לא מיקיים · ור' חנניה בן גמל' אמ' לך · מילתא דתלייא בתנוי אף על גב דלא כפיל לא מיקיימא · אילא כד מיקיים תנוי · ר' מאיר סבר דלהכי כפל · אם יעברו · ואם לא

## ט

יעברו · ור' חנניה בן גמל' אמ' דלאו למיכפל כתב הכין · אילא · צריך היה הדבר לאמרו · ולפום הכין אמרינן · בשלמ' לר' חנניה בן גמל' דאמ' קרא תאלי

בתנוי · ואף על גב דלא כפיל ליה · הינו דכת' אם לא שכב ואם לא שטית הנקי ומפרש הנקי · הבטחה טובה שהבטיחה · דכת' ונקתה ונזרעה 5 זרע · ולא כת' אם שטית לא תנקי · וממילה גמרנן · שאם שטת

לא תנקה · דאלמא לית לה ההיא הבטחה אף על גב דלא כפל · אלא  
 לר' מאיר אמאי לא כפל · ופריקנן · אמ' ר' תנחום הנקי כת' הכי קאמ'  
 לאו פירוש הנקי · הבטחה טובה דקא מבטח לה בהדין תניי · דאי הויא  
 הבטחה טובה · הוה חזיא לדבריו דר' מאיר · ואף על גב דשטת · (ה)  
 הואיל ולא כפליה לתנאיה · אילא הכי קאמ' ליה אם לא שכב איש אותך  
 10 ואם לא שטית הנקי עצמך בשתיית מים מרים · ואין עליך כלום כש  
 תשתי אותם · אבל הבטחה דצריכה כפילה · לית לה · והאי הנקי משמע  
 נמי שאם שטת נפרעין ממנה · כלומ' · שהוא מגלה · אמתת הדבר נקי ·  
 אם נקויה היא ואם לאו · ואתינן לארחא אחריתי · ואמרנן בשלמ' לר' (מ)  
 15 מאיר הינו דכי אמ' לה ואת כי שטית תחת אישך · ובאו המים המאדרים  
 האלה במעיך וגו' · איצטריך למיכפל ולמימר · אם לא שכב איש אותך  
 ואם לא שטית הנקי · לומר שאת מנוסה ואין עליך כלום · דלא תימ' כיון דלא  
 כפל תנאיה · יבאו במיעיה לצבת בטן ולנפל ירך · אף על פי שלא (ש)  
 שטת אלא לר' חנניה בן גמל' · למא ליה דכפל והוה סגי ליה למימר · ואת  
 20 כי שטית ובאו המים המאדרים האלה במיע' · למא לי למיכפל ואם לא (ש)  
 שטית הנקי שאין עליך כלום · והדר ר' חנניה בן גמל' לטעמיה קמא ·  
 ואמ' הנקי · דמשמע הנקי עצמך · משמע · שאם שטית פורענות  
 באה עליך ואם לא שטית יש לך הבטחה טובה · ולאו למיכפל איתמר ·  
 אילא משום הבטחה טובה צריך לאמרו · שאם למלא אמרו הוה (אמ)  
 25 אמנא אם שטת יש עליה פורענות שהיא בכלל הנקי אבל אם לא  
 שטת · אין לה כלום · ואין עליה כלום לא הנקי ולא הנקי קא מש' לן ·  
 והאי בשלמ' לר' מאיר דהכא · ופירוקא דר' חנניה בן גמל' בהנך עינייני  
 קמאיי · דאם בחקתי ואם תאבו ושמעתם · ☞ והא דאמור

י

רבנן · כי קא מנמנמ ר' אמ' הומניא איכא בבבל · כולה עמונאי היא · (ססגי)  
 ססגריא איכא בבבל · כולה ממוזרי היא · בירתא דנאדי איכא בבבל · שני  
 אחים יש בה שמחליפין נשותיהן זה לזה · בירתא דסאטי א בא בבבל היום  
 סרו מאחרי י"י פירא דכוארי לבא וצאדוי בשבתא ושמייתו ר' אחי בר ר'  
 5 יאשיה ואישתמוד · עקרא דאגמא איכא בבבל · אדה בן אהבה יש בה  
 היום יושב בחיקו שלאברהם · היום נולד יהודה בבבל · ואמ' מר כשמת  
 ר' (עק)

עקיבה נולד ר' · כשמת ר' נולד רב יהודה · כשמת ר' יהודה נולד רבא ·  
כשמ' רבא

נולד רב אשי · ללמדך שאין צדיק נפטר מן לעולם עד שנולד צדיק כמותו ·  
הכין הוא גירסא · ולא אשכחנן בה קושיא לפירושיה · אלא מפרשינן מילה ·  
10 הומיניא · עיר ידועה עד עכשיו עד שפת חדקל למטה מן בגדאד במהלך יום ·  
ססגירא · גם הוא מקום · ועכשו אינו ניכר · וכן בירתא דנאדי · עיר  
ואינה ידועה אצלנו · וכן בירתא דסאטי · פירא דכוארי · חפירה גדולה ·  
כמו בריכה עשויה לדגים · שמגדלין אותן בהן · ואין להן דרך לצאת ·  
כוארי ·

דגים · פירא · כמו בריכה · או חפירה · וכן פירא דסופלי · בריכה או חפירה ·  
15 עשויה להטיל בה גרעינין · ופסולת של תמרים · אחרי צאת דבשנן · ופיר'  
לבא בלש' ישמעאלי · כאשר תאמר האנם (?) שמתגברין הדגין ועולין למעלה  
(ודו)

ודולגין ליבשה כגין טליא ובאין בני אדם וגורפין אותן הרבה הרבה ·  
בסירות

ובצנות ובסלים ובגרותני ובכל כלים גדולים ויום אחד מגיע להן כך · ונוחין  
לצידה · ולמחר שוקטין במקומותיהן · ואין ניצודין אילא בחרמים וכלי (מ)  
20 מצודות וטורח הרבה · וכך אנו אומ' בדיתא לבאי · אזול כולי עלמא איתו  
כווארי · שרא להו רבא למוזל מוצד ואיתווי מיניהו; ודבר זה בחולו שלמועד ·  
ובדיתא · הוא נהר · ופיהו נקרא פום בדיתא · ובלש' ישמע' עכשו נקרא אל  
בדא · וכיון דלבא פירא דכוארי · ביום השבת צדים בני בירתא דסאטי  
ביומו

ונידרם ר' אחי בר ר' יאשיה ונשתמדו · עקרא דאגמא · קרוב לנהרדעא ·  
25 על שפת פרת הגדול · דברים הללו אמרן רבינו הקדוש בשעת פטירתו  
כשהוא מתנמנם · שראן בחלמו ואמרן בפיו וכולן נמצאו אמת ·  
והא דאמור רבנן · ולוקמה בבת שלש שנים ויום אחד ואפילו  
לר' שמע' בן יוחי · אם כן מצמדה תברה · כן הוא התלמוד ושמצאתם

## א

1 עבדינן) עיין שערי צדק מ"ג ע"א סי' מ"ד בשם"מר שר שלום";  
אוצה"ג גיטין 24-25.  
4 כי דמסקא) = כדמסקא. רבה) גיטין י"ד ע"א; ע"ע שם ל"ב ע"ב; ס"ב  
ע"ב-ס"ג ע"ב.  
באבי) = בבי.

- 6 (דאו) = דאי.  
 7 (לא) = לאו. (ואו) = ואי. (מן) = מאן. (שני) אוי' צ"ל : שאני;  
 ע"ע אסף, תשוה"ג, תש"ב 208.  
 9 נקיטין) גיטין ל"ב ע"ב; ע"ע אסף, מספרות הגאונים 10; אוצה"ג  
 138.60.28.  
 10 חזיננא) ע"ע אסף, תשוה"ג תש"ב 23.  
 11 שלוח) = שלית.  
 14 שלוח) = שלית. קאפיד) = קפיד.  
 15 דמיאן) = דמין.  
 16 דבבואה) גיטין ס"ו ע"א; יבמות סכ"ב ע"ב.  
 20 בחר) לדר' ט' ע"ב.  
 21 באתי) דפ': הלכתי. העין) דפ': המעין. בדמות בבואה) דפ': בבבואה;  
 כי"מ: נסתכלתי בבואה.  
 21-22 יצרי עלי) דפ': עלי יצרי. כי"מ: עלי ייצרי.  
 22 תמונה) שמות כ' ד': לא תעשה לך פסל וכל תמונה : כשהוא אומר  
 כל תמונה לא בדמות ולא בדמות בבואה שלהן (מכילתא דרשב"י 105;  
 הוצ' האפפמאן) ואשר במים מתחת לארץ להביא את הכוביא (כ"י  
 מ' : הבבואה) (מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל 225; הוצ' האראוויטז'רבינ).  
 26 דבעא) גיטין ס' ע"א. מראבה) דפ' : מרבה.  
 27 לעשות) דפ' : לכתוב. מגלה) דפ' : מגילה. ומיבעיא בין) דפ' : תיבעי.  
 28 ובין) דפ' : תיבעי.

## ב

- 1-2 אמ' .. כתב) לפני בעל כ"י שלנו היה נוסח משונה מן הדפ' וכי"מ.  
 2 טבלה) דפ' : טבלא.  
 3 שהרי ... עצמה) ליתא בדפ' ובכי"מ ואפשר שזה כבר פירוש הגאון.  
 רבא) צ"ל : רבה. אמ' ריש) דפ' : א"ר שמעון בן. כי"מ : א' ריש.  
 4 ראשונים) גם לפני רש"י היה פירוש כזה : כלומר ראשי תיבות.  
 נטרקים) = נוטריקון.  
 5 כגין) = כגון. לבר) צ"ל : "למד".  
 7 אותיבית) = איתיבית. דפ' : מוסיף : כשהוא כותב. בטבלה) דפ' :  
 בטבלא.  
 8-9 מאי ... והשלימוה) גם מלים הללו חסרים בדפוס.  
 8 כאתיב) = כתיב. דאלמא) = דילמא.  
 9 רבא) צ"ל : רבה. שכתוב) דפ' וכי"מ מוסיף : בטבלא.

- 10 אותיביה) = איתיביה. דפ' וכי"מ מוסיפ': כשהוא כותב רואה בטבלא וכותב מה שכתוב בטבלא. ומד... בטבלא) דפ' וכי"מ: ומה הוא כתוב בטבלא.
- 11 דאלמא) = דילמא. עסיק') דפ': עסקינן. בסירוגין) פי' ר"ח: כותב מקצת הפסוק ומשייר מקצת. רש"י: תחילת המקרא היה כתוב תיבה שלימה ולבסוף ראשי תיבות.
- 12 וקמא) = ומיתוקמא; ע"ע תוס' רי"ד. ועמה) = ועמא.
- 13 דאמ' גיטין מ' ע"א.
- 14 גופא) דפ' וכי"מ: גופיה. היא דאיכא) דפ' וכי"מ: הוא דאיכא גביה. איסורא לא מפקע) דפ' ירו"מ: ואיסורא לא מצי מקני ליה.
- 15 יאכיל) = יכיל.
- 17 דאמי) = דמי.
- 18 דכאתיב) = דכתיב.
- 19 עבר) דפ' וכי"מ: העבר.
- 20-19 לאישתרווי... עליה) דפ' וכי"מ: גופיה לא קני ליה.
- 20 ואיסורא) דפ' וכי"מ: איסורא. דאיכא) דפ' וכי"מ מוסיפ': גביה. וההוא איסורא) דפ' וכי"מ: ואיסורא. לבניה) דפ': לבריה.
- 21-23 מי... היורשים) ליתא בדפ' ובכי"מ. עיין לעיל באותו עמוד.
- 21 פלגית) דפ' וכי"מ: פלוגית.
- 22 כבר... מינה) ליתא בדפ' ובכי"מ. וכופין) דפ' וכי"מ: כופין. היורשים) כי"מ: היורשין.
- 23 דאלמא) = דילמא.
- 26 או) = אי. יאכיל) = יכיל.
- 27 רבואתא) = רבותא.

## ג

- 1 לגוים) דפ': לעובדי כוכבים.
- 2 דראבינא) = דרבינא. זלו הדרו) דפ' וכי"מ: זילו אהדרו. מרוואתיכו) = מרותיכו. כן הגרסה ברי"ף. דפ' וכי"מ: מרוואתא. וניכיתבו) כי"מ: וניכתבו. דפ': ויכתבו.
- 3 דחירותא) דפ': דחרותא. אמרי) דפ': אמרו. לראבינא) דפ' וכי"מ: לרבינא.
- 5 המוכר) גיטין מ"ג ע"ב. לגוים) דפ': לעובדי כוכבים.
- 7 תקנה) ע"ע גינצבורג, גאוניקא, 83-82 I; אסף, תשוה"ג, תרפ"ט 224; אוצה"ג גיטין 78.75-79. תא ש') גיטין מ"ב ע"א.

- 9 נגחו) שם שם.  
 10 דתנו) שם מ"א ע"א.  
 13 ומקשונן) = ומקשינן.  
 23 דקנו) אולי צ"ס : דתנו.  
 24 דאמרנו) = דאמרנו.  
 26 לראבה) = לרבה. בהחובל) ב"ק פ"ה ע"ב.  
 27 וקרי) = וקרי.  
 28 וראבא) = ורבא.

## ד

- 5 בסיפרי כי רב) ר"ל מכילתא דרשב"י (ע' גינצבורג, גאוניקא I 79),  
 אמנם שם לא מצאתי את ההלכה הזאת וכ"כ לא מצאתיה במכילתא  
 דרבי ישמעאל. בתוספתא) ב"ק פ"ט ג' (הוצ' צוקרמאנדל - ליברמן 363).  
 6 אם) דפ' : כאילו הוא. מנה) דפ' מוסיף : ביום.  
 7 נזקו) דפ' : ניזקין.  
 9 רבא) צ"ס : רבא.  
 11 כגין) = כגון.  
 18 ולראבא) = ולרבא.  
 19 דאימיר) = דאיתמיר.  
 21 אינמי) = אי נמי.  
 22 דאימיר) = דאיתמיר.  
 23 כגין) = כגון. סבא) = סבא.  
 24 רבנו) גיטין ע"ג ע"א.  
 25 בית) דפ' : הבית.  
 שנשכו) דפ' : שהכישו. יעמד) דפ' : אעמוד. בכי"מ חסרים : אינו גט  
 אם לא אעמוד מחולי זה ונפל עליו בית או הכישו נחש.  
 27 מיתם) דפ' וכי"מ : מתם. לזו) דפ' וכי"מ : לנו. לישנא) = לישנא.

## ה

- 4 אתא) גיטין נ"ט ע"א. אמ') דפ' וכי"מ : א"ר יוחנן. בן ניוס) דפ' :  
 בוניים בן נוניים. כי"מ : בוניים בן נוניים. בערוך ע' סבן : בן ניוס.  
 סובני) דפ' : סיבני. כי"מ וערוך : סובני, וכי"מ מוסיף : „בבית" או  
 „בנית"; וע"ע תוספת הערוך השלם ע' סבן, עמוד 287. וחומס) כי"מ :  
 וחומס. וזאת היא הגרסה הנכונה : *ἡμῶν* ; ע"ע ב"ר פ"ב (הוצ' :



- טעהאדאר - אלבעק (994). סובני) ליתא בדפ' וכי"מ, אבל איתא בערוך.  
 5 ומלמלה) דפ' וערוך: ומלמלא. סובני) דפ': סיבני. וחומס) כי"מ:  
 וחומס. סובני) ליתא בדפ' כבי"מ ואיתא בערוך. ופלגו) דפ': ופלגיה.  
 ערוך: ופלגא. אמנוזא) דפ': דאמנוזא. ומלמלה) דפ' וערוך: ומלמלא.  
 וליתא כבי"מ.  
 6 כי פיסתקא) דפ': כפיסתקא. ופלגו) דפ': ופלגי.  
 פיסתקא) דפ': דפיסתקא. מאי) ליתא כבי"מ. מלמלה) דפ' וערוך:  
 מלמלא.  
 7 בן ננס) כן נמצא בדפוסי הערוך; ע"ע קאהוט IV 9 הערה 5.  
 ובגמרא) = ובגמרא.  
 8 דעירובין בכאי צד) ערוך, דפ': כיצד; עירובין פ"ה ע"ב.  
 8-9 א'... מנה) ליתא בערוך.  
 9 ופירושה) ערוך: ואמר.  
 10 אלא... רומי) ליתא בערוך.  
 10-11 והא... סובני) ערוך: ופי'.  
 14 ישמעאלי) ערוך: ערבי. פוסתקה) ערוך: פיסתקא; ע"ע לעף, פלורא  
 I, 199.  
 16 בו) ערוך: בה. ומלמלה) ערוך: ומלמלא. הרי... כי) ליתא בערוך.  
 17 דבר... ופירושו) ליתא בערוך. וכשימתח) ערוך: ואם נמתח.  
 18 דתנן) גיטין נ"ט ע"ב. עופות) דפ' וכי"מ: ועופות. גזל) דפ' וכי"מ:  
 משום גזל.  
 19 עלה) גיטין ס' ע"ב. באיזלי) דפ' וכי"מ: באוזלי. ואוהרי) כי"מ:  
 ואוהרא.  
 20 בלוחי) דפ' וכי"מ: בלחי.  
 25 כי דמתרגמי' = כדמתרגמי'. טו) שמות ל"ה כ"ה.  
 28 אלאיזל) ע"ע פי' ר"ח; איצה"ג גיטין 40. ואלפכוד) ע"ע פי' ר"ח;  
 איצה"ג שם.

## ו

- 1 דמשקין) מ"ס י"א ע"א. ליה לרב חייה) דפ': לחייו. אוהארי) דפ':  
 אוהרי.  
 2 בחוליו) דפ': בחולא. אסיר) דפ' וכי"מ: אסור, ומוסיפ': מאי טעמא.  
 4 קלקלה) ע"ע ערוך ע' קקרי: פי' מסגרות שעושין מן לוחות לתפוש  
 הדגים ושמן כלשון ערבי קולקא; וע"ע תוספת הערוך השלם 373.

- 7 השבת) שב' י"ח ע"א.  
 8 (או) = אי.  
 10 (שאר) = שרי.  
 12 מציאת) גיטין ס"א ע"א.  
 14 בדיאנין) דפ': בדוינים. הדוינין) שבועות מ"א ע"א.  
 15 עני) גיטין ס"א ע"א.  
 19 רב) שם שם. קא אזיל) דפ': קאזיל. להוציל) דפ': להוצל.  
 20 קא שאדי) דפ': שרי. אופי) דפ': אופיי. בכ"י שלנו כתובה קו"ף  
 קטנה על האל"ף, ואפשר שהמניה חשב שצריך לגרום קופי במקום אופי;  
 ע"ע פי ר"ח: אופי עיקר חריות של דקל; אוצה"ג גיטין 40.  
 21 אלכרב) ע"ע הרכבי, זכרון לראשונים, סי' תי"א: שיתין קליפין של  
 דקל שנקראין בלשון ישמעאלי אלכרב וקוראין בלשון ארמי אופי;  
 אוצה"ג ברכות 104, .  
 25 מעליאתא) = מעליתא.  
 26 וקארי) = וקרי.  
 27 עולם) משלי י' כ"ה. כפישה) גיטין ס"ב ע"א; ע"ע ערוך ע' כפש:  
 בלישנא דרבנן והוא כעין סל גדול שכובשין בו זיתים לכומרן.  
 28 באהלות) י"ח א'.

## ז

- 1 כפישה) דפ' וכי"מ: הכפישה. טהרות) ט' ה'.  
 2 זיתיו) דפ': זיתים. בכופש) יש נוסחה: בכותש. שימתינו) דפ':  
 שימתנו. נוחין) כי"מ: נוחים. לכתישח) דפ' וכי"מ: לכתוש. הבור)  
 באהלות ה' ו' איתא: הבור והדות שבבית וכפישה נתונה עליו טהור.  
 בערוך ע' כפש מובאה נוסחת כ"י שלנו, וקרוב לודאי שלפני הגאון  
 שלנו היתה תוספתא או בריתא שאינה ידועה לנו. 3 אנחותה) גיטין ס"ב  
 ע"א; ע"ע ערוך ע' כפש: ואנחותא נמי כלי הוא; וע"ע אסף, תשובה"ג  
 תש"ב 76: הכפישה כמו קופה ובנחותה (= ובאנחותא, שם הערה 30)  
 והוא דומה לקופה קעורה.  
 4 תברא) ע"ע כתובות ע"ה, ע"ב תוס' ד"ה תברא. ערוך ע' תבר: פי'  
 ר"ח ז"ל שבועה היא שנשבע כדגרסינן בפ' ואלו מגלחין בגמ' דסמך  
 הנזיר מאי תברא אמר רב יצחק בריה דרב יהודה תברי בתי.  
 6 מגלחין) מ"ק י"ו ע"א. שמותא) דפ': שמתא. שום) דפ' וכי"מ: שם.  
 שמה) דפ': שממה.  
 7 שמעתא) שם שם ע"ב.

- 8 (רב) קיד' ט"ז ע"ב. (דיוקרת) דפ': יוד קרת. כי"מ: יודקרת. קא חזינא) כי"מ: קחזינ'.
- 9 (יוסף) דפ' וכי"מ: ששת. ערוך (דפוסים קדמונים): יוסף. תיטאי) דפ': תוטאי.
- 10 האלון תענ' כ"ג ע"ב. (עד) קיד' נ"ג ע"ב.
- 11 פליגי) דפ': קא מיפלגי. דאמי) = דמי.
- 11-12 אילא ... מעל) דפ': אלא דמר סבר חנוני כשולחני ומר סבר חנוני כבעל הבית אבל דכולי עלמא אם הוציא מעל. ובכי"מ חסר מן עד כאן עד מעל וממשיך: אבל דכ"ע אם הוציא מעל.
- 12 דאמי) = דמי. ליה) דפ': קאמר, כי"מ: קא' וליה לא סביר' ליה.
- 12-13 אפילו ... מעיל) דפ': אם הוציא נמי לא מעל. כי"מ: אם הוציא לא מעל.
- 13 לדידך) דפ' וכי"מ: אלא לדידך. אודו) דפ' וכי"מ: אודי. זי) אינני יודע פירושה, בטקסטים הנדפסים בגאונים של גינזבורג מובאה כמה פעמים, אמנם גם שם אינו ברור מובנה. חובת טלות (= טלית) היא וזו (= זוי) רמי לה (וזיל = זוי II, 332); בבגד קא ראמי זי בתר עיקר; בציצית אמרינן זו בתר עיקר (15-16, II, 336); אליה זי גופא דעובדא היכי הוה (25, II 361); אמרו לי זי גופא דעובדא היכי הוא (12, II 364); א' ליה זי האידנא ותא (שם שורה 12). דאמי) ליתא בדפ' ובכי"מ: דמי. והוא אמ' ליה) דפ' וכי"מ: ואמר ליה.
- 14 כשלחני) דפ' וכי"מ: כשולחני. דאמי) = דמי. ליתא בדפ' ובכי"מ. לישנא) = לישנא. מתניתין) קיד' נ"ב ע"ב.
- 16 ודרבבה) = ודרבה.
- 22-24 באעי ... לחולין) דפ' וכי"מ: בעא מיניה רבא מר' חסדא אשה אין מתקדשת מעות מהו שיצאו לחולין אמר ליה אשה אין מתקדשת מעות היאך יצאו לחולין.
- 25 רבבה) דפ' וכי"מ: רב חייא בר אבין; עיין ס' מו"מ לרב האי גאון, גם לפני הגאון ז"ל היתה גרסה שבכ"י שלנו; ע"ע הערתו של המו"ל (הוצ' ווין) כ"ז ע"א הערה ז'.
- דאלמא) = דילמא.
- 26 המפקיד) מעילה כ"א ע"ב. שלחני) דפ' וכי"מ: שולחני.
- 27 לא מעל) דפ' וכי"מ: מעל. ואם) דפ' וכי"מ: אם.
- 28 מעל) דפ' וכי"מ: לא מעל.

## ה

- 4 נפש) ויקרא ה' ט"ו.  
 7 כען) = כאן. ע"ע לוי ערך, כען" 371; ויסטרו בערכו.  
 15 בשלמא) קיד' ס"ב ע"א. חנניה) דפ' וכי"מ: חנינא. הינו) דפ' וכי"מ:  
 היינו.  
 16 ואם לא שטית) ליתא בכי"מ. שטית) דפ' מוסיף: טומאה תחת אישך.  
 הנקי) דפ': חנקי. כי"מ: הינקי.  
 17 כת') ליתא בדפ'.  
 19 כי דכתבתון) = כדכתבתון. הכין הוא) מכאן ואילך אשוה גם אל  
 הנוסח הנדפס בגנזי קדם ס' ה' ע' 107 (= נג"ק).  
 20 שטית) נג"ק מוסיף: טמאה תחת אישך הנקי. שכב) נג"ק מוסיף:  
 הינקי.  
 אילא) נג"ק: אלא.  
 21 אמאי ... שכב) נג"ק: ליכתוב אם שכב הנקי.  
 22 הינו) דפ' וכי"מ: היינו. חנניה) דפ' וכי"מ: חנינא. הנקי) נג"ק  
 מוסיף: וקראן הנקי דמשמע תרתי. מאי הנקי) דפ', כי"מ ונג"ק: למה  
 ליה. מהו דתימ' נג"ק: סלקא דעתך אמינא. דפ' וכי"מ: איצטריך  
 סד"א.  
 23 אם שכב) דפ', כי"מ ונג"ק: אם לא שכב. ודפ' מוסיף עוד: איש.  
 הנקי) כי"מ: הינקי.  
 לא) ליתא בדפ' וכי"מ. הנקי) דפ' ונג"ק מוסיף: אלא איסורא בעלמא.  
 כי"מ: איסורא בעלמא. ובדפ' כת' חנקי בחי"ת.  
 23-24 הכין הוא גמרא) נג"ק: זה הלשון המדוקדק לישאנא דרבה.  
 24 טופיאנא) = טופינא. ע"ע אוצה"נ קיד' 13: מאי דאשכחתון דהאי  
 טופיאנא משום שכל הפורה הקדש מוסיף חומש, לאו טעמא הוא ולית  
 לפדיון הקדש הכא עסק וכו'.  
 25 תנוי ... תנוי) תנוי ... תנוי.  
 26 קיאמת) = קימת.  
 27 בתנוי) = בתנוי.  
 28 תנוי) = תנוי.

## ט

- 2 תאלי) = תלי.  
 3 בתנוי) = בתנוי.

- 4 הנקי) = במד' ה' י"ט.  
 5 זרע) שם שם כ"ח. גמרנן) = גמרינן.  
 6 דאלמא) = דילמא.  
 14 ואמרנן) = ואמרינן.  
 16 במעיד) שם שם כ"ב.  
 19 למא) = למה.  
 20 למא) = למה.  
 25 אמנא) = אמונא.

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- 1 כי ... ר') דפ': כי הוה נחא נפשיה דרבי. גרסת הערוך ע' המניא כגרסתנו: כי הוה קא מנמנמ ר'. כי"מ: כי הוה נח דר'. קיד' ע"ב ע"א. הומניא) כי"מ: הימוניא. עמונאי) כי"מ: דעמונאי.  
 2 סגיריא) וכן הוא גם גרסת כי"מ: סגיר': דפ': מסגירא. (Neu-bauer, La Geographie du Talmud 399. Ms. Opp. 248)  
 ממזירי) דפ': דממזירא. Ms. Opp. : דממזירין. כי"מ: דממזירי. היא) כי"מ: הוא.  
 בירתא דנאדי) דפ': בירקא. Ms. Opp. : בירתא דגדה. כי"מ: ביותא (!). 3 אחים) כי"מ: אחין.  
 בה) ליתא בדפ'. שמחליפין) דפ': שמחליפים. נשותיהן) דפ': נשותיהם. דסאטי) דפ': דסטיא. כי"מ: דסטי.  
 4 פירא... לבא) דפ': דאקפי פירא בכורי בשבתא ואזיל. כי"מ: דאקפי פיר' דכוואי (!). וצאדוי) דפ': וצדו בהו. כי"מ: וציד. בשבתא) כי"מ: דשבת. ושמיתנהו) דפ' וכי"מ: ושמתנהו. בר ר') דפ': ברבי.  
 4 יאשיה) כי"מ: יושיה.  
 5 עקרא) דפ' וכי"מ: אקרא. אדה) דפ': אדא. כי"מ: רב אד'.  
 6 שלאברהם) דפ': של אברהם. כי"מ מוסיף: אבינו. יהודה) דפ': רבי יהודה. כי"מ: ר' יהוד'. כשמת) כי"מ: עד שלא מת.  
 7 עקיבה) דפ': עקיבא. כשמת) כי"מ: עד שלא מת. כי"מ: עד שלא מת.  
 8 שנולד) דפ': שנברא.  
 9 מיל' = מיל'.  
 10 הומיניא) Obermeyer, Die Landschaft Babylonien, Frankf. a. M. 1929, p. 192.

עד) צ"5: על.

11 דנאדי) ע' בס' של Obermeyer ע' 73 הערה 2.

12 דכוארי) = דכורי.

13 כוארי) = כורי.

14 דסופלי) ע"ע Wald, Die arabischen Glossen in der Schriften der Geonim, Oxford, 1935, p. 28.

16 לבא) ע"ע בס' של Obermeyer ע' 12-311; ערוך ע' לבא ותוספת הערוך השלם 240.

17 כגין) = כגון.

20 לבאי) מ"ק י"א ע"א. דפ' וכי"מ מוסיף: כוורי. אוול) דפ' וכי"מ: אויל.

עלמא) דפ' וכי"מ מוסיף: צור. איתו) דפ': איתו. כי"מ: איתיו.

21 כווארי) דפ': כוורא. כי"מ: כוורי. למיזל... מיניהו) דפ' וכי"מ: למימלח מיניהו.

22-23 אלבדאה) ע"ע בס' של Obermeyer ע' 310.

23 דכוארי) דפ': דכורי.

27 ולוקמה) דפ': ונוקמה. קיד' ע"ד ע"ב.

28 מצמדה) דפ': מצידה: כי"מ: מצדה; ע"ע ערוך ע' צד: כפי' ר"ח:

א"כ מצמדה תברה כל' ממקום חיזוק וזיווג משם שבירתה שנמצא ממנה עצמה פירוכה.

ולענין איסורא. כרב עבדין  
לדרב. הוא ראבי. למיטתק  
בן שוה. פשיטא. חזון עליו  
ולא מיצאו. כי דמסקא שמיטתא בסנה  
אבל הוכח דחור בו נורן. בדר דא  
הגיא כוותיה דרב. ושמעיה סלקא  
לא כוסה. אס בא לחורא חור. ואו  
עיה דאיתבא מנ. ושלח מתנה  
ודבה דרבנן קא פסכי אר אביי דא  
קא חוייננא. דהולך כוסה. לא  
הכין היא. מר פבר שלוח מתנה  
דא מתנה איה כגט. ומר פבר  
למתנה. וקא כשמוי. דא מתנה  
דפבר. אלוה מתנה לא משוי  
רב. ורבא פבר משוי. דלאו מילי  
ותרא היא דעתא בהא שמיטתא  
שמיטתא. הוא הדמות הנראית לעין. וקראת הנראת ופנין  
בזמן שמראיתו גופה היא הנראית. נקראת בבואה. ובזמן שמציב  
כנגדו מדתה או שעומד על המים המבקלין ערות. ונראית בה חירות  
דעתא דהא דרמות בבואה. כמה שמה אורי בחור ושמועון הנדב  
חות מים מן העין ונסתכלת ברמות בראח שני ופחו וצלי  
נין לא תעשה כל תמונה. דרשין לא ברמות. ולא ברמות  
תמן. ודא דהנפול על הארץ מן הארץ. כשהוא עומד בשמש  
יה מן הארץ נקרא בבואה רבבואה. ותשד: פ כספסל ארץ חק  
לחן. ונראית חומה ודמות. גם בעזית אדם. אבל על בוא  
דעתא דאין לחן. והא דבעא מינה אביי מאברה  
ית מצלה ליליך להלמד בה. ומצאיה כח. ופא דא רב  
ילה ניתנה. ובין לשון דא תורה חתומה





[illegible]



[illegible]



ורבא צפון. ויהי שבת. ויהי יום. וישבת גדולה דקאלאביי. אלא  
קטעה ידו לגמרי. ויהי עמיה. ויהי יום. ויהי שבת. ויהי קטעה  
ורואין אותו כאלו הוא מטרין. ויהי יום. ויהי שבת. ויהי קטעה  
הדין. דמערקת שימין ליה שבת מחמת ידו. אבל הכהן ונמנה ידו. וא  
וספת לחזק. האתניא בהדיא. בין בסיפרי. בי דב. ובין בתוספתא. וואין  
אורה. אס עושה סלע ביום. נותנין לו סלע ביום. מעה. נותנין לו מעה  
ביום. ונותנין לו כל נוקד. וכיון שמיין ונותנין לו מיד. והאיי הוא דקאל רבא  
אין לו אלא שבת של כל יום ויום. ואביי קאל נוקד לו נמי דמי עמיה ידו. והוא  
יה נוקד. כי דקאל רבא. בביעה. דהשתד. הדי פתח דמיין. השתד דאין  
דאידמיט. למימרא דשפרש לעילא. נחון שור יום של רבן. לרבן. יום של  
עצמו לעצמו. כגון שהכהן השור על ידו ונמנה ידו. ווספת לחזק. דלא  
קא כליא קרנא. ואין קטעה ידו לגמרי. היה כליא קרנא. ופליגין ליה. אקשיין  
הא נחא לאביי דאל אס הכהן על ידו ונמנה ידו. ווספת לחזק. אעליה שור  
גדולה. דהיא דמי ידו דההיא נוקד. או ביום של רבן. ואין ביום של  
לעצמו. אלא לרבא דאגאין לו דמי ידו. במאי קא הדין מימרא. נחון  
שור יום של רבן. ויום של עצמו לעצמו. אפילו אס הכהן על ידו.  
ונמנה ידו. דכיון דשור הוא. ליה עליה לא עבר ולא דיפסי. ולא שבת. ולא  
בשבת. ולית עליה אלא נוקד בלבד. ולרבא. האיי לית ליה נוקד. ואסיקין  
תרין טעמי. חד דחלוסי דמימיר נחון שור. איכא למימר הכהן אדכ  
על ידו ונמנה ידו. דאגא כליא קרנא. דאך על גב דרבא לית ליה נוקד.  
איה ליה שבת ובשבת. יום של רבן. ויום של עצמו לעצמו. ואין  
איה למימיר דהא דמימיר לעילא. נחון שור. לאו שפעת. ויהי  
דמימיר הוא. כגון כמארא ומימרא לרבא. לא סבב. ויהי  
והא דתנודבין. וה נטיף מיהו. אס ברי מיהו. ויהי  
או שנשכו נחש אינו גט. אס לא יעבר מחלו. זה ונפ  
שנשכו נחש דהו זה גט. מאי שנה רישא. ומאי שנה  
איה ליה שבת. ויהי. לישמנה הכין הוא. והכין פירושו  
לית ליה שבת. והאיי מיהו. ונענית מיהו.





לוי

לוי

מאי שנא והגש וזה אינו גש. שלחנא דמלך אלו אלו. נמי נשכחא שזעל הבית  
ואכלו ארי מיהו מדמוטל לפניך. נמי נשכחא שזעל הבית  
עליו את על פי שהוא מוטל לפניך. נמי נשכחא שזעל הבית  
דכי אתא רב דימי אל שחר לובן גינס לה סובני וחומס סובני סלילה  
ובלילה. סובני וחומס סובני. כאמנא. ופלג אמנא. סלילה ובלילה  
כי פיסתא. ופלג פיסתא. מאי מלילה. דבר הנמלל ונמלח הכין לעי  
דנמא. ודכתבתון בן ננס. לאו הכין הוא חלחל נאס. ובגמא  
דעירובין. כמאי עד כשהתפץ. בן ננס איקלע לקמיה דל אל להו פני  
מקום. בן מאה טע. ופירושה דהאי לשון אחרת הוא ולא לשון חכמים  
אלא מעמדות דלשון סודי. או לשון רמז. והא ספרש סובני וחומס  
סובני. סובני. בגד דק מאד. שפדפלין אותו ומכניסין אותו  
אגון. וחומס סובני. חצי אגון. בגד שפדפלין אותו ומכניסין אותו  
כחצי קליפת אגון. ודומה כי סובני שם האגון כלשון זה. וחומס חצי  
כלשון זה. וכן סלילה. שמו של פיסתא. והוא בלשון שפדפלין פיסתא  
וכן שחר לו קליפת אגון שיש בה בגד. וחצי קליפת אגון שיש בה בגד  
ופיסתא שיש בה בגד. ומלילה. הרי אמרו. כי הוא כלשון מלילה. ד  
דבר הנמלל ונמלח. ופירושו. שחם נמלל יהא קטן וכשיגדל יהא גדול  
והא דתנן מעורות חיה עופות ודגים יש בהן על פני דרכי שלום  
ליוסי דן על גמור. אמרין עלה באיולי ואברהי כולי. עלמא לא פליג. כי פל  
פליג בלוח וקורא. פירושה. מי שמעיב מעורות לחיה ולעוף ולדגים  
וענין נולד לביתו כדי שיפל בהן מה שיפל מן ההספריה ויטענו  
מפני דרכי שלום. כנעני יבנן מיניה. וליוסי סבר דלאו על גמור הוא חל  
אולי ואברהי חוקים כולי עלה לא פליג דגל גמור שהרי נפלו בקל  
אולי. ופירוש אולי. חוקים. כי דמתרגם. בידה טח  
ת עולין. ומיהו כד עול. ועשוין מעורות שמטילין אותן  
בדרך והרג או חיה או העוף נלכדין בו. ובלשון חכמים  
אין. אברהי כעית אל כדאמרת. וזהו פירוש.



והפרשין בגמיר רמשיין רב עזרא ליה לרב חיה בר אשי למיגל אהארי  
בחול דמועדא מא טעל מעשה וקורא אבא אילא אסיר מעשה אסיר  
אבא ליה הוא כמשתעו לחיס וקורא בלשוננו ברור מנעול ובלשון שמעלי  
נרא סאקטא ובזמן שהיא דלה והיא מהירא ליפול ולנעול קוראין לה קלקלה  
והן לחיס מועבים על דקום מסויים ויש להן פתח ועליותדים רמקרי וקאמי  
על דבר דלי כשהעקר אידך או החיה נכנסין לשם ומנדנדין אותו כמעט הרי הא  
התרים נפל והקורא נסגר וננעל והתם ביעיאות השבת חמייסן אל רב  
יוסף זיירה משום שבתת כלים או הכי מגיר ופריה נמי כי דמדין כלים  
רעברי מעשה כלים דלא עברי מעשה לא דאמריין והא מעודות חיד  
ועופיר ורגיס דקא עברי מעשה וקא שאר בית הלל התם בלוח  
וקרקרי כשהעקר בא לשם הרי הוא ככלוא ואינו בכלוי שלעיר וביה  
קאמריי רבן גול מפני דרכי שלום ל יוסי א גול גמיר ט מעיאת  
חיש שוטה וקטן ל יוסי הכי קאל גול גמור מדבריהן וא רב חסדא להוציא  
בדיאנן דאמריין התם בשבועת הדמייין דל יוסי סבר בדרבנן נמי טא  
נחיתין לניכסי מהא וליה היל כוותיה ט עני המנקה ביאש הויה או  
בשביעית או במקום מופקר או פאה והזיתים נושרין מניקוסין ויורדין לארץ  
קסדר תנא קמא מה שיש תחתיו גול מפני דרכי שלום ול יוסי או גול גמיר ואם  
גול גמיר ביד והפילס מידו לארץ כדי שירד ויטלם הריהו שוה וצא דשקיל מי  
מיהון גול גמיר הוא לדברי הכל ט רב כהנא הוה קא אילא להוציל  
חזייה לההוא גברא דהוה קא שאר אופי וקא עתק תמרי אופיין חניקרההיה  
שולדקל ושמן בלשון ישמע אל כרב היה משליך אופי לארץ והתמרים נול  
נושרות עימון ב רב כהנא וליקט מן התמרים ואכל דהוה ליה ההוא  
דא כעני המנקה בראש חזיה אלו לרב כהנא חזיה דמר דביאמי שריהיה  
נפצע לו בחייו כי בידו נטלן והשליכן לארץ וכשדא רב כהנא דבריו דברי  
הפסוק לו מאתיה דל ואשריה את המגמר לכו קהני מילא עליאתא כי דבר  
יאתיה מן חזינל הוא ששם ביהו שלעזרא חסופר שמעט עלה וקאמי  
רב פהנא אל ואשריה ועדיק יסוד עולם ט בפישת סל גרול  
כובשין בו את הענבים לכמין וכובשין בו את הפירות והתם באחלור



תען בוער ווען לער כפישה ווילן יות ובמסכת טהרות דגן  
 הסניח ויתן בנפש שיפתינו שיהו טחין לכרישה ורגלי נבי הבו  
 והדות בחצר וכפישה נטוה עליו שהרי אמתות כל כיוצא בו  
 הוא כל היכא דאמרינן תברא מי ששנה זו לא שנה זו כמו שבועה  
 הוא ששתי משניות הללו חלוקות זו על זו ואמתות תברא אלה וקללה  
 כי ההיא דאלו פלחין מאי שמויה א רב שוס פיה ושמו אל שמה  
 התיא ובסוף שמשא מאי תברי אל רב יעא בריה דרב יהוד תברי ברי  
 יתביא באלף הוא א רב יוסף דין דקדקת קא חזינא הכא שם  
 חכם הוא א ליה אביי הכי אל רב יוסף תיטא היא ובסדר העניות  
 האלו איכא ויסי דמן דקדקת א והא דאמור רבין עד  
 כאן לא מנינא אילא בחנוני דמי סבר כבעל הבית דאמי ומי סבר כשליחני  
 דאמי אבל כל עלג שליחני מעל א מאיד לדבריו דה יהוד קאז ליה לידיו אפלו  
 שליחני לא מעיל לדיק אודו לוי מיהא דחנוני כבעל הבית דאמי והוא אל ליה  
 כשליחני דאמי האני לישאנא דגדא פירושה עיזר מתניתין המקדש  
 בהקדש במזיד קידש בשוגג לא קידש דל א מאיד א יהוד אז בשוגג קידש  
 במזיד לא קידש ומאן דאמי למיחזא דביעיי רב חייה בר אבון ודרבא בר  
 מרב חיסדא אליבא דה יהוד לא סלקא ליה לעולם דהא נפישא מעילה לז יהוד  
 משום דמעילה לא הוית אילא כשמתחיל ההקדש ולא הוית נמי כמזיד אא בשוגג  
 וכיון דלז יהוד המקדש בהקדש בשוגג קידש וקא מיתתני ואיתקל לז קדש  
 נפישא מעילה אליבא וליכא לאותובי מימריה אבל א מאיד לפוסהאי סבר אי  
 ובפיהני מילא לית ליה מעילה בהקדש כל עיקר דסבירא ליה בשוגג לא קידש ולא  
 מיתחיל קדש ואליבא דה מאיד קא באעני מיניה רב חיה בר אבין מרב חיסדא  
 המקדש בהקדש בשוגג לז מאיד ודאי אשה אינה מקודשת מעור מן שיוצא  
 לחולין אל ליה מאחר שאשה אינה מקודשת מעור הארץ יוצאין לחולין ולפוס  
 חכין נמי בעא מיניה רבא מרב חיסדא בכר מהו אל ליה ארץ בכר לא קא יאמר  
 מעור חזרין למקומן וליכא קרבן מעילה איתוביה המפקיד מעור מעל שחזר  
 אס ערדין לא ישתמש בהן למיכר אפ הוציא לא מעל ואס מותרין שתמש בהן  
 למיכר אפ הוציא מעל ופירושה גובר שהפקיד מעור חזר למקומו וישלחנו אל



ערורין לא איבער ליה לשלחני לאישתמושי בהו. לפיכך אס הוינאן לחולק.  
 דרי הוא כמור. ואן על פי שטתה. וליכא עליה קרבן מעילה. אבל אס מעדין  
 ואית ליה רשותא לאישתמושי בהו. אס הוינאן. כסבור שהן חולין ונעצין  
 הקדש. היינו קוראבו. נפש כיתמעול מעל וחטא בשוגגה מקדשי. ונעצין  
 ומחוייב קרבן. ובעל הבית כיון שאסור להשתמש בהן. אס נשתמש כמור  
 הוא. ואין בו מעילה. וחנוני. כבעל הבית. ואין בו מעילה. דבריו לא מאיר.  
 ד יחול לו כשולחני. וישבו מעילה. ודאם ליה דבא לרב חסדא עת כען לא  
 פליגי אלא בחנוני. אבל בשולחני. אפילו ד מאיר מור. שישבו מעילה.  
 דאם חנוני כבעל הבית. אלא. שאני משולחני. היכי מעית אמרת. דב  
 דבמכר לא קטא. ומעות חוזרין למקומן. אהדר ליה רב חסדא ויש דסתנין.  
 אליבא דל יחול היא דתני. והאי דאם ד מאיר חנוני כבעל הבית. ודיקרת  
 מיניה. דאם מור. ששולחני. מעל. לדבריו דל יחול קאם ליה. והכי קאם ליה.  
 אפילו שולחני נמי לא מעל. אלא לדילך אודי לין. פיהא רחננו ליתבא  
 מעילה. ואם ליה ד יחול חנוני כשולחני. 6

ס  
 טו

ודכתבתון. הא דאמור רבנן בשולמא לל חנניה בן גמל. הינו  
 דכת אס לא שכב איש אחרך ואס לא שטית חנקי. אלא לל מאיר הקני  
 מיבעי ליה. אפד תנחום הקני. כל. פאי פירוש. ויש שגורסין חנקי  
 בחית. חנקי לא שמיע לנא מעולם. ולית ליה אסא. ושמיעתא נמי  
 לאו כי דכתבתון. אלא הכין היא. בשולא לל חנניה בן גמל הינו דכת  
 אס לא שכב איש אחרך ואס לא שטית. ולא כתוב אס שפב. מלא  
 לל מאיר אלא לא כת אס שכב. אפד תנחום הקני. כל. בשולמא  
 לל מאיר הינו דכת חנקי. אלא לל חנניה בן גמל מאי חנקי. מהו דתיב.  
 אס שכב חנקי ואס לא שכב לא חנקי ולא חנקי דא מעל לך. חכין  
 חנקי. וכל דמשפחתון טופיאנא שבעתא הוא. והכין קוינא  
 פירוש דל מאיר פבר בל תנוי דלא כפיל לאו תנוי הוא. ומילתא ד  
 חנקי. בין קאמא בין טיקיים תני. ובין לא טיקיים. ול תנא  
 אלא דל יחול דל יחול דל יחול. אלא על גב דלא כפיל לא טיקיים.  
 אלא דל יחול דל יחול דל יחול. אלא על גב דלא כפיל. אס יעבדו ואס





ועברו וזו חנינה בן גמל על דלואו למיכסל כתב הכין אילא ערד חסד  
הדבר לאמר ולפס הכין אמרין בשלם לז חנינה בן גמל דאז דאז  
בתניו ואף על גב דלא כפיל ליה היט דכל אס לא שכב ואס לא שמת  
אלקי ופירש הקדי הבטחה טובה שבטחתה הכל ונתתה ודבר  
רע ולא כל אס שטית לא תנקי ומיילא גמדין שזאם ששכב  
לא תנקי דאלמא לית לך הדיא הבטחה אף על גב דלא כפיל אס  
לז מאיר אמאי לא כפיל ופירשן אל תנחוס הקדי כל הכי קאמ  
לאו פירוש הקדי הבטחה טובה דאז מבטח לה כהדין תני דאי הדיא  
הבטחה טובה הוה חזיא לה לרבין דל מאיר ואף על גב דשטית א  
קמאיל ולא כפילא לתנאיה אילא הכי קאמ ליה אס לא שכבאיש אדוק  
זאם לא שטית הקדי ענינך בשתיית מים מרים ואין עליך כלום דא  
בשתיית אותם אבל הבטחה דעריה כפילה ליה לך והאי תנאי משמע  
נמי שאם שטית נדעין מנעך כלום שחזר גמל אמרת הדבר נקי  
אם נקיה הוה ואס לאו ואתין לארמא אחריה ואמרן בשלם לז  
מאיר הינו דכי על לה ואת כי שטית תחת אישך ובאוהלים המאריים  
האלה במעיד וגו איצטריך למיכסל ולמימר אס לא שכבאיש אדוק  
ואס לא שטית חסי לומר שאת מעוה ואין עליך כלום דלא תלי כיון דלא  
כפיל תנאיה וכו' במיעיה לעבד בטן ולנפל ירך אף על פי שלא ש  
שטית אלא לז חנינה בן גמל למא ליה דכפיל והוה סגי ליה לימירי את  
כי שטית וכו' הדיא המאריים האלה במיע' למא לי למיכסל ואס לא ש  
שטית הקדי שאין עליך כלום והדר לז חנינה בן גמל לטעמיה קמא  
והנהיגה מע הקדי ענינך משמע שאם שטית פירענותא  
אזל וכו' לא שטית יש לך הבטחה טובה ולא למיכסל איתמר  
אזל וכו' הבטחה טובה ערד לאמרן שאם גמל לא תנקי הוה  
אזל וכו' שטית יש עליה פירענות שהיא כפילא קמא אבל אס לא  
ענינך אף על גב דאין עליה כלום לא תנקי ולא תנקי קמא  
אזל וכו' דל מאיר דהוה ופירוקא דל חנינה בן גמל ענינך  
דלא תנקי תחת תאבו ושמינך



רבנן כו דא מנמנע ד אה הו מניא איכא בבבלי כולה עמונא היא סג  
סגדא איכא בבבלי כולה מסודי היא בידתא דנארי איכא בבבלי שני  
אחיס ישה שמחליפין נשוקיהן זה לזה בידתא דפאטי איכא בבבלי היום  
סרו מאחרי יא פירא דנארי לפא ועאחי בשבתא ושמיתיהו ד אחי בר א  
יאשיה ואישתמוד עקרא דאגמא איכא בבבלי איה בר אהבה יש בה  
היום יושב בחיקו של אברהם היום נולד יהודה בבבלי דא מר כשמה עא  
עדיה נולד ד כשמה נולד רבי יהודה כשמה רבי יהודה נולד רבא כשמה  
נולד רבאשי לומר שאין עדיק נפטר מן העולם עד שנולד עדיק כמותו  
הכין הוא גרסא ולא השכחן בה דושיא לפי דאשיה אלא מפרשיק מילה  
הומינא עיר ידועה עד עכשו עד שפת חוקל למטה מן בגדאד כמחזיק  
סגדא גפ הוא מדיס ועכשו אינו נכר וכן בידתא דנארי עיר  
ואינה ידועה מעלינו וכן בידתא דפאטי פירא דנארי חפירה גדולה  
כמו בריכה עשויה לרגס שמגדלין אורן בן ואין להן דרך לעאת כוארי  
רגס פירא כמו בריכה או חפירה וכן פירא דסופלי בריכה או חפירה  
עשויה להטיל בה גרעינין ופסולת של חמדים אחרי צאת דבשן ופיל  
לפא בלע ישמעלי כאשר תאמר האגם שמתגבין הרצון ועולין לעלה וא  
ודולגו ליבשה כגון עליא ובאין בני אדם ועירפין אורן הדבה הרבה בפירא  
ובענות ובסלים ובגרגורני ובכל כלים גדולים ויום אחד פגע להן קר ונחין  
לעיה ולמחר שיקטין במקומותיהן ואין נייעודין אלא בחמדים וכלו א  
מעדות וטורח הרבה וכך חנו אה בידתא לפא אויל כולה עמונא חתין  
כנארי שמה להו רבא למיזל מינע ואיתויי מיניה ודבר זה בחולו של יום  
ובידתא חת נח ופיהו נדיר פוס כדיתא ביום שבת עדים בני בידתא דפאטי  
ברא וכוין דלפא פירא דנארי ביום שבת עדים בני בידתא דפאטי  
ונדס לפאחי בר א יאשיה ונשתמוד עקרא דאגמא קרב לטורעא  
על שפת פרת הגדול דברים הללו אמרן רבינו הקדוש בשעת פטירתו  
כשהוא מתנמנם שראן בחלמו ואמרו בפיו דכולן נפגאו אמת  
והא דאפור רבנן ולקמה בבת עלש שנים ויום אחד ואפילו  
לד שמעל כן אמר כן מצפיה הדבה כך הוא הגלמוד



## STUDIES IN TALMUDIC PHILOLOGY \*

### I. ON ALLEGEDLY GREEK אפילון IN PT BERAKOT IX.3 AND RELATED PASSAGES

HARRY M. ORLINSKY,

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, New York

1. In the Palestinian Talmud<sup>1</sup> reference is made to Ps. 104.32, (יגע בהרים ויעשנו: « [[God...] Who looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; [He toucheth the mountains, and they smoke]], » with the following comment : בשעה שהקב"ה מביט בבתי תיטריות ובבתי קרקסיות יושבות בטח ושאנן ושלוה, ומקדשו חרב הוא אפילון לעולמו להחריבו, הה"ד שאנו ישאג על נהוה, « When the Holy One Blessed Be He looks at the theatres and circuses existing secure and at rest and in peace, while His Temple is in ruins, He אפילון to His world to destroy it. Thus we read (Jer. 25.30), 'He doth mightily roar because of His fold,' [where על means] 'because of' His fold. »

This essay will describe (in § I) the previous attempts to interpret אפילון, analyse (in § II) these attempts, and offer (in § III) a new solution along other lines.

\* Part of a Paper « On Two Allegedly Greek Words in Rabbinic Literature, » read by title at the eighty-third Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 30, 1947.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Krotoschin (1866), IX, 3 (13c bottom); ed. Zhitomir (1860-67), סד, ע"א (113 bottom, Halakah 'ב); ed. Romm (Vilna, 1922), סד, ע"א. On the Krotoschin and Zhitomir editions, see the comments by Louis Ginzberg, *The Palestinian Talmud* (New York, 1941), p. lxii; this 72-page monograph is the English translation of the learned author's Introduction to his *Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud* (in Hebrew), 3 vols. (New York, 1941).

## I

2. R. Solomon Syrileio (Sirillo), « The first commentator on the Palestinian Talmud whose work has been preserved... [he] composed his commentary in Palestine about 1530..., »<sup>2</sup> commented on the passage in Berakot in this wise : מסתכל באפילון : של עולמו, חללו של עולם.

3. In his highly regarded commentary (פני משה) on the Yerushalmi, R. Moses Margalioṭ (18th century) wrote on אפילון the following : רוצה הוא להפיל עולמו ולהחריבו וזהו סימן רעידת הארץ.<sup>3</sup>

4. In his commentary (מאיר נתיב) on Syrileio's edition of and commentary on the Yerushalmi Berakot (see n. 2 above), R. Meyer (Marcus) Lehmann (1831-90) agreed with Syrileio's explanation of אפילון של עולם as חללו של עולם. He writes : כנוסחת המהרש"ם מביא הערוך בשם ילמדנו ופי' המוסף הערוך בלשון יוני עזרה וחצר עד כאן לשוננו. אבל לא כן הוא כי חצר נקרא בלשון יוני פרופיליון, אבל פוליון הוא בלשון יוני מערה או חלל כמו שפי' המהרש"ם ונתוסף א' לתיבה כמו שרגילין בארצות הקדם להוסיף א' לתיבה יונית כמו אפלטון במקום פלטון.

5. In his commentary (אהבת ציון) on the Palestinian Talmud<sup>4</sup> R. Zechariah Frankel (1801-75) interprets : הוא אפילון : יוני (ἀπειλῶν) גוער ובערוך גי' אחרת ע"פי הילמדנו

6. Nathan ben Jehiel (died 1106), in his *Aruch*,<sup>5</sup> citing the form אפילון from the Yelamdenu (see below, § 26), has this

<sup>2</sup> L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. I-liv. Syrileio was among those who were expelled from Spain in 1492. His edition of, and commentary on, the Jerusalem Berakot was edited by R. Meyer Lehmann (Berlin, 1874; also printed together with the Romm edition cited in n. 1 above). For Syrileio's comment, cf. the readings in the Yelamdenu and Yalquṭ I § 836 (respectively §§ 26 and 27 below).

<sup>3</sup> For a warm appreciation of this scholar, see L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, lv-lvii. Margalioṭ has cited here the reading in Midrash Tanḥuma (see § 24 below)

<sup>4</sup> (bottom). נא, ע"ב, (Vienna, 1874), תלמוד ירושלמי, סדר זרעים.

<sup>5</sup> Basle edition (1599), s. אפילון; Venice edition (1653).



to say : בריש ילמדנו כשהקב"ה רואה בתי ע"ז יושבין שלזין וביתו שמם : ועשו דיש לערלים ולשועלים שנאמר שועלי' הלכו בו [Lam. 5.18] אותה שעה מסתכל אפליין של עולם והוא מזדעזע שנאמר המביט לארץ ותרעד... « When the Holy One Blessed Be He sees the dwellings of the heathens settled in security, and His Temple is in ruins and trodden by the uncircumcised and by foxes, as it is stated, 'The foxes walk upon it' [Lam. 5.18], at that moment He considers (or, looks) אפליין on the world and it trembles, as it is stated, 'Who looketh on the earth, and it trembleth'... »

7. Azariah dei Rossi (16<sup>th</sup> century), in his account of the earthquake of 1571 (קול אלהים),<sup>6</sup> wrote : כשהקב"ה מביט ורואה בתים רבים [is this a euphemism for « heathens » ?] יושבין ובית המקדש חרב מביא אפליין (פירוש בלשון יון מעטה כלומר מלביש קדרות) לעולמו והוא מזדעזע הוי המביט לארץ ותרעד.

8. In his learned supplements to Nathan's *Aruch*, Benjamin Immanuel Mussafia (Musaphia; 17<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>7</sup> interpreted עזרה וחצר as אפליין.

9. Moses Israel Landau, the noted publisher and lexicographer (1788-1852), had this to say in his *Rabbinisch-aramäisch-deutsches Wörterbuch... des Talmuds...*, etc. (Prague, 1819), on אפליין (p. 155b, n. 3), « Dieses griech. Wort [viz., Απολεων *Untergang* for the *Aruch*'s אפליין] drückt das heb. אבדן aus, und steht Apoc. 9,11. Mussaphia hat hier offenbar gefehlt, wenn er das vorgehende πωλεων da anwendet. der Sinn des Midrasch ist unzweifelhaft Gott siehet אפליין של עולם (απωλεια, απολλυω)

<sup>6</sup> See p. 12 (middle) of his *Meor Enayim* (ed. D. Cassel, Wilna, 1866). A lot of worthwhile material on dei Rossi is to be found in Ralph Marcus' recent study (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, 21 [1948], 29-71) of his « 16<sup>th</sup> Century Hebrew Critique of Philo. » Cf. also Salo W. Baron in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (New York, 1927), 12-52.

<sup>7</sup> His valuable *Musaf He-Aruch*, with its explanations of Greek and Latin words, appeared in his edition of Nathan's *Aruch* in Amsterdam, 1655. I have not had access to this edition, citing Mussafia only from Landau's and Kohut's editions of the *Aruch*.

*den Untergang der Welt*, keineswegs aber den Vorsaal oder Vorhof der Welt.»

10. In his edition of dei Rossi's *Meor Enayim* (see n. 6 above), David Cassel (1818-93) comments on the former's interpretation of אפילון in the following words (note א): בערוך ערך אפילון שלישי יש פירוש זה על מלה זאת והוא מלשון רומימלשון. אולם שם ערך אפילון שני מביא המאמר עצמו דלעיל בקצר שנוי ומסתכל אפילון של עולם ופירש המוסף בלשון יוני עזרה וחצר ולפי נוסח המחבר יתכן שהיא מלה יוונית כמו אבדון וחרבן.

11. According to Jacob Levy,<sup>8</sup> « אפילון (gr. ἀπειλῶν, Part. ἀπειλῶν) drohend, androhend. j. Ber. IX, 13° ... Cant. r.g.E., 34° להחריבו (1. אפילון) » In this interpretation, Levy was followed by Alexander Kohut,<sup>9</sup> Salomon Buber,<sup>10</sup> and others.

12. Arnold Ehrlich,<sup>11</sup> in the course of his review of S. Buber's edition of *Midrash Tanhuma*, rejected the identification of our אפילון with ἀπειλῶν, and argued instead in favor of

<sup>8</sup> *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, etc., Vol. I (Leipzig, 1876), 141b.

<sup>9</sup> *Aruch Completum* (Vienna, 1878-92; 2nd ed., 1926), s. אפילון \* (216b); he interprets 'אפי' in *Midrash Rabbah* on Canticles (see § 22, n. 19 below) similarly. See also the supplementary volume, *Additamenta ad librum Aruch Completum* (Vienna, 1937), 55ab (אפילון \*).

<sup>10</sup> *Midrash Tanchuma* (Wilna, 1885), § 12 (p. 8), n. עב.

Gustav H. Dalman too (both the 1st [1897] and 2nd [1922] editions of his *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*, etc.) explains אפילון as « (ἀπειλῶν) drohend. » So also the popular *Dictionary of the Talmud*, etc., by Baruch Krupnik-A. M. Silberman (London, 1927), s. אפילון (63b, « threaten »).

In his « Notes lexicographiques » (*Revue des Études Juives*, 38 [1899], 223 bottom, s. אפילון), Julius Fürst (1826-99), while accepting ἀπειλῶν as the word underlying our אפילון, argued for the meaning « malheur, destruction. »

<sup>11</sup> In *נכסות ישראל* (ed. S. P. Rabinowitz, Warsaw), Vol. I (1886), cols. 197-8.

the Greek word ἐπιλλόω; as he put it eleven years later,<sup>12</sup> the reading (לעולם) אפילין (הוא) in the Rome manuscript used by Buber (see § 29 and n. 22 below) should be emended to אפילין and should be interpreted as « = ἐπιλλος = anblickend, blinzeld. Ebenso gut ist die LA des Yeruschalmi אפילין = ἐπιλλών, partic praes. von ἐπιλλόω (= ἐπιλλίζω) ... Vgl. Aruch s.v. אפילין, wo מסתכל bloss erklärender Zusatz eines Abschreibers zu לעולם אפילין ist... Im Midrasch Tehillim Ψ CIV, 32 (ed. Buber, p. 447) findet sich die richtige Übersetzung הוא מביט בעולם. Mit Unrecht also möchte Buber (Tanchuma a.a.O. Anm. 71) diese Stelle nach dem Midrasch zu Ψ XVIII, 8 (ed. Buber, p. 142) ändern. »

13. Samuel Krauss<sup>13</sup> has this to say: « in j. Berach 13<sup>e</sup> 49 (הוא א' לעולם להחריבו), wofür in Cant r zu VIII, 12 חושב אפילו להחריב לעולם steht, ist viell. ἀπειλῶν (oder nach Aruch's LA אפילין: ἀπειλέων) drohend. In Ex r c. 29,9 steht dafür מקנא ושואג; in Midr. Ψ XVII, 12 u. CIV, 25 fehlt das W. ebenfalls, vgl. Tanch. B. בראשית 12 להפיל u. Jalk Sam § 158, » with the *Bemerkung*: « [?] Siehe auch A. Ehrlich... »

14. Marcus Jastrow<sup>14</sup> explains our אפילין as « (ἀπειλῶν, ἀπειλέων, part pres. of ἀπειλέω, prob. borrowed fr. Aquila to Ps. CIV, 32), threatening. Y. Ber. IX, 13<sup>e</sup> bot. הוא א' לעולם להחריבו He looks upon his world threatening to destroy it. »<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 41 (1897), 480.

<sup>13</sup> *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrash und Targum*, mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw (Berlin, 1898-99), Vol. II, s. אפילין (pp. 105b-106a).

<sup>14</sup> *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud... and the Midrashic Literature* (Philadelphia, 1903), s. אפילין: אפילין I (p. 103).

<sup>15</sup> The reference to Aquila has no basis whatever. Quite apart from the fact that Aquila on Ps. 104.32 has not been preserved, how could so free a rendering as « threaten » be attributed to this « slave to the Hebrew letter » for חַמֵּץ? Aquila uses ἀπειλή for זַעַם in Ezek 21.31 and perhaps also in Ps. 7.12 (see F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, etc. Vol. II, n. 26 on p. 95).

15. Most recently Saul Lieberman<sup>16</sup> argued that «...The dictionaries explain אפיסן to mean threatening, but this interpretation is impossible... it seems to me that Ehrlich was on the right track in taking the word as ἐπιλλῶν (= ἐπιλλῖζων), looking askance, winking. The exact meaning of ἐπιλλῶ is not yet established; it may also mean to look indignantly. The gloss in Yalkut and Aruch, which explained אפיסן as מסתכל, seems to be correct, for מסתכל means also to look indignantly... »

## II

For various reasons I am not able to accept any of the above explanations of אפיסן.

16. For one thing, and this is a decisive argument by itself, it is not possible to accept any Greek participial form in -ων as the word underlying אפיסן. Whether one assume the meaning «destroy,» or «threaten,» or «look askance, wink,» or «look indignantly,» our passage in Berakot would then have to be rendered : «When the Holy One Blessed Be He looks at the theatres and circuses existing secure... while His Temple is in ruins, He destroying (or, threatening; or, looking askance, indignantly; or, winking) at His world to destroy it » — an impossible construction!

17. In rejecting « אפיסן to mean ἀπειλῶν threatening » Lieberman argues (p. 54), «It is difficult to comprehend why in the middle of the Hebrew phrase the Talmud should have used a Greek word which was not current in Palestinian Aramaic, since it occurs only in this passage (and parallels). The use of the participle 'ἀπειλῶν הוּא' is also out of place... » However in arguing against ἀπειλῶν הוּא «He threatening,» Lieberman has really rejected also his own variation on Ehrlich's ἐπιλλῶν הוּא «He looking askance, indignantly»; the argument against « ἀπειλῶν הוּא » is equally cogent against « ἐπιλλῶν הוּא. »

<sup>16</sup> *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1942), pp. 53-5.

18. A single argument against ἐπιλλῶν is simple and decisive enough; no such verb is known to have existed in the classical Greek language! Ehrlich projected the word ἐπιλλῶ(ν) only because he needed such a Greek form for אַפִּיץ.<sup>17</sup> And since the word nearest to it is ἐπιλλίζω, Ehrlich (followed by Lieberman) put it this way: « ἐπιλλόω (= ἐπιλλίζω). »

19. As for ἐπιλλίζω, its meanings make the context of our talmudic passage rather inappropriate. According to Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek Lexicon*<sup>9</sup>, our word means « to make signs to one by winking, wink roguishly, look askance; c. dat. mock at, blink; leer; squint. » There would seem to be no basis for the meaning « to look angrily. »<sup>18</sup>

17 In נכנסת ישראל (see n. 11 above) he wrote: ואין מקום לבעל הדין לחלוק ולאמר כי תבת ἔπιλλος לא מצאנוה בספרי היונים הקדמונים, שאין מכאן ראייה על יצירת תבה מן התבות בימים מאוחרים (p. 54, n. 148) to « the long article on ἴλλω and its derivatives in Stephanus' Thesaurus vol. VII, p. 11080 seq. » is quite beside the point, since no form ἐπιλλῶ is taken up there, just as there isn't in Preisigke, Sophocles, and the like. On the use of ἐπιλλόω by the 12th century Eustathius, cited by Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek Lexicon*<sup>9</sup>, see n. 18 following.

18 On p. 55 Lieberman renders ἐπιλλίζων in line 387 of the well-known Homeric Hymn to Hermes: (So spake the Cyllenian, the slayer of Argus,) « looking indignantly. » However, no classical scholar has rendered ἐπιλλίζων thus, neither here (cf., e.g., « wink roguishly » in Liddell-Scott-Jones<sup>9</sup>; « while he kept on shooting sidelong glances » in Hugh G. Evelyn-White's translation of *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric* in the Loeb Classical Library; קורץ בפנינים by Solomon Shpan in התקנות ההומריים ed. M. Schwabe [Jerusalem, 5710-1949], p. 48), nor in Homer's *Odyssey* (Book XVIII, line 11), « Dost thou not see that all men are winking at me (μοι ἐπιλλίζουσιν) ... ? » (so A. T. Murray, in the Loeb Classical Library. Cf. in Saul Tchernichovsky's הומירוס כלום אינך רואה, איך כלם רומזים לי [Jerusalem, 5701], p. 344, אֲדִיפֶקָה (בעיניהם). On the other hand, Homer had such a good expression for « to look indignantly » as ὑπόδρα ἰδεῖν, which he uses only three lines farther on in the *Odyssey*: « Then with an angry glance... » (so Murray; cf. Tchernichovsky, הכיט בו בועם).

In his 12th century commentary on Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,

20. I find it difficult to accept any interpretation of המביט in Ps. 104.32 which involves the concept of «threat» or «anger.» The whole point of the verse is that the Lord is so great (cf. the opening verse of the Psalm, יהוה אלהי גדלת מאד) that He has merely to look upon the earth (המביט לארץ) and it trembles (וטרעד), He has merely to touch the mountains (יגע בהרים) and they smoke (ויעשנו). The «threatening» and «indignant» elements were introduced only because a Greek form of אפילו was assumed.

### III

21. Since no Greek word is possible for אפילו except in the participial form in -ων, and since this form is impossible in the context, it occurred to me at the very outset, as it probably did likewise to other students of the rabbinic literature, that אפילו was but a slight corruption of the common postbiblical word אפילו «even, even if, although.» But how fit this into the context?

22. The clue to our passage in Berakot is to be sought, I believe, in the Midrash Rabbah on Canticles (VIII, 16 [on Cant. 8.14]) : אדוני המלך עד שאתה מביט באלו שאוכלין ושותין ומקללים : אותך הבט באלו שאוכלים ושותים ומברכים אותך ומשבחין לשמך. כך שישאל אוכלין ושותין ומברכין ומשבחין ומקלסין להקב"ה מקשיב לקולם ומתרצה. ובשעה שאוה"ע אוכלין ושותין ומחרפין ומנאצין להקב"ה בעריות, שמוכירים אותה שעה חושב הקב"ה אפי' להחריב לעולמו... «My Lord O King, rather than look upon those who eat and drink and blaspheme you, look at those who eat and drink and bless and praise your name. So when (the people of) Israel eat and drink and bless and praise and extol the Holy One Blessed Be He, He listens to their voice and becomes reconciled. But when the (heathen) nations of the world eat and drink and

Eustathius uniquely employs the forms ἐπιλλος, —ων (202.29) and ἐπιλλόω (ib., 31), with the meaning «leering, squinting» (so Liddell-Scott-Jones<sup>9</sup>); I have not had access to this work.

blaspheme and insult the Holy One Blessed Be He with their indecent acts, at that moment the Holy One Blessed Be He considers even<sup>19</sup> to destroy His world... »

23. Turning back to our Berakot passage, we should read : בשעה שהקב"ה מביט בבתי תיטרויות ובבתי קרקסיות וישבות בטח ושאנן ושלום ומקדשו חרב הוא חושב אפילו לעולמו להחריבו « When the Holy One Blessed Be He looks at the theatres and circuses existing secure and at rest and in peace, while His Temple is in ruins, He considers even His world to destroy it. » One can readily understand how חושב accidentally fell out after חרב<sup>20</sup>; and the pronoun הוא at once becomes perfectly normal with participial חושב.

24. Now let us see how our reconstruction and interpretation of the Berakot passage, together with the plain meaning of אפילו in the parallel passage in Midrash Rabbah on Canticles, fits in with, and in turn helps to explain other related passages.

In the Midrash Tanḥuma on Genesis (ed. S. Buber, p. 8, § יב) we read : בשעה שהקב"ה מביט בעולמו ורואה בתי עבודת כוכבים וישבים על תלם בטח שלום ושאנן, ובית מקדשו חרב, באותה שעה « When the Holy One Blessed Be He looks upon His world and the houses of the heathens resting on their tells in security, at rest and in peace, while His Temple is in ruins, at that moment He wishes to overthrow the world, and it trembles. »

<sup>19</sup> Levy, Kohut, Buber, Krauss, Jastrow and Lieberman, all resolved and interpreted our אפילו so as to get out of it a Greek word in Hebrew characters — a word which, since it must of necessity end in participial —ov, results in an impossible expression («...He considers threatening [or, destroying; or, looking; etc.] to destroy His world »).

<sup>20</sup> On the text of the Palestinian Talmud see L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, lxx-lxviii. On p. lxvi he writes, « Useful as the manuscript readings and important as the quotations are for establishing a correct text, we should have to despair of ever achieving it unless we make ample use of emendation... »



Most critics went so far as to emend להפיל to אפיל(ו)ן (for ἀπειλῶν; ἐπιλλῶν; etc.). However, not only is this drastic emendation without any foundation, and not only does it create an impossible construction with the participle («...He wishes destroying [or, looking askance, threateningly; etc.]...»), but it is utterly unnecessary to boot; להפיל is here simply a synonym of להחריב in the parallel passages. Thus on our interpretation, the passage באותה שעה רוצה להפיל את העולם in Midrash Tanḥuma is brought naturally into complete consonance with our reconstruction of the related passage in Berakot (הוא חושב אפילו לעולמו להחריבו), as well as with the parallel passage in the Midrash on Canticles (אותה שעה חושב (הקב"ה אפילו להחריב לעולמו).

25. At this point we may cite the clear-cut statement in the Midrash Tehillim at Ps. 104.32 (ed. S. Buber, p. 447, § כ): אלא על ידי שהקב"ה מביט בטיטריאות וקרסיסאות של אומות העולם, והן יושבין בשלוח ובית המקדש חרב, הוא מביט בעולמו וביקש להחריבו, שנאמר (מציון) [ה' מרומם] ישאג וממעון קדשו יתן קולו שאג ישאג על נוהו (ירמיהו כה. ל') [בשביל נוהו], לכך המביט לארץ ותרעד.

This passage, lacking אפילו(ן), escaped emendation on the part of the critics; actually it represents perfectly the sense of our passage in Berakot as we understand it, and of the passage in Midrash Rabbah on Canticles.

26. In the Yelamdenu<sup>21</sup> we read : אותה שעה מסתכל אפילו : This is rendered by Levy (s. אפילו ; cf. Mussafia [§ 8 above] and Kohut, vol. I, 216b), « so blickt er hin auf den Vorsaal der Welt (d.h. 'die

<sup>21</sup> Cited in the *Aruch* erroneously as the Midrash Tanḥuma; see Buber, op. cit., n. עב on pp. 8-9, and the entire valuable discussion on pp. 7 ff. of the מבוא. H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*<sup>6</sup> (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 212, cites the bibliography, which includes reference to J. Theodor's discussions in the *Monatsschrift* and *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Vol. VIII, p. 560 of his «Midrash Haggadah,» pp. 550-569), and to J. Z. Lauterbach's article on «Tanḥuma» in Vol. XII, 45-6.

Erde', in Ggs. zum Himmel, Triclinium, s. טריקלין), und er wird erschüttert. » However, not only does « Vorsaal der Welt » make no sense here (surely « die Erde » is not a natural interpretation of it), and not only are all assumed forms in Greek participial -ων precluded at once by the resultant syntax and context (see § 16 above), but the entire passage becomes perfectly clear when it is interpreted in the light of the parallel passages cited above and to be cited below, namely, our passage is to be read something like אותה שעה מסתכל להפיל אפילו (אפילו להפיל, or) לעולם והוא מזרוע « at that moment He considers overthrowing even (or, even overthrowing) the world, and it trembles... »

27. In the Yalquṭ (I, § 836; on ואתחנן) we read : בשעה שהקב"ה מביט בעולמו ורואה בתי טרטאות ובתי קרקסאות יושבים בטה ושאנן ושלמים ובית מקדשו חרב, הוא מסתכל באפלו, <sup>22</sup> עולמו להחריבו... « When the Holy One Blessed Be He looks upon His world and sees the theatres and circuses existing secure and at rest and in peace, while His Temple is in ruins, He looks אפלו His world to destroy it... » As against either any Greek participial form in -ων or any Greek form for « gateway, vestibule » (πυλῶν), or the like (cf. § 26 preceding), it would seem reasonable to alter this passage slightly to something like הוא מסתכל הוא מביט בעולמו וביקש להחריבו, אפילו בעולמו להחריבו it. » And this accords so well, e.g., with the readings in the Midrash Tehillim (§ 25 above, הוא מביט בעולמו וביקש להחריבו), Berakot (§ 23, on our reconstruction, הוא מביט בעולמו להחריבו), and the Midrash Rabbah on Canticles (§ 22, אותה שעה, הוא מביט בעולמו להחריבו).

28. In Yalquṭ Joel (on Joel 3.4; § 536) we read : בשעה שהקב"ה מביט ורואה עו"א יושבים בטה ושאנן ובית מקדשו חרב באותה

<sup>22</sup> Prof. Louis Ginzberg informed me that the first edition of the Yalquṭ reads thus, and that the readings in the later editions need not be taken seriously here. I take this opportunity to thank this noted Talmudist also for calling to my attention the fact that the Targum usually renders biblical forms of מִבִּיט by מִקְתִּיל (contrast usually רָאָה for רָאָה).

שעה מאפיל העולם ומדועזע, «...at that moment He מאפיל the world and it trembles.» In the light of מפיל in Midrash Tanḥuma, the synonym of ההריב in related passages, it is possible that מאפיל is to be emended to מפיל. Nor is it unlikely that מאפיל harbors an earlier אפילו. On the other hand, one should by no means rule out the strong possibility that מאפיל is quite original, and means simply «He darkens» (root אפל); cf. Joel 3.4 להפך השמש יהפך «The sun shall be turned into darkness,» on which our section in the Yalqut is based. Neither could our midrashic commentator have been unaware of 4.15-16: שמש וירח קדרו וכוכבים אספו נגהם: «The sun and the moon are become black, and the stars withdraw their shining. And the Lord shall roar from Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shall shake...» In any case, there is no sufficient reason to follow those who would see a Greek word in -ων as the original of מאפיל. (See further n. 23 below.)

29. In n. 72 (p. 8) of his edition of Midrash Tanḥuma (see § 24 above), S. Buber refers to the variant reading in the Rome manuscript<sup>23</sup> בב"י רומי באותה שעה הוא אפילים לעולם והוא מדועזע. Ehrlich (see § I 12 above) arbitrarily reads אפילום. Of course it is frequently scarcely possible to distinguish between י and יו, and Ehrlich needed a form in יום for his (επιλλ)ος. Fortunately, it is not necessary to argue the matter. What this passage must have read originally is something like: באותה שעה הוא רוצה להפיל<sup>24</sup> לעולם והוא מדועזע, as in the Midrash Tanḥuma.

<sup>23</sup> Strack, *op. cit.*, p. 336, n. 3, cites Theodor's judgment in the *Monatsschrift* that «Buber should have based his text on cod. Vatie. Ebr. 34 rather than on Oxford Opp. 20 = Neubauer Cat. 154...» The Rome manuscript was collated for Buber by הרב מרדכי קאפוי (see Buber's דבר, p. 1).

<sup>24</sup> Or, להפיל אפילו; or, in the light of Yalqut Joel (§ 28 above), באותה שעה הוא מאפיל לעולם. Once again I must thank Prof. Ginzberg for reminding me that the Midrash loved to play on the roots אפל «be dark»

30. (a) In the Midrash on Psalms (Shoḥer Ṭob; ed. S. Buber [Wilna, 1891], pp. 141-2), at 18.8 (§ 12) it is written : בשעה : ... שהקב"ה מביט בעולמו ורואה בתי טרטיאות ובתי קרקסיאות ואומות העולם יושבים בהשקט, ובית המקדש חרב, אותה שעה מחרה אפו בעולמו ומבקש להחריבו, הלא הוא דכתיב שאוג ישאג על נוהו (ירמיה כה. ל'), בשביל נוהו, לפיכך יתגעש ותרעש הארץ.

(b) The Yalqut, at the parallel passage in II Sam. 22.8 (§ 158), reads : אלא כך הוא עקרו של דבר בשעה שהקב"ה מביט בעולמו : ורואה בתי טרטיאות ובתי קרקסיאות ועו"א יושבים בהשקט ובהמ"ק חרב חרה אפו בעולמו להחריבו שנאמר שאוג ישאג על נוהו. ...

(c) The critics (e.g., Levy, Kohut, Buber, Ehrlich, Jastrow [see also s. חרי], Lieberman) resort in these two parallel passages to some Greek form in -ων underlying אפילון (ἀπειλῶν; ἐπιλλῶν), leaving (ב)חרה to be accounted for as a later addition after אפילון had become אפו, or to be emended to הוא.

(d) On our view, the passages in the Shoḥer Ṭob and Yalqut require no emendation at all, and the expression (ב)חרה אפו « His anger burns (or, He kindles His anger) against His world... » is a perfectly natural (and correct) explanatory addition : When God sees the heathens prosperous and happy, and His Temple and people in ignominy, His anger is kindled against His world to destroy it.<sup>25</sup>

and נפל « fall », e.g., Midrash Rabbah on Genesis (ed. Ch. Albeck, Berlin, 1931), ויפל פניו « and his [Cain's] face fell » (p. 209), and on the name אֶמְרָפֶל Amraphel (p. 408).

<sup>25</sup> One may assume an original אפילו אפילו (ב)חרה אפילו, with אפילו (written perhaps in abbreviated form 'אפי') having fallen out after אפילו by haplography. However, I do not think that it is correct method to assume that the parallel passages of a theme must be identical in wording, even so far as key words and expressions are concerned — and our אפילו is indeed hardly a major word! Whatever passage out of several parallel passages may be demonstrated as the original theme, the other passages are so often essentially but variations (usually oral) on that theme. On the proposition that the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll is in origin an oral variation on the theme that came to be known as the masoretic text, see my « Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll, » *JBL*, 69 (1950), 155-157, 165.

31. Our interpretation of **מ(ה)רה אפו** above is in complete accord with and receives support from yet still another parallel passage. In Exodus Rabbah 29,8 we read : **בשעה שהקב"ה מסתכל : בבתי ע"ז ובעכו"ם האיד נתונין בשקט ובשלוה בעולם, ורואה ביתו הרב ונתון בידם של עכו"ם כביכול הוא מקנא ושואנ**<sup>26</sup> **ומיד השמים והארץ רועשים שנאמר (יואל ד') ה' מציון ישאג ומירושלים יתן קולו ורעשו שמים ... וארץ. ... When the Holy One Blessed Be He looks upon the dwellings of the pagans and heathens, how they are set in security and in peace in the world, and He sees His Temple in ruins and given over into the hands of the heathens, then as it were He becomes jealous and roars, and immediately the heavens and the earth tremble, as it is stated (Joel 4.16), 'And the Lord shall roar from Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shall shake...' »**

32. It is of interest to determine the origin of the extensive and popular midrash on our passage in Psalms, viz., that God was tempted to destroy the world. The entire Psalm is a paean of praise to the greatness of God. This theme is expressed in the opening verse, « O Lord, my God, you are very great » (**יהוה אלהי גדלת מאד**). In our own verse (32), the Lord is so great that He has merely to look on the earth and it trembles (**המביט לארץ ותרעד**), He has but to touch the mountains, and they smoke (**יגע בהרים ויעשנו**).

The Midrash, in typical fashion, goes deeper into the verse, and from another angle than was intended by the author of Ps. 104. The Midrash asks : Why should the earth tremble merely because God looks at it? Is God by nature something

<sup>26</sup> Krauss, in his search for a Greek original of **אפילו** and finding it in ἀπειλῶν (see § I 13 above), is led to explain our **שואנ** as a parallel of **אפילו**. However, not only is « jealousy and roaring » no substitute or synonym for an alleged « threatening, » but the former derives clearly and naturally from Jer. 25.30 (**ישאג על-נוהו**) « The Lord... doth mightily roar... » [as in Berakot, IX, 3 and some parallel passages], with which cf. Joel 4.16, **ויהוה מציון ישאג ומירושלים יתן קולו ורעשו שמים וארץ. ...** ; cf. Yalkut Joel, § 27 above).

terrifying? Does His look bring on dread and trembling? Of course not! How could it, when the author goes on to say (verse 34) «...As for me, I will rejoice in the Lord» (אנכי (אשמח ביהוה)? What the passage must really mean is this: When God looks at the world and sees the gentiles secure and prosperous, while His own Temple is in ruins and His people is in exile, He considers destroying even His own world, the very world which He had vowed after the great Flood never again to destroy. And that is why the earth trembles and the mountains smoke. And this is precisely what our analysis of Berakot (and of all the related passages) comes out to: בשעה שהקב"ה מבטי טיטריות יושבות בטח... ומקדשו חרב, חושב הוא (הוא חושב, or) אפילו לעולמו להחריבו.

33. One last, but by no means unimportant observation. One should ask: But how did the common word אָפִילוֹ become אָפִילוֹן? <sup>27</sup> It seems to me that this took place in the Berakot passage only after חושב fell out accidentally by haplography after preceding חרב. The word אפילו, perhaps in the abbreviated form אפי, no longer made sense in the context, and attempts were naturally made to make some kind of sense out of the passage. Thus there is the rabbinic word אָפִיָּיוֹן «felt-cap, hat» (from Greek πάλιον), with a variant (אפיליום) in final ם- instead of in ן-. There is another rabbinic word אָפִיָּיוֹן «a sheet» (from Greek παλλιον), with a variant אפלים, again with final ם- in place of ן-. There is still another rabbinic word אָפִיָּיוֹן or אָפִיָּיוֹן «gateway» (from Greek πύλωνα). Accordingly, it is not surprising that our own אפילו took on final ן-, to become אפילוֹן, and that a variant reading in final ם- (so in the Rome

<sup>27</sup> In keeping with the highest standards of textual criticism, Ginzberg (*op. cit.*, pp. lxi-lxvii) is careful to note, «A cautious commentator will do well to avoid emending the transmitted text even when its corruption is obvious, so long as he is not able to explain the genesis of the present text...»

manuscript cited by Buber; see § 29 above) likewise came into being.

34. In fine, our word אַפִּילֵּן derives from the perfectly good postbiblical word אֶפֶּילִי «even,» and no Greek word need be sought, indeed can be sought or has been discovered, to explain it both in PT Berakot IX, 3 and in its career in the related passages.



# PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY



## MAIMON AND MAIMONIDES

SAMUEL ATLAS

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

THE purpose of this essay is to discuss some aspects of the philosophy of Solomon Maimon and their relation to Maimonides.

It is a cherished thought with Solomon Maimon, repeated by him several times in different connections, that while perception is a process occurring in time and subject to the mode of time, pure thought emerges instantly, at one stroke, as it were, and is not a temporal process at all. Considering the prominence which Maimon attributes to this distinction between perception and pure thought, as is evident from his referring to it time and again, two questions demanding elucidation necessarily arise. First, what is the source and origin of this idea; and secondly, in the light of the origin from which Maimon has derived it, what is the importance of this idea and its systematic place in Maimon's thinking as a whole. We may even gain clarification concerning Maimon's conception of a priori thought as distinct from sense perception.

An occasional reference to this idea by some thinker of the past which may have come the way of Maimon will not satisfy us in our search for its source,<sup>1</sup> simply because it would not satisfactorily explain the special significance Maimon imputes to this idea and because it would not be commensurate with the eminence which this distinction occupies in Maimon's system. We must, therefore, search for its origin in a thinker whom we know to have shaped Maimon's thought considerably, for only

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hugo Bergman, *הפילוסופיה של ש. מיימון*, p. 130, note I, who refers to R. Judah Halevi, *Kuzari* 5, as a possible source for Maimon's thought.

thus could we explain the prominent role of this idea in Maimon's thought. Such a thinker was Maimonides.

Maimonides, in dealing with the efficient cause which must exist for the production of a thing that has not existed previously, writes : « The series of causes for a certain phenomenon must necessarily conclude with a first causeless cause, always existing. As to the question, why has this thing been produced now and not before, inasmuch as the cause has always existed, we can answer in two ways : either that a certain relation between the cause and effect has till now been absent, if the cause be corporeal; or, if the cause be incorporeal, that the substance had not been sufficiently prepared... In Physics it has been proved that a body acts upon another body either by direct contact with it, or indirectly through the medium of other bodies... There are, however, changes which concern only the forms of things; they likewise require an efficient cause. This cause is incorporeal, for that which produces form must itself be form... This can be explained only thus : All combinations of the elements are subject to gradual increase and decrease; their change takes place by degrees. It is different with forms; they do not change by degrees and are therefore not subject to motion. They appear and disappear instantaneously and are, consequently, not the result of the combination of corporeal elements... The efficient cause which produces the form is indivisible... It is absurd to maintain that the action of this incorporeal agent is dependent upon its relation to the corporeal product. Since it is incorporeal, its action cannot depend on a relationship of distance; it cannot approach a body or recede from it... The same applies to the action of the intelligence. It is not the result of a force coming to it from the outside, nor does it affect at a certain distance, nor does it act at a certain time... » <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See *Guide*, II, 12 :

מבואר הוא שכל מחודש יש לו סבה פועלת וכו'. והפועל ההוא הקרוב לא ימלט מחיותו גשם או לא גשם וכו'. ונשאר לשאול על מה חדש עתה ולא חדש זה מקודם,

Maimon, in his exposition of Maimonides' philosophy, presents this distinction of Maimonides' between the effect of an idea, a pure form, and that of a material object, in the following manner : « All which is possible, i.e., the potential which becomes real, must have an efficient cause, a sufficient reason, in consequence of which the potential is transformed into a reality. This efficient cause is either material or immaterial. Matter as such, however, is passive and could not be an efficient cause unless it is determined through a form. The immediate cause of a certain effect must again have a determining cause, and so on. This, however, cannot go on infinitely... All reality thus presupposes a first cause. The reason, however, why this necessary cause, which is eternal, is effective now, at a particular point in time, and not before, is to be found in the absence of an external relation between the immediate cause and the effect, a relationship which is necessary for the cause to become effective. This is the case when the cause is material. Otherwise, the cause may not be effective due to the insufficient preparation of the material object. The generation of a composite object requires the attraction of its component parts and their effect one upon the other. But this process presupposes a definite

אחר שהוא נמצא, וא"א בהכרח מבלתי שיהיה המנעות הפעולה ההיא המיוחדת קודם חרושה, אם מהעדר ערך אחד בין הפועל והפעול, אם היה הפועל גשם, או מפני העדר הכנת החמר, אם היה הפועל בלתי גשם וכו'. וכבר התבאר בחכמת המבע כי כל גוף שיעשה מעשה אחד בגוף אחר, לא יעשה בו רק כשיפגשו או יפגשו מה שיפגשו, אם היה מעשה הפועל ההוא באמצעיים וכו'. אמנם מה שנמצאהו ממיוחדים שאינם נמשכים אחר מזג, והם הצורות כולם, א"א להם ג"כ מבלתי פועל, ר"ל נותן הצורה, והוא בלתי גשם, כי פועל הצורה צורה לא בחמר וכו'. וממה שיתבאר לך זה ג"כ, כי כל מזג מקבל התוספת והחסרון והוא יתחדש ראשון ראשון. ולזה אין תנועה בהם, ואמנם יתחדשו או יפסדו בלא זמן וכו', ופועל הצורה דבר לא יקבל החלוקה וכו'. וזה הפועל אשר הוא בלתי גוף, מן השקר שיהיה מעשהו למה שיעשהו בערך אחד, אחר שאינו גוף שיקרב או ירחק, או יקרב גשם לו או ירחק ממנו, מפני שאין ערך רוחק בין הגוף ובין מה שאינו גוף וכו'. כן זה השכל לא יגיע אליו כח מצד אחד ומרוחק אחד ולא יגיע כחו לזולתו ג"כ מצד מיוחד ועל רוחק מיוחד ולא בעת בלתי עת וכו'.

The last passage of Maimonides is rendered by Friedländer quite loosely. See *Guide for the Perplexed*, p. 170.

relation in space, inasmuch as material objects mutually attract one another and have an effect one upon the other only at a certain distance. The forms, however, such as simple substances or powers, do not presuppose a certain relation in space, inasmuch as there can be no spatial relation between a simple and a component object. The effect of the forms on matter is conditioned only by the necessary preparation of the material object. The cause of these forms must in itself be a form. But since these forms are simple substances, they cannot arise and disappear *in time*, i.e., their generation and disappearance can not be a process occurring in time, but rather they emerge *suddenly and instantaneously*. »<sup>3</sup>

Two ideas, which are mutually interdependent, are here set parallel to one another. Firstly, the distinction is made between the manner in which a material object affects another material object and the effect of a pure form, a simple substance. While the former is subject to the relation of space, since it can

<sup>3</sup> The italics are Maimon's. Cf. *S. Maimons Lebensgeschichte*, ed. Moritz, II, p. 83 f. The last sentence of Maimonides is rendered by Maimon thus: « *Die Ursache dieser Formen an sich aber kann nichts anderes als selbst eine Form sein. Und da diese Formen einfache Wesen sind, so können sie nicht entstehen und vergehen mit der Zeit und nach und nach, sondern plötzlich und auf einmal.* »

The sentence of Maimonides (cf. above note 2) *ולא בעת בלתי עת* can be understood merely to imply that the divine intelligence does not affect « at a certain time » but flows continuously, as is evident from the context and the whole tenor of Maimonides' argument. Maimon, however, interprets it to mean that it is not a spatio-temporal process and is not subject to the conditions of space and time. And Maimon is correct in his conception of this idea, even though it is not an exact rendering of, but rather involves a step beyond Maimonides; for the two aspects of this idea are closely interrelated, the one following from the other. The effect of the divine Intellect does not occur « at a certain time » because it is not a temporal process at all. Munk correspondingly renders the sentence *עת בלתי עת* thus: *dans un temps plutôt que dans un autre temps*, II, p. 101, which is in keeping with the original Arabic text: *ולא פי וקת דין וקת*.

affect at a certain distance, the latter is not dependent on the relation of space.

And secondly, the relation of time is tied up with that of space. The effect of a material object is a process occurring in time; it is subject to the relation of time as well as that of space. The effect of pure form, however, is not spatio-temporal; it does not require an object to be at a certain distance in order to affect it, nor does it occur in time.

Maimonides is thus undoubtedly the source of Maimon's cherished idea, repeated by him in different contexts, that pure thought is not a process occurring in time, but rather it arises instantly, as distinct from sensuous perception which is a temporal process. Since perception is the result of the effect of an object upon the senses, it is conditioned by the relation of space as well as that of time; it, therefore, emerges gradually in time.

The search after a historical source for a philosophical idea of a certain author must be grounded on an existential understanding of his personality as a whole and not upon a merely casual occurrence of the same idea in the writings of an author of an earlier period. In the history of philosophy, where we deal with ideas evolved by living personalities and not with the growth of ideas *in abstracto*, a historical explanation must be tied up with the existential exposition of the personalities involved. An historical elucidation of an idea should have as its ideal goal the existential exposition of its author.

Now Maimon's relation to Maimonides is an existential one, for without Maimonides there would have been no Maimon.<sup>4</sup> The center of Maimon's personality gravitates towards Maimonides and is rooted in him, as we know from Maimon's philosophical development, as well as from his conscious attitude toward Maimonides. Therefore, when we are in a position to find a source in Maimonides for an idea developed by Maimon, it is

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my essay, *Solomon Maimon's Treatment of the Problem of Antinomies and its Relation to Maimonides*, HUCA, 1948, p. 153.



not merely a historical explanation, but, more than that, it is an existential exposition, since it contributes toward a better understanding of Maimon's personality as a whole as well as of his systematic thinking.

In order to understand fully the significance of this idea of Maimon and its bearing on his thought in general, we have to examine it in the various contexts in which it appears in his writings.<sup>5</sup>

In analyzing the process of thought, Maimon states<sup>6</sup> that the essence of understanding consists in the presentation of the object of cognition as fluid and becoming *dr*, in other words, understanding of an object implies the comprehension of the mode of its generation. Since the task of cognition is the

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the references to this idea in Maimon's writings which are quoted in the article, see also *גבעת המורה*, Maimon's commentary on the *Moreh* of Maimonides, chap. 32, 68, and his *Philosophisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1791, p. 63.

In *גבעת המורה*, chap. 32, Maimon deals with Maimonides' statement that the intellectual concepts are dependent on perception of material objects (שהנה יקרה בהשגות השכליות מפני שהן נחלות בחומר...) and Maimon interprets it in the following manner: The rational concepts are *dependent* on the perception of objects which is a process occurring in time, but they (i.e. the rational concepts) are not to be *derived from* the perception of objects. Since the origin of the rational concepts lies in the mind, they arise spontaneously and instantly and are not conditioned by time (the italics are mine).

This distinction between being «dependent on» and being «derived from» is reminiscent of Kant's differentiation between «beginning with» and «arising out» with reference to the concepts of thought. Cf. Introduction to the *Critique of Pure Reason*: «But though all our knowledge begins with experience it does not follow that it all arises out of experience.» Eng. tr. by N. K. Smith, p. 41. In the distinction between «beginning with» and «arising out», properly understood in all its implications, is contained the very essence of the «Critique.» Cf. Hermann Cohen, *Kommentar zu I. Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, p. 8 f.

<sup>6</sup> See *Versuch über die Transcendentalphilosophie*, 1790, p. 33 f. This work of Maimon will be quoted henceforth under Tr.

production of a unity out of the manifold, the understanding of an object consists in the presentation of the mode of its becoming, for only in this manner can the manifold be brought into unity. The act of cognition, therefore, does not consist of thinking the object as already given but only as being generated. The particular manner of the generation of an object (e.g. mathematical objects) makes it a particular object. And the relation of the objects to one another is reducible to the relation of the various modes of their generation.

Maimon further writes: The understanding of an object requires first a given intuition (*Anschauung*) and second a general rule of understanding by which the manifold of the intuition is ordered and determined. This rule of understanding is not a process occurring in time, but something arising instantaneously. The intuition *a posteriori*, however, or the application of the general rule to a particular intuition, is a process occurring in time, and the object of intuition cannot be thought otherwise than as becoming, as fluid. Thus, for instance, in thinking the general rule of a triangle as a relation of magnitudes between two of its sides to its third side, the size and position of the latter is determined by the size and position of the former. This general rule governing the relation of the sides of a triangle to one another is thought of by the mind instantaneously. But the actual application of the general rule to a particular case cannot be performed unless the triangle is constructed by our intuition and the size and position of its two sides are definitely given. The angle formed by the two sides and their sizes must be constructed by our intuition before applying the general rule governing the relation of the third side to the two sides. And this construction is a temporal process.<sup>7</sup>

Maimon has here made use of his distinction between perception and thought to differentiate between the general rule governing the relation between the sides of a triangle which is

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

a thought arising instantly and the application of this general rule to a particular triangle which is a temporal process.

In his treatment of the problem of antinomies, Maimon deals with the mathematical antinomy of an infinite series of all natural numbers. The human mind could produce an infinite series only through an infinite succession in time, inasmuch as our perception is bound up with time. The finite and limited human mind is thus incapable of completing an infinite series. The infinite mind, however, which is not restricted by sensibility and not conditioned by time, thinks the concept of an infinite series simultaneously and instantaneously; it does not require for its completion a succession in time.<sup>8</sup>

Here Maimon introduces the distinction between two different modes of thought with reference to the condition of time involved, to bring into sharp relief the distinction which obtains between the limited human mind and the infinite mind.

As a corollary it would follow that inasmuch as the human mind is in possession of *a priori* concepts which are not the result of empirical experience, it is a part of the infinite mind, and as such it is not bound up with the form of time. The human mind, too, is capable of conceiving pure ideas not by a temporal process but spontaneously and instantaneously.

In dealing with Aristotle's concept of the active intellect as an immortal reason in contradistinction to the passive reason which is temporal and mortal like any other bodily function, Maimon adds the following consideration. The thought of the active reason is indivisible, and only that thought is immortal which is conceived by the mind as an indivisible entity. The perceptions and associations, however, are processes occurring one after the other; they take place in time and as such they are divisible. A logical proposition, A is B, for instance, cannot be conceived otherwise than as an indivisible unity. It occurs spontaneously and instantaneously. Such is the nature of every rational concept and proposition comprising a synthesis of a

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 228.

subject and a predicate. A true and indivisible unity is the product of logical inference, and, as such, it is not a process occurring in time.<sup>9</sup>

Here Maimon develops the distinction between pure thought as the function of the active reason and perception as the function of the passive reason with reference to its bearing on the concept of immortality. The active reason, which is not restricted by conditions of time, is immortal, in contradistinction to the passive reason whose effect is divisible and conditioned by time. The distinction between the active and passive intellect with reference to the idea of individual immortality has been fully developed by Maimonides. He conceived of the idea of immortality as a task, an ideal for man to obtain by activating one's reason. Maimon has, on the whole, followed Maimonides in his conception of the idea of immortality. It is possible for man endlessly to approach the ideal of immortality by constantly perfecting his mind and by extending his intellectual comprehension of reality, thereby transforming the individual subjective consciousness into a part of the general objective consciousness. Man's approach to the idea of immortality stands in inverse proportion to his subjective, individual, and empirical self-consciousness, and in direct proportion to his share in the objective, super-individual and super-empirical consciousness.<sup>10</sup>

In another context Maimon writes : We distinguish in the capacity of thought a higher and a lower faculty, and this is based on the following consideration. The perceptions of the manifold by the act of cognition are the result of a process similar to all physical processes which are subject to natural laws. They

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Bacon's von Verulam neues Organon. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von George Wilhelm Bartholdy. Mit Anmerkungen von S. Maimon*, Berlin, 1793. At the end there is added by Maimon a short history of philosophical systems and mathematical inventions. See p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> See, *Kritische Untersuchungen über den menschlichen Geist*, Leipzig, 1797, pp. 244, f. 248 f.

occur in time and according to the law of causality... But the act of synthesis of this manifold as a unity of consciousness is an intellectual process which differs fundamentally from the physical process and is not subject to natural, but to purely intellectual laws. While the former is to be designated as a lower faculty, the latter is to be defined as a higher faculty of thinking.<sup>11</sup> Thus the higher faculty of thought is not a temporal process.

This fundamental distinction made by Maimon between pure thought and sensuous perception is bound up with his conception of space as the form of the variety and heterogeneity of objects, and that of time as the form of the succession of objects one after another.<sup>12</sup> Since time and space are tied up with the perception of sensuous objects, they are not applicable to pure thought. Maimonides was mainly concerned with the metaphysical question of Creation, with the relation of God, as pure form, to the world. In dealing with the concept of space, he points out that material objects alone are subject to conditions of space, inasmuch as material objects, affect one another only at a certain distance. But the emanation of the Divine Intellect as pure form cannot be conditioned by elements of space, such as distance and proximity. The effect of the divine emanation can be subject only to conditions of preparations of the material object. Maimonides then says of time that it, too, cannot apply to the divine emanation as a pure form. The question why creation took place at a certain point in time presents no problem in view of Maimonides' concept of time as an accident of motion. Time as an accident of motion is bound up with the perception of sensuous objects. Therefore creation was not *in time* but prior to all time. Thus the divine emanation cannot be subject to the form of time and to its conditions.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Maimon's *Streifereien im Gebiete der Philosophie*, Berlin, 1793, p. 260 ff. To be quoted henceforth thus : *Streifereien*.

Maimon, however, is concerned mainly with the epistemological question, with the essence of cognition as distinct from perception. He takes up the Maimonidean idea concerning time as a concept which is inapplicable to pure form, i.e., to the divine emanation, and grants it another meaning by applying it to the process of cognition as such. Maimon thus fills out the Maimonidean metaphysical idea with epistemological content, by pointing out that pure thought is a process not occurring in time and not subject to the conditions of time, that human thought *a priori* arises suddenly and instantly, in contradistinction to sensuous perception which is a gradual process subject to temporal conditions.

The roots of Maimon's thought are in Maimonides, but the Maimonidean idea gains with Maimon a much wider scope, since its application is not metaphysical but epistemological. This thought of Maimon, moreover, is bound up with his concept of *a priori* and with his idea of an infinite mind of which the human mind is a part. It is thus not accidental to Maimon but occupies, rather, a pivotal place in his system of thought.

Maimon differs fundamentally from Kant in his conception of the relation which obtains between sensibility and understanding. According to Kant, intuition (i.e. sensibility) and understanding are two totally different capacities. While the first is governed by the forms of intuition, time and space, the second is governed by the categories of thought. Maimon, however, while admitting that sensibility and understanding, inasmuch as we are conscious of them, constitute in man two different capacities, maintains that sensibility is due to confused thought and therefore, in relation to an infinite being, there is only understanding and thought.

The idea of an infinite being, which is the same as that of an infinite thinking capacity, does not admit of a duality of sensibility and understanding. And the capacity of sensibility in man, too, must be understood as the incomplete, imperfect



understanding (in the manner of Leibnitz who thought of the sensuous perceptions as indistinct ideas). Sensibility and understanding differ from each other in degree of distinction and clearness. From the lowest form of sensibility to the highest form of understanding there is an endless series of gradations. In the process of sensibility we are affected in a threefold way. First, we are not conscious of the concepts which are involved in the act of sensibility; second, even in relation to the concepts which we can obtain we are bound by sensibility, and we do not become conscious of the concepts save in connection with sensibility; third, in consequence of our thought being bound up with sensibility, we conceive the concepts of understanding themselves, as well as their relation to one another, in an imperfect and incomplete manner, i.e. only in connection with the form of time which is a form of sensibility.<sup>13</sup> We conceive, for instance, the concept of causality as a time-relation, i.e., as a sequence in time of B upon A, and the concept of substance as that which is constant in time.<sup>14</sup> « The infinite mind, however, thinks all possible concepts instantaneously and in a most perfect manner, without the admixture of any sensibility. »<sup>15</sup>

We see here the bearing of the distinction between sensibility as a temporal process, bound up with the form of time, and pure thought as instantaneous and spontaneous, upon the distinction between the limited human mind and the idea of an infinite mind, and upon their relation to one another. We understand herewith also why Maimon formulates the concepts of thought, causality and substance, for instance, not as involving a time-relation between cause and effect but as purely logical concepts, as formulated by him in his renowned principle of determinability (*Satz der Bestimmbarkeit*).<sup>15a</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Tr., p. 182 f.

<sup>14</sup> As to the concept of the causal law as applied to material objects necessarily involving a time-relation between cause and effect, cf. Bertrand Russell, *Our knowledge of the External World*, 1914, p. 215.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Tr., p. 183.

<sup>15a</sup> Cf., for instance, Tr. p. 378; *Kritische Untersuchungen* etc., p. 189 ff.



The very concept of a *primi* knowledge Maimon knew from Maimonides, even prior to his acquaintance with the Kantian philosophy. Maimonides defines the essence of God's knowledge as distinct from the knowledge of man in the following way. First, God's knowledge is one, even though it encompasses many different kinds of objects. Second, it is applied to objects not yet in existence, i.e., his knowledge embraces the future. Third, it comprehends the infinite. Fourth, it is unchanged, though it comprises the knowledge of changeable objects. Fifth, God's knowledge of one of two eventualities does not deprive man of his freedom of action.<sup>16</sup>

The reason for these various distinctions between God's and man's knowledge is the following : « Our knowledge of things is derived from observation; therefore we cannot know the future or the infinite. Our knowledge increases in proportion to the things known by us. God's knowledge, however, is not derived from the things as they come into being, but the things are according to His knowledge, which is prior to the things' coming into existence... In his knowledge there is neither plurality, nor acquisition, nor change. By His knowledge of His own essence He knows all things... »<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cf. מורה נבוכים, III, 20 : תחלת וכו', תחלת : 20, III, מורה נבוכים. זה בהיות המדע האחד יאזת וישוה לידיעות רבות מתחלפות במינין; והשני בהתלותו במה שלא נמצא; והג' הקיפו במה שאין תכלית לו; והד' בהיות מדעו לא ישתנה בהשיג המחודשים וכו'; והה' לפי דעת תורתנו בהיותו ית' לא תתברר ידיעתו אחד מב' אפשריים, ואע"פ שכבר ידע אחרית א' מהן וכו'. Cf. the following note.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, chap. 21 : שאנחנו אומנם נדע כל מה שנדע מפני ההשתדלות : 21, chap. 21, *ibid.* בנמצאות, ומפני זה לא נוכל לדעת מה שעתיד להיות ולא מה שאין תכלית לו; וידיעותיו מתחדשות מתרבות כפי הדברים אשר מהם תושג ידיעתם. והוא ית' אינו כן, שלא ידע הדברים מצדם עד שופול הריבוי וההתחדשות, אבל הדברים ההם נמשכים אחרי ידיעתו הקודמת וכו'. ומפני זה לא יהיה אצלו ית' ריבוי ידיעות ולא ההתחדשות ושינוי ידיעה, שהוא בדעתו אמתת עצמו אשר לא תשתנה ידע כל מה שיתחייב לפעולותיו כלם.

Maimon renders the last sentence of Maimonides thus : God imagines the knowledge of his own self as the ground of all things. The imagination

Thus the finite knowledge of man is derived from, and dependent upon experience and observation of empirical objects, while the infinite knowledge of God is independent of, and prior to all experience. To the former, things must be given from without, to the latter, nothing can be given. The infinite mind cannot be dependent upon experience and must encompass the infinity of things prior to their existence.

Translating Maimonides' thought into Kantian language we can say that, while human knowledge is *a posteriori*, divine knowledge is in its very essence *a priori*. Thus, in studying Kant's « Critique », the metaphysical distinction of Maimonides concerning human and divine knowledge, which Maimon brought with him, helped him in the comprehension of the epistemological distinction between *a priori* and *a posteriori* with regard to human knowledge. On the other hand, Maimon's philosophical apperception determined his own perception of the concept of *a priori* as distinct from that of Kant.

In the definition of the concept of *a priori* Maimon differs fundamentally from Kant. Whereas for the latter, a concept which is prior to, and independent of sensation and perception belongs to the *a priori* mode of cognition, for Maimon *a priori* is only such a mode of cognition which precedes the cognition of the object itself. Even the objects of mathematics, which are constructed by the mind and not derived from sensuous perceptions, are, in Maimon's view, not *a priori*, inasmuch as their cognition is dependent on construction through intuition. For Kant, however, they are *a priori*, since according to Kant

of all things is thus for God inseparable from the imagination of his own self. Cf. Maimon's *Lebensgeschichte*, II, p. 124.

In the main features this is, of course, an Aristotelian idea. But Maimon knew it from Maimonides in the connotation Maimonides imputed to this idea and in his formulation. And then, according to Aristotle, God, as the source of all forms, knows only the general forms of all reality, and knows of the particulars merely inasmuch as they are presentations of the general forms, while for Maimonides His knowledge extends over the particulars as such.

*a priori* is such a mode of cognition which is inherent in, and derived by the subject itself and is prior to all sensation; and mathematical objects are not derived from sensuous perceptions but constructed by the mind and its forms of intuition.<sup>18</sup>

*A priori* cognition is, according to Maimon, related to objects in general, such as the propositions of logic, or to the mere relations of objects to one another, by which the objects are determined, as is the case in arithmetic. That mode of cognition is *a priori* knowledge which is concerned only with the relations between objects, independent of, and prior to the cognition of the objects themselves. The principles by which such a mode of cognition is determined are the law of identity and that of contradiction. However, when the cognition of the objects must precede the cognition of their relations to one another, it is a *posteriori*.

It follows from this that the axioms of mathematics are not *a priori*, since the cognition of the mathematical objects by their construction, such as mathematical lines, for instance, must precede the cognition of their relation to one another. According to Kant, however, the axioms are *a priori*, since the mathematical objects are grounded in the forms of intuition, time and space, which are prior to perception and sensation.

Maimon illustrates his point of view by the following example. « Assuming I have no idea of a straight line and I am asked whether a straight line can, at the same time be not-straight, I need not postpone my answer, under the pretext that I have no idea of the object concerned, until I have acquired a clear idea of a straight line, but my answer would be ready that such a thing is impossible, » merely on the basis of the law of contradiction, that an object cannot be at the same time *a* and *non-a*. This illustrates the essence of *a priori* knowledge which is based on the law of identity and contradiction, and precedes the cognition of the object itself. « But if

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Tr., p. 168.

I am asked, » writes Maimon, « whether a straight line is the shortest between two points, my answer would correctly be, 'I do not know,' so long as I have no clear idea of a straight line. »<sup>19</sup>

The laws of identity and contradiction are the most general forms of every mode of cognition and are valid with reference to all objects as such, quite independent of their nature and content. Therefore Maimon's first question can definitely be answered : an object contradicting the law of identity is impossible. In case, however, of the proposition that a straight line is the shortest between two points, which is in itself the form by which a straight line is determined, we cannot know whether the proposition is correct, as long as we have no clear idea of the object itself.

On the basis of Maimon's differing conception of the *a priori* mode of cognition as analytical knowledge which is solely determined by the laws of identity and contradiction, is built up his criticism of Kant. This is beyond the scope of the present essay. In the present context it is of interest merely to note that in his definition of the concept *a priori* as knowledge which does not require a construction of the object in intuition and is prior to the intuition of the object and independent of its cognition, Maimon was influenced by Maimonides' distinction between the infinite divine knowledge and the finite human knowledge. According to Maimonides, divine knowledge can not be dependent on cognition of objects given from without or on intuition of objects, even though constructed by the mind; it must precede the objects and be prior to them; in other words, it is all analytical knowledge.

In modern terms, Maimonides' thought can be expressed thus : only God's knowledge is *a priori*, since it does not require any object of experience for His knowledge and is prior to all experience of objects. Man's knowledge, however, which is

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 169 f.

dependent on cognition of objects of experience, is *a posteriori*. Now when Maimon, under the influence of Kant, conceived the possibility of *a priori* mode of cognition for man, he placed it under the same condition as those by which Maimonides defined divine knowledge, namely, only such a mode of cognition is *a priori* which is prior to the cognition of the object, i.e., cognition which is analytic and solely determined by the law of identity and that of contradiction and which is related to objects in general, quite independent of their content and nature.

Maimon's criterion of the distinction between the subjective and objective necessity of a proposition also reveals the same trend of thought. Maimon writes : « The objects of perception presuppose a condition in the subject in order for us to conceive their relation to one another as necessarily true, while the objects of mathematics do not presuppose such a condition in the subject. Thus, when I think the straight line as necessarily the shortest between two points, this proposition commands necessity quite independently of whether I have repeated the presentation of a straight line several times or whether I have conceived it for the first time. The proposition, however, that fire melts wax, becomes necessary only after perceiving it several times. This repetitious perception of the phenomenon may have been presented by accident or may have been purposely performed. But since the proposition is dependent on a certain condition of repetition, it commands merely subjective, not objective necessity. » <sup>20</sup>

*A priori* knowledge must be independent of any condition in the subject, otherwise it cannot be objectively necessary. Let us but recall now Maimonides' distinction between God's knowledge and man's knowledge and apply it to Maimon's distinction between subjective and objective necessity, and Maimon's thought becomes clear.

Furthermore, knowledge acquired through the repetition of

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Streifereien*, p. 193.

a phenomenon is a mode of cognition subject to temporal conditions; it is a temporal process. Any knowledge which is the result of a temporal process can command only subjective necessity, since it is dependent on subjective conditions. Divine knowledge, however, is not subject to conditions of time. The *a priori* mode of cognition of man, too, must be free of subjective conditions, such as time, in order to command objective necessity.

Maimon thus derived his conception of pure thought, as a mode of cognition which arises instantly and is not a process occurring in time, from the Maimonidean definition of divine thought as a mode of cognition which is independent of temporal conditions. Divine thought which is all analytic and determined by the law of identity, is a process not subject to temporal conditions. The same applies to human thought *a priori* which is analytic and determined by the law of identity. Such a mode of cognition arises instantly and is not a process occurring in time.

In order to understand properly a philosophical idea, it is not sufficient to comprehend it as it stands by itself, but it is necessary to strive to encompass exhaustively its relation to other philosophical ideas of the same author, and thus to comprehend it as an integral part of his philosophical system as a whole. Philosophy is in its very essence systematic thinking. Therefore the full comprehension of a philosophical idea can be attained only when we succeed in establishing its scope and its systematic place in the totality of the author's thinking. The striving for an understanding of the scope and the systematic place of a philosophical idea under discussion is thus indispensable.

In our case, we have so far succeeded in establishing the relation to Maimonides of Maimon's distinction between sensuous perception and pure thought. Our task, however, is not yet finished. Our objective now is to strive for an understanding of the scope and the systematic place this fundamental dif-



ferentiation occupies in Maimon's thought as a whole. For it is obvious that this distinction is not an isolated idea with Maimon, but that it fulfills a certain function in his system of thought and constitutes an integral part of it. We must thus consider this idea not merely in its isolation and differentiation but also in its integration.

It seems to me, therefore, that this distinction of Maimon is bound up with his concept of analytic and synthetic propositions and with his idea that the guarantee for the reality of the synthetic propositions rests in the metaphysical idea of an infinite mind, in relation to which, all synthetic propositions are dissoluble into analytic ones. Analytic propositions are based on the law of identity. The proposition, for instance, that a body has extension (a Kantian example) follows necessarily from the law of identity, since the opposite statement is self-contradictory. The thinking of the law of identity is not a temporal process, but rather it emerges instantaneously.

The synthetic propositions, however, which have their basis in observation and experience, and in natural science are grounded in the law of sufficient reason, are all the result of a process occurring in time. Now, from the metaphysical idea of an infinite mind in relation to which, according to Maimon, all our synthetic propositions are analytic ones, it follows that the thinking of the infinite mind is determined by the laws of identity and contradiction. The law of sufficient reason of the limited human mind is thus dissoluble into the law of identity by the infinite mind. In other words, the relation of cause and effect in the realm of natural phenomena is transformed by the infinite mind into a relation of logical antecedent to logical consequent. The synthetic propositions in mathematics are governed by the law of logical inference, i.e., the law of logical antecedent and consequent, which is different from the law of sufficient reason governing physical phenomena. The synthetic propositions in mathematics need for their verification the mere construction of the objects and the analysis of their



integral elements to one another. The synthetic propositions of natural science require, for their verification, experience and observation of the physical phenomena. Synthetic propositions as such are thus conditioned by the forms of time and space. Both forms, however, that of time and that of space, are unthinkable in relation to an infinite mind whose thought is governed only by the law of identity and that of contradiction.

Since, however, the human mind is part of the infinite mind<sup>21</sup> and is capable of creative thought *a priori*, its pure thought must have the same qualitative distinction as that of the infinite mind, i.e., it must not be a process occurring in time but must arise instantaneously. Maimon is not explicit about the concept of pure thought, which occurs instantly, whether it refers only to analytic propositions which are determined by the law of identity or whether it relates also to synthetic propositions. I am however inclined, on the basis of the passage quoted above, to interpret his concept of pure thought to refer first and foremost to propositions determined by the law of identity, i.e., analytic propositions, and then also to such synthetic propositions which can in the course of time be dissolved into analytic ones, such as the synthetic propositions in mathematics. But the synthetic propositions of natural science, the reality of which can legitimately be doubted by a follower of David Hume, since they are based on experience and observation of the physical phenomena, are each and all the result of sensuous perception, and are subject to temporal conditions.

With reference to the synthetic propositions in mathematics, even though the construction of the mathematical objects is required for the establishment of the laws governing the relation of the objects to one another, the construction is merely preparatory to the actual emergence of the proposition itself, which arises instantly.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. my essay, *Solomon Maimon's Treatment of The Problem of Antinomies And Its Relation to Maimonides*, HUCA, 1948, p. 122 f.

We must thus recognize with Maimon that there is a fundamental distinction between the synthetic propositions of mathematics and those of natural science with reference to their certitude and general validity. The laws governing mathematical objects and the natural laws by which we try to master the realm of physical phenomena are not of the same quality. While the former justifiably claim general validity and universality, the validity of the latter, i.e., their reality, may be doubted by a follower of Hume.

Maimon's doctrine is that every law, every synthetic proposition which is universally valid must, in principle, be reducible to an analytic proposition. If we are not capable of performing the reduction of a synthetic proposition into an analytic one, it is due merely to the limitations of the human mind. To the infinite mind, however, they are all analytic propositions and determined by the law of identity and contradiction. The possibility, in principle, of the transformation of synthetic propositions into analytic ones imposes a task on the human mind to strive for the attainment of this reduction, since ideal knowledge is cognition through analytic propositions determined by the law of identity, according to Maimon and all rationalists of the 17th century, such as Leibnitz, whom he follows.

Therefore, Maimon's attempt, by way of an illustration, to dissolve a synthetic proposition into an analytic proposition is confined to mathematics.<sup>22</sup> He did not attempt a similar

<sup>22</sup> See Tr., p. 65 f., where Maimon attempts to reduce the synthetic proposition that a straight line is the shortest between two points to an analytic proposition, on the basis of Wolff's definition of a straight line as one and single line, i.e. the parts of which are in the same direction as the whole. Maimon's intention is thus to prove that the proposition, a straight line is the shortest between two points, is not an axiom but it is to be derived analytically from the definition of a straight line as one and single line (Wolff). Maimon then adds in a note (Tr., p. 65) that assuming even that the very definition of Wolff can be shown to be rooted in a synthetic proposition, it should still be possible

reduction in the realm of natural science. The reason for this discrimination is simply this : Since the reality of the synthetic propositions in natural science can justifiably be doubted, there is no guarantee for the possibility of their reduction to analytic propositions. Only when the validity, the objective necessity of the synthetic proposition is well established and beyond any doubt, do we have to strive for its reduction to an analytic proposition and to the law of identity on which the latter is based. The certitude and the objective necessity of the proposition is a sure guarantee for the possibility of such a reduction. In other words, only inasmuch as the reality of the law is certain, are we entitled to assume that the synthetic proposition is grounded in an analytic one and its reduction to the law of identity becomes a task, a goal worthy of attaining.

Hence it follows that there is a fundamental distinction between the synthetic propositions of mathematics and those of natural science. Since the validity and objective necessity of the proposition must first be established before assuming its

to resolve that synthetic proposition into analytic thought. Furthermore, Maimon admits that he is not quite satisfied with the Wolffian definition, but nonetheless maintains the possibility, in principle, of such a reduction.

It seems to me that Maimon added this note of his after having read Kant's letter to Markus Herz containing a criticism of Maimon's doctrine by way of a refutation of Wolff's definition of a straight line. Kant writes : « As to the definition of a straight line, it cannot be defined as the identity of the direction of all its parts, since the concept of direction itself presupposes the concept of line. » *Briefe von und an Kant*, ed. Cassirer, Vol. I, p. 420. Kant read Maimon's manuscript, *Versuch über die Transcendentalphilosophie*, which Herz sent to him and understood Maimon to imply a definite proof of a particular reduction of the synthetic proposition into an analytic one. On reading Kant's criticism, Maimon felt constrained to add his note modifying his doctrine, namely that his intention was not to propose a definite reduction based on a particular definition of a straight line, but merely as an illustration of a *possible* reduction, i. e., that such a reduction must, in principle, be possible of attainment on the assumption that the synthetic proposition is grounded in analytic thought.

possible solution into analytic thought and its reduction to the law of identity, the striving for such a reduction is legitimate only with reference to mathematical propositions, the reality of which cannot be doubted. But with regard to synthetic propositions in natural science, the reality of which may be doubted by those following Hume, we are not entitled to assume the possibility of their reduction to the law of identity; and the attempt of their dissolution into analytic thought is illegitimate.

We have, so far, discussed Maimon's distinction between perception which is a temporal process and pure thought which arises instantaneously. Now I should like to point out the converse aspect of the same thought, namely, that whereas a proposition which is the result of a temporal process can merely claim subjective validity, a proposition which is not conditioned by time acquires the rank of objective truth. The idea that a proposition arrived at through a temporal process is based on perception and, therefore, subjective, while a proposition resulting from a thinking process in which the element of time is merely a prerequisite for its pictorial presentation can claim objective validity, is expressed by Maimon in another context. In his correspondence with Reinhold, Maimon writes : « The objects of sensuous experience presuppose a condition in the subject for the cognition of their relation to one another, while the objects of mathematics do not presuppose such a condition in the subject, etc. » <sup>23</sup> Thus, a proposition which is the result of repeated experience, such as fire melts wax, is subjectively conditioned and its reality can be doubted. We may go a step further, adding that such a synthetic proposition which has no right to claim objective validity cannot be assumed to be rooted in an analytic proposition. A proposition, however, which is not the result of repeated experience but rather results from the pure conception of a single object, such as,

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 533, where the entire passage from Maimon is quoted.

a straight line is the shortest between two points (i.e., a proposition which arises instantaneously), can claim objective validity and the assumption is legitimate that it is rooted in an analytic proposition.

Herein we have the clue to the reason for Maimon's distinction between the synthetic propositions in mathematics, which we may assume to be rooted in analytic propositions, and the synthetic propositions in physical science, the reality of which can be doubted. The element of time is decisive in the determination of whether a proposition is, in principle, reducible to an analytic proposition or not. A proposition resulting from repeated experience occurs «in time» and is dependent upon subjective conditions; it cannot, therefore, claim objective validity. A proposition, however, which is not the result of repeated experience and in the conception of which the element of time is necessary only for its pictorial representation, as is the case with mathematical propositions, can claim objective validity; and the assumption that it is grounded in an analytic proposition is, therefore, legitimate.

Only the metaphysical assumption of an infinite reason, of which our mind is a part, can grant objective validity to our synthetic propositions in natural science. The assumption of such an infinite mind in relation to which all our synthetic propositions are analytic ones is a sort of guarantee that our propositions resulting from repeated experience are real. The convinced skeptic, however, who doubts the reality of experience cannot be refuted on the basis of epistemological reasons. While the metaphysical trend of thought is manifest in Maimon's first work,<sup>24</sup> the skeptical trend of thought is prevalent in his later works.<sup>25</sup>

We sometimes find in Maimon's writings contradictions which require explanation. Maimon himself says of his method of

<sup>24</sup> I.e. Tr.

<sup>25</sup> I.e. *Philosophisches Wörterbuch* and *Streifereien*.

writing that « the same problems are dealt with by me in a different manner on different occasions and in different connections. »<sup>26</sup> It thus occurs sometimes that Maimon's various treatments of one and the same problem contain apparent contradictions to which he himself does not refer. So, for instance, in his first philosophical work, Maimon seems to deny the synthetic character of the mathematical propositions, while in his later works Maimon is in accord with Kant that mathematics contain synthetic propositions. Thus he writes in his *Transcendentalphilosophie* : « The proposition that the straight line is the shortest between two points may be the result of the fact that I have so perceived it; its necessity may, therefore, be grounded in subjective experience », <sup>27</sup> while in the *Streifereien* <sup>28</sup> he writes : « That mathematics contains synthetic propositions is beyond any doubt, and I am astounded to see how one can dispute it... But how is Critical Philosophy in a position to prove that we are in possession of experiential synthetic propositions? ». In other words, Maimon doubts the reality of synthetic propositions in natural science but not in mathematics. <sup>29</sup>

It seems to me, however, that the apparent contradiction is the result of a misunderstanding. The truth is that in his first work, too, Maimon does not deny the presence of synthetic propositions in mathematics. His main thesis is that we have to assume that the synthetic propositions in mathematics are rooted in analytic ones and may in the course of time be dissolved into analytic thought. The latter is the final goal and the ideal of cognition which man should strive to approach. For an infinite mind our synthetic propositions are all analytic.

<sup>26</sup> See, *Versuch einer neuen Logik*, Berlin, 1794, Introduction, p. XXVI.

<sup>27</sup> Tr. p. 173.

<sup>28</sup> P. 50.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. B. Katz, *Zur Philosophie Salomon Maimons*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. XXVIII, Berlin, 1915, p. 55 f., who pointed out this contradiction in Maimon.



Maimon himself attempts to demonstrate how the synthetic proposition that a straight line is the shortest between two points can be dissolved into an analytic proposition. He then admits the failure of his own attempt, adding, however, that his particular method of reduction is meant merely as an illustration of its possibility under the assumption, of course, that for the infinite mind such a reduction is a reality.<sup>30</sup> It is thereby implied that the reduction into analytic thought is the ideal and endless task of knowledge, thus giving direction and purpose to the process of human thought. Thus Maimon's attempt is, in spite of its failure, characteristic of the whole trend of his thought, namely, that the human mind must strive to attain analytical knowledge. This alone, which is the knowledge of the infinite mind, is the absolute guarantee of truth.

Now when Maimon writes in the *Transcendentalphilosophie* about the synthetic propositions in mathematics in the same tenor as he writes in the *Streifereien* about the propositions resulting from repeated experience, saying, that one may doubt the reality of both, it is meant merely to prove the necessity of the idea of an infinite mind. Without this idea even the synthetic proposition in mathematics can be doubted.

There is no contraction in Maimon, as some critics maintain<sup>31</sup> but merely a different manner of presentation of one and the same philosophical standpoint. This consists of the alternative : either the reality of the synthetic propositions can be assumed on the basis of the idea of an infinite reason or, lacking this assumption, there is no answer to the skeptic. In other words, the question *quid juris* concerning the reality of the synthetic propositions can be solved by supplementing Kant with the assumption of the metaphysical idea of an infinite mind. Otherwise, the skepticism of Hume cannot be refuted. And in the various works of Maimon one or the other aspect of this alternative is prevalent.

<sup>30</sup> See Tr., p. 65 f. and sec. above, note 22.

<sup>31</sup> See, above, note 29.



In this connection it is of interest to note the motto to the *Transscendentalphilosophie* which Maimon has taken from Virgil, for by it Maimon has given expression to the alternative character of his philosophical standpoint and to the whole tendency of his work. *Dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis*. Critical philosophy is untenable by itself, and the question *quid juris* is insoluble; it must be supplemented by a metaphysical idea (*Scylla*) or we fall into the abyss of skepticism (*Charybdis*).

With regard to the synthetic propositions in mathematics Maimon tries to prove that they are rooted in analytic thought, and that there is hope that the human mind may succeed in dissolving them into analytic propositions. The idea of an infinite mind with regard to the synthetic proposition in mathematics is not a metaphysical transcendent idea, but rather an ideal which the human mind should endlessly strive to approach. It is an intellectual perfection which is, in principle, attainable by the human mind, even though the road to it may be endless. For there is an essential difference with reference to the degree of certainty and objective validity between the synthetic propositions in mathematics, which require for their verification merely construction of the mathematical objects, and the synthetic propositions in natural science, which require for their verification experience and repeated observation of the natural phenomena. Only the reality of the former is legitimately to be assumed, not that of the latter. Therefore the solution of the former in analytic propositions becomes an endless task for the human mind to attain. Should one reject the assumption that the synthetic propositions in mathematics are rooted in analytical thought, he must even become skeptical with regard to their reality.

The reference by Maimon to the proposition, that a straight line as the shortest between two points may be the result of observation and experience, is not to be understood as the expression of Maimon's definite and conclusive standpoint, but

merely as an argument in favor of the assumption that this proposition is rooted in analytical thought. For certainty and reality are to be attributed only to analytic propositions. Without this assumption even the reality of the synthetic propositions in mathematics may well be doubted by a skeptic.

There is, thus, no denial by Maimon in *Transcendentalphilosophie* of the presence of synthetic propositions in mathematics. His only intention is to prove the necessity of the assumption that the synthetic propositions can, in principle, be reduced to analytical ones. If those who maintain that there is a contradiction in Maimon between his standpoint as presented in *Transcendentalphilosophie* and that of the *Streifereien* were right, for the same reason we could find the *Transcendentalphilosophie* itself self-contradictory. For in the beginning of his work he tries to reduce the synthetic proposition that a straight line is the shortest between two points to an analytical one, and later he maintains that the reality and objective validity of this proposition may be doubted on the consideration that it may be the result of subjective conditions, such as habit and repeated observation. This proves, in our view, the correctness of our interpretation and understanding of Maimon.

The following question now suggests itself on the basis of the foregoing analysis of Maimon's thought. We have tried to prove the fundamental distinction which obtains, according to Maimon, between the synthetic propositions in mathematics and those in natural science from the general tenor of Maimon's thought as well as from the fact that he attempts a reduction of a synthetic proposition to an analytic one only in mathematics. The question, therefore, arises, if the synthetic propositions in the two realms are so fundamentally different, how can Maimon propose, even on the assumption of a metaphysical idea of an infinite reason, the possible reduction of synthetic propositions in natural science into analytic ones in the same manner as we may hope for such a reduction in mathematics. In other words, how can the solution of the

question *quid juris*, which is the main purpose of Maimon's philosophy as developed in his *Transcendentalphilosophie*, be attained, even on the basis of the idea of an infinite mind?

While the synthetic propositions in mathematics arise instantaneously, those of natural science are the result of observation and repeated experience and are based on temporal processes. The former can legitimately be assumed to be rooted in analytical thought but not the latter.

For an answer to this question, we must return to the beginning of our essay and to the reference in Maimonides concerning the distinction between the relation of cause and effect in material objects and in the realm of pure form. The concept of causality, establishing a connection between natural phenomena, involves, according to Maimonides, a time relation as well as a space relation. But the categories of time and space are necessary conditions of material objects; pure form is not conditioned by them. And just as the effect of pure form is not subject to the conditions of time and space, so the infinite mind thinks, even of the natural phenomena, in purely logical-mathematical terms, and the relation of cause and effect is not a time-relation but a purely logical-mathematical relation. Hence, by proving the possibility, in principle, of a reduction of synthetic propositions to analytic ones in mathematics, it follows that for the infinite mind which thinks only in mathematical-logical terms, there is no difference between the realm of nature and that of mathematics. All propositions are for the infinite mind dissolvable into analytic propositions.

Furthermore, inasmuch as the physical sciences are based on mathematics, the synthetic propositions of these sciences are also dissolvable into analytic propositions. Hence Maimon's theory of differentials, which is a sort of epistemological atomism or monadism.<sup>31a</sup> Its essence consists in the idea that the relations obtaining between objects of experience, which are

<sup>31a</sup> Cf. Tr., p. 31 f., and at the end of Maimon's introduction to גבעת המורה, his commentary on Maimonides' *Guide*.

derived from perception, are assumed to be rooted in relations obtaining between the first constitutive elements of reality, i.e., its differentials, which are mathematical objects. The thought of the infinite mind, however, proceeds in purely logical-mathematical terms and is, therefore, genuinely related to the differentials. While the limited human mind arrives at the idea of differentials by a long process of abstraction, for the infinite mind which is creative and thinks intuitively the differentials are realities constituting the genuine elements of its thought. While the process of thought of the human mind proceeds from the integrals to the differentials, i.e., from the relations obtaining between objects of experience to relations obtaining between their differentials, the thinking process of the infinite mind («process» is here to be understood in a figurative sense, since the thinking of the infinite mind is spontaneous and instantaneous) lies in the opposite direction, from the differentials to the integrals, i.e., from the relations which obtain between the first constitutive elements of reality to that of the objects of experience.

In the light of our analysis of Maimon's distinction between the perception of objects of experience, which is a temporal process, and pure thought which arises instantly and spontaneously, we understand the significance of Maimon's reference to mathematics as involving a thinking process by which we obtain an inkling of the essence of divine thought as distinct from human thought. Maimon writes: «God, as the infinite thinking capacity, thinks all possible objects by thinking of himself as restricted in all possible manners, i.e., by limiting his infinity he thinks of a definite and limited object.»<sup>32</sup> Just as man thinks of infinity by the abstraction of his limitations, so God thinks of limited and definite objects by the abstraction of his infinity.<sup>33</sup> «God does not think discursively, which is the characteristic feature of human thought, but intuitively and

<sup>32</sup> *Streifereien*, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. גבעת המורה, Chap. 1, p. 10b.

creatively; His thoughts are at the same time presentations of real objects ». As to the objection which one may raise that we cannot possibly have an idea of such a process of thought which is *toto caelo* different from our own, Maimon writes : « We are partly in actual possession of such a concept of thought in mathematics where all concepts are conceived by us intuitively and at the same time through construction *a priori* they are presented as real objects. In mathematics we are thus godlike. This is the reason why the ancients held mathematics in such high esteem and considered it an indispensable prerequisite for philosophy. » <sup>34</sup>

In other words, since in mathematics the synthetic propositions are rooted in analytical thought, the construction *a priori* of the mathematical objects are presentations in reality of concepts conceived instantaneously and spontaneously, in which lies the similarity between human and divine thought.

<sup>34</sup> Streifereien, *loc. cit.*



## HAGGADAH AND CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

LEO BAECK

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

THE opening chapter of the *Pesikta de Rabbi Kahana* contains a sermon worthy of consideration by all who are interested in the history and especially in the anti-Christian polemics of the Haggadah.<sup>1</sup> Thus far that sermon has failed to receive due attention. Ours, therefore, shall be the attempt to trace the background of the sermon and to determine its historical setting. This will afford us the opportunity of noting some characteristics of the preaching developed by the Amoraim of the third and the fourth centuries. It will, in addition, serve the present writer as the occasion for resuming some former studies in this field.<sup>2</sup>

The sermon in question was preached on the Sabbath of Hanukkah by R. Yizhak Nappaḥa,<sup>3</sup> an Amora who lived at the

<sup>1</sup> *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana*, ed. S. Buber, ed. 2, Wilna, 1925, pp. 2b-4b (ed. 1, Lyck, 1868, pp. 2b-5a), and the parallels there. — The compiler of our *Pesikta* has inserted three alien passages: a) p. 2b, line 7, 3b, line 6; b) p. 4a, line 5, 4b, line 5; c) p. 4b, line 7. The first and third interpolations are marked by ׀; the second, though without this mark, is clearly distinguished by the fact that it follows quite another line than our sermon; it gives a part of two sermons of Rabbi Levi, the contemporary of the author of our sermon, the one handed down by Simeon of Siknin, the other by Berekiah.

<sup>2</sup> L. Baeck, «Zwei Beispiele midraschischer Predigt,» *M.G.W.J.* 69 (1925), p. 258 ff., and «Aus drei Jahrtausenden» (1938), p. 157 ff.; «Gerechte und Engel,» *ibid.*, p. 336 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the author is not given at the beginning of the sermon. It was a frequent practice of Midrashic redaction to mention the preacher's name for the first time at some later point or to repeat it at some later point. The name of Yizhak appears not until p. 3b, line 6.



end of the third and at the beginning of the fourth century, Christian Era, and numerous of whose sermons have survived.

The sermon we are considering is typically Amoraic. It exhibits characteristics noticeable likewise in Amoraic treatments of the Halakah. Just as the Amoraic Halakah invokes not only passages from the Bible but also the utterances of the Tannaim, so does the Amoraic Haggadah, of which Yizḥak Nappaḥa's sermon is an example. In Halakah as in Haggadah, method, aim, and principle are the same.

The Tannaim in their earlier days had explicated what the Bible says (מגיד), what the Bible teaches (מלמד).<sup>4</sup> Their method entered into the structure of Gemara and sermon alike. Gemara and sermon equally employ the logic unfolded in post-Biblical times and based on analogy and association.<sup>5</sup> Those were the rules which, having generated the Midrash, were in turn expanded by the Midrash.

Following the prevalent usage,<sup>6</sup> our sermon cites two texts, one taken from the particular Pesikṭa, this special lesson, for the Sabbath of Ḥanukkah (Num. 7.1), the other from a non-Pentateuchal book, Song of Songs, (Cant. 3.11) :

Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion,

And gaze upon king Solomon,

Even upon the crown wherewith his mother hath

[crowned him on the day of his espousals,

And in the day of the gladness of his heart.

That the sermon on Ḥanukkah combine with the Pesikṭa that passage from the Song of Songs,<sup>7</sup> was a requirement laid down by older authorities.

<sup>4</sup> On the meaning of these terms and the term «*Midrash*» cf. W. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten* 12, p. 461 ff. and *Die exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* I, p. 30 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. L. Baeck, «*Aus drei Jahrtausenden*,» p. 251 f. and *The Pharisees and Other Essays*, p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. W. Bacher, *Die Prooemien der alten jüdischen Homilie*, p. 9 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cant. Rab. on 1.2 : אמר ר' אחא אפיריון ודבתריה רבנן :

עבדון יתחון פתיחה לויחי ביום כלות :

That use of several texts one of which came from the Pentateuch and a second or third from the non-Pentateuchal books of the Bible, the so-called *Kabbalah*, was due not altogether to homiletical fancy. The practice envisaged a definite goal. The object was to show the thoroughgoing consistency of the Bible throughout all of its parts. A passage from the *Kabbalah* was to elucidate a passage from the Pentateuch.<sup>8</sup> This principle had, since the days of the Tannaim, governed Haggadah and sermon and sometimes even prayer.<sup>9</sup> As R. Joshua b. Levi had phrased it: «Written in the Pentateuch, repeated in the Prophets, and stated a third time in the Hagiographa.»<sup>10</sup> One realizes what was at stake when one recalls an old tradition that certain apostates had once maintained: «Prophets and Hagiographa are not Torah and we believe not in them.»<sup>11</sup> The unity of the Bible and the canonicity of its books were at stake.

Particularly in question was the Song of Songs.<sup>12</sup> The Song of Songs had met with serious challenge. To banish those objections required the prestige of a R. Akiba amplified by that of still older authorities. Akiba had resolved the issue by pronouncing the Song of Songs «Holy of Holies among

Said R. Aḥa «The Rabbis made Cant. 3.9-11 texts explaining Num. 7.1.»

<sup>8</sup> See מפורש בקבלה Mekilta on 12.6; 12.39 and passim, cp. Bacher, *Terminologie* I, 155 f. and 165 f. The principle was not applied to matters Halakic. Thus analogies from the non-Pentateuchal books were not used in the interpretation of Pentateuchal laws. See Hag. 10b, B.K. 2b, Nid. 23a, with regard to רברי תורה מרברי קבלה. In the Jewish Middle Ages likewise, interpretation was restricted when applied to matters legal.

<sup>9</sup> Bacher, *Prooemien*, p. 13 f. A characteristic example of the principle is the Midrash Aggadath Bereshit.

<sup>10</sup> Meg. 31a and Ab. Zara 19b. Cp. the phrase, בתורה בנביאים ובכתובים. <sup>11</sup> Meg. 31a and Ab. Zara 19b. Cp. the phrase, בתורה בנביאים ובכתובים. <sup>12</sup> Meg. 31a and Ab. Zara 19b. Cp. the phrase, בתורה בנביאים ובכתובים.

<sup>11</sup> Gen. R. 48 (11), 51 (2) and passim.

<sup>11</sup> Tanḥuma 1; cp. Midrash on Ps. 78.1.

<sup>12</sup> With regard to Proverbs and Ecclesiastes see Abot de-Rabbi Nathan 1. With regard to Esther see Meg. 7a. With regard to Ezekiel see Shab. 13b. With regard to the Song of Songs see Cant. Rab. 1, 11.

the Holy Writings.» This daring remark was sufficiently sanctioned to be placed in the Mishnah.<sup>13</sup>

By way of vindicating this claim, the Song of Songs was minutely interpreted as an allegoric dialogue between God and Israel. This interpretation obtained general acceptance despite the dissenting interpretation preferred at times by such a distinguished Amora as R. Johanan bar Nappaḥa.<sup>14</sup> With Akiba, the «beloved» in the book is God and the «bride» is the community of Israel. The word Shelomo, which occurs no fewer than seven times, came to be understood not as a proper noun designating King Solomon but as an appellative for the Deity, emphasizing that God is the King of peace, the Lord of Shalom, the Shelomo *par excellence*.<sup>15</sup>

This may have been an extraordinary explanation of Shelomo,<sup>16</sup> but it achieved its object of buttressing the allegorical interpretation which had procured the book's canonization. «Daughters of Zion» in the text became now an appellative meaning the people Israel: «children distinctive (מצוינים)

<sup>13</sup> Yad. III, 5; Cp. Cant. Rab. on 1.1.

<sup>14</sup> Cant. Rab. *ibid.*; cp. note 19.

<sup>15</sup> Sifra on 9.24. The manner in which Sifra presents this interpretation shows that at the time, i.e. in the second half of the second century, this explanation had already won wide acceptance. It should be noted that treating proper names as appellatives was a familiar Midrashic usage.

<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to observe how early the Church, welcoming this kind of interpretation, identified the «beloved» with Christ and the «bride» with the Church, as reported already in Justin's *Dialogue With Trypho*, first half of the second century. See ch. 34: «I am going to quote another Psalm, dictated to David by the Holy Spirit, which you erroneously think refers to your king Solomon, but which in reality refers to our Christ... And when the Psalm (72:1) says: 'Give to the king thy judgment, O God,' you claim that the words were spoken to Solomon because he was a king, whereas the words clearly proclaim that they were spoken of the Eternal King, that is, Christ.» (*Saint Justin Martyr* by Thomas B. Falls, p. 197 f.) Note the same in chapter 64. Cp. Midrash Ps. 72.1.

by reason of sacred duties. » <sup>17</sup> It was held that these features pointed to the time when the Canticles were first sung. That time was the period between the revelation at Mount Sinai and the rearing of the Tabernacle. <sup>18</sup>

Rabbi Yizḥaḳ's sermon is based upon this explanation. Yizḥaḳ can now expound : « The crown wherewith God, the Shelomo, the King of peace <sup>19</sup> was crowned was the Tabernacle, duly erected, anointed, and dedicated. The day of the Sinaic revelation was « the day of espousal, » and « the day of gladness in his heart » was the day on which the Tabernacle stood ready. Thus an identical theme is discerned in the text which speaks of the crown and in the text that tells about the Tent of Meeting. As already stated, R. Yizḥaḳ adopts the interpretation advanced by the school of Akiba, <sup>20</sup> and strengthens that conclusion with an argument of his own, namely, that the Shelomo of the Song of Songs cannot be Solomon, the human monarch. Yizḥaḳ observes : « We have searched the entire Scripture and nowhere do we find that Bath-sheba made a crown for Solomon, her son. The crown is the Tabernacle encircled with 'blue and purple and scarlet' (Exod. 26.1) ». For R. Yizḥaḳ, that was conclusive.

A delicate point, however, obtrudes at this juncture, a fatal weakness in that Tannaitic explanation which had saved the Song of Songs for the Bible. If Shelomo means God, then the text recognizes a mother of God! <sup>21</sup> How inexpressibly shocking!

<sup>17</sup> Cp. Ex. Rab. ch. 52, end; Num. Rab. ch. 14, and Lam. Rab. I.

<sup>18</sup> In the Seder Olam, ch. 15, Cant. 3.9 is interpreted as referring to the completion of the Temple of Solomon. To the Tabernacle, the Seder Olam (ch. 7) applies Cant. 4.6-5.1.

<sup>19</sup> He opposes here, without naming him, his teacher, Johanan who had taught that where, in the Song of Songs, the word « King » alone is used, God is meant, and where the word « King Solomon » is used, King Solomon is really meant. See Cant. Rab. 1.1 at the end.

<sup>20</sup> See Sifra on 9.24.

<sup>21</sup> It is astonishing that neither Bacher in his classic books on the Haggadah nor Solomon Bucher in his valuable commentary have marked this point,

As one reads this sermon, one senses the alarm that must have seized the Jewish teachers who became aware of that inference. This helps us understand why R. Johanan differed with the Tannaim, and why he refused to accept the notion that King Shelomo in the Song of Songs is God.

Yizhak Nappaḥa's Hanukkah sermon sought to cope with that difficulty. To this end, R. Yizhak draws upon various Tannaim as well as upon a traditionalist like R. Johanan himself, and hereby we grasp the sermon's historical import. The sermon continues: « R. Johanan<sup>22</sup> reports that R. Simeon b. Yohai asked R. Eleazar, the son of R. Jose b. Halaftha :

'Hast thou perchance heard something from thy father concerning « the crown wherewith his mother hath crowned him (Cant. 3.11) » ?

'R. Eleazar answered : « Yea. »

'R. Simeon asked : « What heardest thou ? »

'R. Eleazar replied : « What these words relate resembles the case of a king who had an only daughter whom he boundlessly loved. He went so far as to call her 'my sister.' Nor did he stop short of calling her 'my mother.' Thus, at first God so loved Israel as to call her 'daughter,' as it is said : 'Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear' (Ps. 45.11). Such was His love that He did not refrain from calling her 'sister,' as it is said, 'Open unto me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled' (Cant. 5.2). He even went so far as to call her 'mother,' as it is said, 'Attend unto Me, O My people, and give ear unto Me, O my mother' (Isa. 51.4). Read not לאומי 'my nation' but לאמי 'O my mother.' »<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> This is the correct version; see Buber's commentary. Johanan is a bearer of traditions concerning Simeon ben Yohai.

<sup>23</sup> Our Masoretic text does not have this *Ketib*. See Buber's commentary, note 72 and David Kimḥi on Isa. 51.4; also the interpretation of Prov. 11.26 by Simeon the Just in Sanh. 92a, (Gen. 25.13) אין לאום אמן לאם עוברין שני' ולאום מלאום יאמן. It is very probable that this interpretation follows that of José. This Simeon the Just was a Palestinian Amora

« Then R. Simeon b. Yoḥai arose and kissed R. Eleazar upon the brow and asserted : 'Had I come into the world<sup>24</sup> for no other purpose than this, it would have been sufficient.' »

The anxious concern which marks this statement with its earnest introduction and its ardent conclusion indicates that more is involved than a piece of exegesis. The overwhelming gratitude points to something weightier than just a clever explanation. The vigorous phrase with which the statement ends implies something momentous.<sup>25</sup> Some basic difficulty is here confronted. A harrowing dilemma is here faced. If those great teachers of exalted authority, originators of Halakah and Haggadah, were right in declaring the Song of Songs to have been divinely inspired and if they were right in identifying Shelomo with the Almighty, then something most astounding would have to be conceded, namely, that God has a mother and that this mother had bestowed a crown upon her son! Unqualified repudiation of such a thought was the alternative, but that alternative would impugn the authority of Israel's great teachers. It would be suspecting them of error. What a rending dilemma!

This accounts for Simeon b. Yoḥai's anguished question and for the relief conferred by Eleazar's answer in the course of that conversation between the two friends who had once journeyed together on the long hard way to Rome.

One must keep in mind the historical situation of the time when Simeon b. Yoḥai asked that question as well as of the time when Yizḥaḳ Nappaḥa preached. Simeon had seen the first triumphs of the Church. He had witnessed the collapse of the Bar Kokba insurrection. He had experienced the

of the third century, a contemporary of Johanan. See Bacher, *Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zur Agada der babyl. Amoraer*, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> It seems that the phrase אֵלֵינוּ לֹא בָּאֵתִי is an abridgement of : אֵלֵינוּ לֹא בָּאֵתִי לְעוֹלָם. Cp. Rosh Hashana I, 2:

<sup>25</sup> Cp. the narrative about Johanan ben Zakkai and Eleazar ben 'Arak, in Tos. Hag. II, 1 and in Yer. Hag. 77a,



restrictions imposed on Jewish land and Jews by Hadrian. Jewish mission to the Gentiles had ceased. The Church had claimed the Jewish heritage as its own. With much ecclesiastical fanfare, Jews and Judaism had been branded as rejected of God.

Those were the days when ties between Judaism and Christianity had become severed and when, Hellenistic Christianity prevailing, there was assigned to the Mother of Christ a place of her own. She was no longer only a Jewish woman who had miraculously borne « Jesus who was called Christ. » The three synoptic gospels rarely spoke of her. The Gospel of Mark mentions her but casually and with scant regard (3.31 ff). Matthew, in addition to stating what is reported in Mark, tells the story of Jesus' birth but, of his mother, there ensues no clear cut picture. Luke relates nothing beyond this except what is contained in the *Magnificat* of his first chapter, but the *Magnificat* is poetry and belongs to a later period.<sup>26</sup> In the Pauline epistles, the mother of Jesus is completely ignored and likewise, except for the briefest possible mention, in the Book of Acts (1.14). It is only the Gospel of John (2.1 ff. 19.25 ff.),<sup>27</sup> a product of a later generation, that begins to accord Mary some distinction. A different conception is now that of Justin and of Ireneus,<sup>28</sup> Simeon b. Yohai's contemporaries. Here, and even more in popular Christian belief,<sup>29</sup> the Mother of Jesus becomes the Virgin, the mother of God, she whose son is the King of glory. No longer a character in a story, she is now an article of dogma. When commenting on the verse about « his mother » in the Song of Songs, R. Simeon and R. Eleazar were grappling with an actual onerous question.

<sup>26</sup> L. Baeck, « Aus drei Jahrtausenden », p. 273 f.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. Maurice Goguel, *La naissance du Christianisme* (1946), pp. 138-141.

<sup>28</sup> Justin, *Dialogue With Trypho*, ch. 100 and 120; cp. ch. 36 and 85. Ireneus, *Adv. haer.* III, 22, 4 and V, 19, 1. See also Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* 7.

<sup>29</sup> See Goguel, *l.c.*, p. 141 n. 1.



Also Rabbi Yizhak was challenged by that question and even to a greater extent. In the days of R. Yizhak, the worship of the Virgin had become established and its popularity was steadily increasing. It is true that the worship of the Virgin did not receive official sanction until the Synod of Ephesus (431) which proclaimed Mary the Mother of God and condemned, as a heretic, Nestorius who opposed that worship and insisted on calling Mary not « Theotokos, » Mother of God but only « Christotokos, » Mother of the Messiah. That worship, however, had gained a foothold a century earlier and had even acquired a special festival, the Feast of the Annunciation.<sup>30</sup> The resultant controversies had agitated many minds. In debates between Jewish scholars and Christian scholars, it may well have been a thorny point whether the Song of Songs, which the Church also interpreted allegorically, does or does not tell how the Mother of God had crowned her Son.

Be it remembered that the Haggadic method was not exclusively Jewish. That method was also utilized, and sometimes with great skill, by the apologists of the Church<sup>31</sup> to whom that device had come from Greek as well as from Jewish sources. The Stoic philosophers, those intermediaries between the East and the West, had to a considerable extent, resorted to similar expedients when reconciling their theology and philosophy with the religion of the masses. Haggadah was the common ground and inevitably the battle ground between Christians and Jews. The school established in Caesarea by Origen, a kind of Christian *Beth Hamidrash* on Palestinian soil, became a center for the elaboration of the Christian Haggadah needed in apologetics and polemics. The Jewish opposition to this school may have been embodied in the academy conducted, also in Caesarea, by

<sup>30</sup> See Zoeckler in A. Hauck, *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* XII<sup>3</sup>, 315 f.

<sup>31</sup> See L. Ginzberg, « Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvatern und die Apokryphische Literatur, » *M.S.W.G.* 42, p. 537 ff. and 43, p. 17 ff. and in *Studies in Memory of A. L. Freidus*.

Hoshaya and Abbahu. Between the method of the Jewish Haggadah and that of the Christian Haggadah, there was no distinction. As aptly stated by R. Judah b. Shalom, « The scales balance. »<sup>32</sup> Christian beliefs, no less than Jewish beliefs, can be championed by that means.

Some Jewish teachers were aware of the hazard. Apprehensions were voiced both in the days of R. Eleazer and in the days of R. Yizḥaḳ. R. Zeira, a contemporary of R. Yizḥaḳ deprecated the Haggadah as a device of Christian propaganda,<sup>33</sup> while R. Eleazer ben Azariah had, long before this, cautioned none other than R. Akiba to be on guard against that menace.<sup>34</sup> Particularly dangerous would be that allegorizing which had given the Song of Songs a niche in the Bible. It was not a far cry from this to the « Epistle to the Hebrews » with its Platonic allegorization which rated the Torah as but a « shadow » of something better (10.1). Nor was it exceedingly far from the « Epistle of Barnabas » which ousts Judaism from the Bible completely.

Yet, despite all of this jeopardy, the Haggadah could not be discarded. There was no other basis of debate with the Christians or with Gentiles who possessed Biblical knowledge. And in the days when the Church had invaded Jewish territory, first spiritually and then politically, such debate was inescapable. Moreover, the Jewish men of learning were prepared to stand their ground, fully convinced that theirs was the sounder cause.

Attention should also be directed to the date on which the sermon of Yizḥaḳ Nappaḥa was delivered. The Sabbath of

<sup>32</sup> Pesikṭa rabbati ch. V, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 14b and Tanhuma, ed. Buber, I, 44b and II, 58b.

<sup>33</sup> Yer. Ma'as. III, 10 (p. 51a). Cp. Bacher, *Agada der palästinensichen Amoräer* III, 502, n. 6, and L. Baeck, « Aus drei Jahrtausenden », p. 177, n. 2. Note the characteristic של דופי הגדה Sifre on Num. 15, 30 and Sanh. 99b.

<sup>34</sup> Cp. L. Baeck, *l.c.*, p. 182 ff. : « Der alte Widerspruch gegen die Haggadah. »

Ḥanukkah almost coincided with a day which had been solemnized by the Church and which was beginning to be observed as the natal day of Christ. Among the several dates which had been assumed to mark the birth of Christ,<sup>35</sup> the 25th of December had, during the last decades of the third century, become more and more acceptable and had been adopted by the Church as a festival, first in Rome, then in the Orient. It consequently happened that, in the days of R. Yizḥaq, this solemnization as well as the worship of the Virgin could mark a contention between the Rabbis and the Christians.

Both practices could not but arouse the notice of the Jews and provoke Jewish sermons. Because of the proximity of dates,<sup>36</sup> Ḥanukkah would naturally invite such discussion. It is more than coincidence that most of the Ḥanukkah sermons transmitted by our Pesikta deal with Christianity. The first two<sup>37</sup> sermons in the collection, both of them preached by R. Judah b. R. Simon<sup>38</sup> and both treating the subject of the Shekinah, are obviously cognizant of the Church's claim to be the only abode of the Shekinah.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, the fourth sermon, the one immediately following that of R. Yizḥaq,<sup>40</sup> takes as its text, alongside of Num. 7.1 from the day's pericope, the words

<sup>35</sup> See Hermann Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* 12, ed. H. Lietzmann, and Arnold Meyer, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des Weihnachtsfestes*<sup>2</sup>. Those dates were 6th of January, 28th of March, 19th of April, 20th of May, 17th of November, 25th of December.

<sup>36</sup> Apparently the fixation had nothing to do with the date of Ḥanukkah. The Dies Solis Invicti, «The Day of the Invincible Sun.» which fell on December 25th was most likely the determining factor.

<sup>37</sup> P. 1a-1b and 1b-2b. We have here two different sermons of Rabbi Judah ben Simeon.

<sup>38</sup> See Buber notes 3 and 32.

<sup>39</sup> See L. Baeck, *M.G.W.J.* 69 (1925), p. 271 ff. Attention may be called to the studied counterpoise between R. Levi's explanations, inserted in our sermon, and chapter 9 in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

<sup>40</sup> P. 2b f. It appears to be a sermon of R. Ze'ira.

from Prov. 30.4, « Who hath ascended up into heaven and descended? » — an obvious thrust at Christian dogma.<sup>41</sup>

Thus can we trace our sermon's historical background and implication. That the thesis undergirding this sermon, namely, R. José's explanation of Cant. 3.11 received not only acceptance<sup>42</sup> but also wide acclaim is indicated by the *Shir Hakabod*, that popular mediaeval hymn which takes as self-evident that « For grace and glory, for beauty and for splendor, His people have crowned Him with a crown » אמתו לו עטרה עטרה.

<sup>41</sup> Cp. the characteristic word of Abbahu, Yer. Ta'an. II, 1, end (p. 65b below): « If anyone tell thee: 'I have ascended into heaven...' »

<sup>42</sup> It has its place in the Sifra on 9, 24. See also the identification of אדם and אומה supposed by R. Meir, Cant. r on 1,6.

## PARALLELEN DER RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE

ALFRED BERTHOLET

University of Basel

ALS fromme Katholiken erstmalig mit dem Lamaismus, d.h. dem Buddhismus in Tibet, bekannt wurden, da rief, was sie dabei Alles zu sehen bekamen: päpstliche Organisation einer Kirche mit eigenartiger fast apostolischer Sukzession, ausgebildetes Klosterwesen, Kirchenglocken, Rosenkränze, Heiligenbilder, Reliquien, Prozessionen, Fastenpraktiken usw. den Gedanken in ihnen hervor, es habe hier der Teufel aus Spott eine Karikatur des Christentums geliefert<sup>1</sup>. Als teuflisch-dämonische Nachäffung des hl. Abendmahles hatte schon fast 1 1/2 Jahrtausend zuvor Justin der Märtyrer<sup>2</sup> geglaubt es erklären zu müssen, dass der damalige Mithraskult eine heilige Mahlzeit aufwies bestehend aus Brot und Wasser, mit dem dann der Wein wechselte — mit Wasser nämlich wurde bis ins dritte Jahrhundert auch das christliche Abendmahl in Nordafrika gefeiert. Und was hier im Mithraskult geschah, war nur Parallele zu analogen Bräuchen in andern Mysterienreligionen hellenistischer Zeit wie den eleusinischen Mysterien Griechenlands, den Mysterien des Attis in Phrygien oder denen des Osiris in Ägypten usw.

Der heutige Religionshistoriker registriert dankbar derartige Tatbestände; aber bewusst hütet er sich vor jedem Dogmatismus ihrer Beurteilung: überhaupt überlässt er es dem Dogmatiker von Fach über historische Tatbestände seine Werturteile zu fällen; nur um möglichst objektive Ergründung ihrer selber ist es ihm zu tun, um daraus dem Problem religionsge-

<sup>1</sup> P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*<sup>3</sup>, II, 1905, S. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Apol. I, 66.

schichtlicher Entwicklung und letzten Endes der Erkenntnis des Wesens der Religion selber etwas näher zu kommen.

Schon im Blick auf die im Dunkel fernster Vergangenheit liegenden Anfänge der Religion wird er dem Dogma eines allgemeinen Urmonotheismus gegenüber mit seinem Urteil zurückhalten. Wohl fehlt es auf dem Boden primitiver Völker nicht an Spuren, sogar in nicht unbeträchtlicher Zahl, die auf das Vorhandensein paralleler Vorstellungen von gewissen höchsten Wesen hindeuten; aber was diese Vorstellungen charakterisiert, ist, dass es sich dabei vor allem um die naiven Fragen handelt, wer Dieses und Jenes, wer diese ganze Welt geschaffen oder den Grund zu gewissen Bräuchen, selbst moralischer Art, gelegt habe, nicht aber um das eigentliche Hauptanliegen aller Religion, um die Frage, wer dem Menschen in seinen Bedürfnissen und Nöten entgegenkomme, um mit ihm den rettenden Verkehr anzubahnen. Nicht umsonst hat Erzbischof Nathan Söderblom zur Bezeichnung dieser höchsten Wesen den inzwischen kursfähig gewordenen Ausdruck «die Urheber» in Vorschlag gebracht<sup>3</sup>. Man wundere sich darum auch nicht über das durch einfache Tatsachen zu erhärtende religionsphänomenologische Urteil van der Leeuw's<sup>4</sup>, es sei eine Unart moderner Wissenschaft, dass sie bei dem Wort Religion gleich an Götter denke, Gott sei in ihr ein Spätkommling!

Doch um von Negativen gleich zu Positivem fortzuschreiten, ist hier die Stelle, des berühmt gewordenen Briefes zu gedenken, den im Jahre 1878 der englische Missionar Henry Codrington and Max Müller nach Oxford über die Religion der Melanesier schrieb, die Vorstellung von einem höchsten Wesen sei ihnen vollkommen fremd, dagegen bestehe diese Religion, was die Theorie betreffe, aus der Überzeugung, dass es eine dem Gebiet des Unsichtbaren angehörige übernatürliche Kraft gebe, *mana* genannt, und was die Praxis betreffe, aus der Anwendung von Mitteln, um diese Kraft zu eigenem Vorteil zu wenden. Die

<sup>3</sup> «Das Werden des Gottesglaubens», 1916, S. 114 ff.

<sup>4</sup> «Phänomenologie der Religion», 1933, S. 29.

Bezeichnung « *mana* » ruft sofort eine ganze Anzahl paralleler Termini in Erinnerung auf die man bei den verschiedensten Stämmen und Völkern inzwischen aufmerksam geworden ist : ich nenne nur das *orenda* und *wakonda* nordamerikanischer Indianer oder das *hasina* auf Madagaskar. Da tritt z.B. der madagassische Häuptling bei seiner Trönbesteigung auf einen *hasina*-haltigen Stein, um die in diesem aufgespeicherte Kraft auf sich selber überströmen zu lassen, während das umstehende Volk in den Ruf ausbricht: « die Macht ist dein! » Mit ihr geladen vermag er selbst auf das Wachstum der Feldfrüchte Einfluss zu gewinnen—ein Glaube, der in Dutzenden von Parallelen dessen wiederkehrt, was man Trägern der Macht bis in die Reihe der byzantinischen Kaiser oder der Könige Altgermaniens, Schwedens, Englands und Frankreichs hinein an Wundern befruchtender oder heilender Kraft zutraute. Dem madagassischen Häuptling ähnlich stellt sich in Indien der Brahmanenschüler oder auch die Braut auf einen Stein, um dessen Festigkeit auf sich überzuleiten. Soll man sich den Glauben an derartige Wirkungen des Steines, der für uns doch den Inbegriff des Leblosen darstellt, erklären, so wüsste ich nichts Besseres als den Hinweis auf die mit einem Wort des dänischen Religionshistorikers Edvard Lehmann<sup>5</sup> treffend characterisierte allgemeinen menschliche Erfahrung : « der Stein tötet uns, nicht wir töten ihn! » So lässt sich gerade am Beispiel ungezählter Parallelen von Vorstellungen und Bräuchen, die sich an Steine knüpfen, samt daran sich schliessender Steinverehrung, vielleicht am Deutlichsten illustrieren, was als dynamistische Auffassungsweise so gut wie über die ganze Erde hin nachweisbar ist. Wenn da z.B. die zum Bau des Altars der vedischen Zerstörungsgöttin Nirrti verwendeten Steine nicht mit blossen Händen angefasst werden durften<sup>6</sup>, so ist das nur wieder einer der ungezählten Belege für den Glauben an den Tabu-charakter alles Machtgeladenen, auf den sich u.a. der bis

<sup>5</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye<sup>4</sup>, 1925, I, S. 29.

<sup>6</sup> « Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics », ed. Hastings VIII, 315ab.



in die höchsten Religionen durchgehende sogen. Ritus der « verhüllten Hände », ein in die Geschichte des menschlichen Handschuhs einschlagender Brauch<sup>7</sup>, gründet. Wie stark überhaupt dynamistische Auffassungsweise noch in die Hochreligion nachwirkt, mag im übrigen speziell aus dem Reliquienwesen ersehen werden: man vergleiche nur etwa das Wittenberger Heiligtumsbuch von 1509 mit dem Katalog der in der Moschee zu Lahore in Indien aufbewahrten Buddhareliquien!

Neben dynamistischer Auffassungsweise geht, und zwar, wie es scheint, von kaum minder weit zurückliegenden Anfängen an, animatistische und animistische einher, d.h. der Glaube an Allbelebung und Allbeseelung. Seine Entstehung hat uns vor allem der englische Anthropologe und Ethnologe Edward Burnett Tylor auf Grund reichsten Parallelenmaterials aus menschlicher Erfahrung der Phänomene des Traumes und des Todes verständlich gemacht, indem in Traum und ekstatisch-visionären Zuständen ein zweites Ich in uns — man nenne es Seele oder wie immer — den Körper vorübergehend, im Tode definitiv verlasse, — eine bekanntlich allverbreitete Vorstellung, der den schönsten Ausdruck der Koran<sup>8</sup> verliehen haben dürfte in den Worten: « Gott nimmt die Seele der Menschen bei ihrem Tode zu sich, und auch die Seelen derer, die nicht sterben, nimmt er während ihres Schlafes zu sich. Zurück behält er dann die, deren Tod er beschlossen hat; die andern aber sendet er wieder bis zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt hinab. Wahrlich, hier liegen Zeichen für nachdenkliche Menschen! »

Es erübrigt sich, an dieser Stelle den mannigfachen Parallelen der Entwicklung von Seelen- zu Geister- und Gottesglauben im Einzelnen nachzugehen. Den Boden des Theismus selber betretend stossen wir auf zwei Hauptlinien der Entwicklung: die eine zwischen Göttervielheit und Gotteinheit

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. « Verhandlungen des II Internat. Kongresses für Allgem. Religionsgeschichte », Basel, 1905, S. 322 f.

<sup>8</sup> 39,43.

sich bewegend, die andere von Versinnlichung und Konkretisierung zu Vergeistigung, Symbolisierung und Transzendentalisierung der Gottheit führend. Was die Vielheit der Gottwesen anbelangt, so offenbaren sich die Parallelen schon in der Vorliebe für gewisse Zahlen: die Zwölfzahl bei Babyloniern, Griechen und Römern; die Siebenzahl in Assur wie in Indien und Persien. Aber nun erst die Dreizahl! Aus der überwältigenden Menge der Beispiele seien nur Brahma, Vishnu und Shiva des Hinduismus genannt, und diese drei dann zur « Trimurti » zusammengefasst, die begreiflicher Weise schon längst der christlichen Trinität an die Seite gestellt worden ist. Hier wie dort übrigens wieder der Parallelismus des Inkarnationsgedankens, der auf indischen Boden bekanntlich in der Lehre der sogenannten « Avataren » Vishnus, als deren neunte sogar Buddha erscheint, eine besondere Rolle spielt. Der Islam, der nebenbei gesagt die christliche Trinität als Tritheismus brandmarkte, fasst darin den Geist weiblich — ein gerade in dieser an sich vielleicht « männlichsten » Religion in die Augen springender Zug, der wiederum charakteristisch ist für die ausserordentlich stark verbreitete Tendenz, im Gottesbereich das Weibliche zu gebührender Anerkennung und Verbreitung gelangen zu lassen. Im übrigen erscheint dieses Weibliche mit Vorliebe im Sinne des Mütterlichen, wozu ich, von den bekannten eigentlichen Muttergottheiten gar nicht erst besonders zu reden, nur einige Parallelen der Übertragung von Mütterlichem auf männliche Gottheiten erwähne, so das alttestamentliche Wort, dass Jahve einen trösten will wie einen seine Mutter tröstet<sup>9</sup>. « Du bist mir Vater, Mutter, Weib » heisst es in einem Vishnu-Hymnus, und zu Buddha ruft Râma Candra im 13 Jh.: « O meine Mutter, mein Anzubetender... schirme mich! » Entsprechendes ist so häufig, dass es einen Râmakṛiṣṇa<sup>10</sup> geradezu zur Frage drängt: « Warum redet der Gottergebene die Gottheit so gerne als

<sup>9</sup> Jes 66,13.

<sup>10</sup> F. Otto Schrader, « Der Hinduismus », in *Bertholets Religionsgeschichtlichem Lesebuch* 14, S. 83.

Mutter an?» worauf er sich die Antwort gibt: «Weil das Kind freier mit seiner Mutter ist und die daher dem Kind lieber ist als irgend jemand anders». Sonst freilich ist in der Gottesauffassung vorwiegend der Typus des Herrschers, so dass schon die blosse Bezeichnung «König» Gottesname werden kann wie im Falle Milkoms, des Gottes der Ammoniter, gilt ja doch der König von vornherein meist als «Manaträger». Dem entspricht denn auch die gewaltige Verbreitung des Herrscherkultes, und zwar nicht blos der mit allgemeinem Totenkult zusammenhängenden Verehrung des verstorbenen Herrschers sondern schon des lebenden. In diesem nämlich kommt zugleich ein Bedürfnis nach der Nähe des Gottes zum Ausdruck, wie denn z.B. der japanische Kaiser zu Ende des 7. Jh.s der «sichtbar gegenwärtige Gott» heisst<sup>11</sup> und man schon in dem auf Demetrius, den Sohn des Antigonos, im 3. Jh. v. Chr. gedichteten Hymnus liest: «Die andern Götter sind weit entfernt oder sie haben keine Ohren oder sie sind überhaupt nicht oder sie kümmern sich nicht ein bisschen um uns; dich aber sehen wir gegenwärtig, nicht aus Holz oder Stein, sondern leibhaftig hier». <sup>12</sup> Gewöhnlich freilich ist es sonst gerade das Gottesbild, das dem Menschen Pfand der ersehnten Gottesnähe ist. Ohne mich in diesem Zusammenhang auf Einzelheiten von Parallelen bildlicher Darstellungen des Göttlichen einlassen zu wollen, stelle ich beispielsweise nur nebeneinander die alttestamentliche in die Kriege mitgenommene Bundeslade und die in Japan von kämpferischen buddhistischen Mönchen des 11. Jh.s mitgeführte Gottessänfte mit dem darin geborgenen «Gottesleib». <sup>13</sup> Gegenteilig wirkt sich dann aber mit der Zeit wieder ambivalenter Glaube an göttliche Übermacht in dem höheren Drange aus, das Göttliche von allzu sinnlicher Bindung zu lösen, und der bekannte Gegensatz von Ikonolatrien und Ikonoglasten, d.h.

<sup>11</sup> Gustav Mensching, *Soziologie der Religion*, 1947, S. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Martin P. Nilson, «Die Religion der Griechen», in *Bertholet's Religionsgeschichtlichem Lesebuch* 4, S. 85.

<sup>13</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye<sup>4</sup>, I, S. 372.

Bilderverehrn und Bilderstürmern, ist niemals auf Byzanz, wo er sich im 8. Jh. austobte, beschränkt geblieben.

« Besser als Steinbilder sind die Mühlsteine, mit denen man Korn mahlt » ist das Wort des indischen Webers Kabir<sup>14</sup>, des älteren Zeitgenossen Luthers, dessen dieses Wort übrigens nicht unwürdig wäre als Ausdruck des Gedankens, dass ethische Berufstätigkeit an Gottwohlgefälligkeit 'mehr wiege als kultisches Handeln. Umso kürzer kann ich mich inbezug auf dieses selber fassen, so ungewöhnlich viele Parallelen sich dabei, vorab in der Kasuistik und Mechanisierung seines Brauchtums wie in den die Bedeutung der Kultmittel betreffenden Vorstellungen ergeben würden. Es genüge lediglich aus dem Zusammenhang der zur Kultteilnahme erfordernden Bedingungen ritueller Reinheit die charakteristische Rolle zu erwähnen, die ein an sich so gänzlich geringfügiges Objekt wie der Zahnstocher spielt, nicht allein nämlich bei Buddha und den Japanern sondern auch bei Muhammed! Im übrigen geht unser Blick nur wieder auf den Schritt, der vom Kultus zum Ethos führt, und, anknüpfend an die Parallelerscheinungen von Wallfahrten, zitiere ich das Wort, das einem zur Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka sich rüstenden Vezier 'ein Sufi schrieb: « Wozu gehst du nach Mekka? Deine Pilgerfahrt ist hier, bleib bei diesen Türken und hilf den Bedürftigen meiner Gemeinde ». <sup>15</sup> Es bedarf nicht des besondern durch so viele religionsgeschichtliche Parallelen zu stützenden Nachweises, wie der Ethisierungsprozess menschlichen Handelns innerlich verknüpft ist mit der Ethisierung des Gottesgedankens, für welch letztere als Beispiel nur der Grieche Hesiod genannt sei, von dem v. Wilamowitz<sup>16</sup> geurteilt hat, er sei die einzige kenntliche Person würdig, mit den Propheten Israels verglichen zu werden, die ihren Nationalgott moralisiert hätten.

<sup>14</sup> Ebenda, II, S. 169.

<sup>15</sup> A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, 1922, S. 303.

<sup>16</sup> « Reden und Vorträge », 1913, S. 179.

Auf dem Boden religiöser Moral kennt man als weitverbreitete Maxime die sogen. goldene Regel <sup>17</sup>, dass man dem Nächsten das tun solle, was man von andern sich selber gerne angetan wissen möchte. Mit Jesu höherem Gebot der Feindesliebe hat man schon längst Lao-tses Wort verglichen: «Gegen die, welche gut (gegen mich) sind, bin ich gut, und gegen die, welche nicht gut (gegen mich) sind, bin ich auch gut; so werden alle gut», und dem schliesse ich einen Vers an aus dem Buddhismus, welch letzterer überhaupt so viele Parallelen zu dem an Lao-tse sich knüpfenden Taoismus aufweist, dass Tschu Hi, der Vater chinesischer Orthodoxie, das harte Urteil fällen konnte, die Buddhisten hätten von Lao-tse das Gute gestohlen, und später hätten die Taoisten von den Buddhisten nur Schlechtes wieder gestohlen <sup>18</sup>! Der betreffende Vers lautet: «Nicht durch Feindschaft wird Feindschaft/ Zu End auf Erden je geführt./ Durch Nicht-Feindschaft zur Ruh kommt sie:/ das ist das ewige Gesetz!» <sup>19</sup>

Was nun aber menschliches Tun angeht, so erlebt man die Überraschung, der Parallele des Problems «Glauben und Werke», das der christliche Dogmatiker vielleicht als speziell christliches für sich in Anspruch nehmen möchte, auch auf ausserchristlichem Boden zu begegnen, und zwar wird es in dem Sinn, dass alles einzig auf den Glauben ankomme, in einzelnen Sekten Japans mit so viel Nachdruck entschieden, dass, wie schon 1571 der Jesuitenpater Francesco Cabral in einem Briefe mitteilen konnte, katholische Missionare hier lutherische Ketzerei wiederzufinden meinten <sup>20</sup>; und oft genug noch vernimmt man auf indischem Boden entsprechende Töne von

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. dazu noch «Archiv für Religionswissenschaft» XXXIV, 1937, S. 149.

<sup>18</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye <sup>4</sup>, I, S. 229.

<sup>19</sup> Hermann Oldenberg, *Reden des Buddha*, 1922, S. 383.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. Gustav Mensching, a.a.O., S 261 mit Hinweis auf die Dissertation seines Schülers H. Buthschkus, *Luthers Religion und ihre Entsprechung im japanischen Amida-Buddhismus*, 1940. — H. Frick, *Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft*, 1918, S. 94.

Allwirksamkeit des Glaubens und der Gnade, zumal in der Südschule des indischen Vishnuismus; dies freilich in vollem Gegensatz zu Lehren seiner Nordschule, die vielmehr in christlichem Synergismus und Semipelagianismus ihre Parallelen haben.<sup>21</sup> Wiederum priesen in Persien islamische Sufis mit grösster Entschiedenheit das wahllose Gottvertrauen ohne jegliches eigene Zutun, indem der Fromme vor Gott sei wie der Tote vor dem Leichenwäscher<sup>22</sup>, wobei man unwillkürlich wieder an das jesuitische *tamquam lignum ac cadaver* denkt!

Nun mag uns gerade die Erwähnung der Sufis in das Gebiet der Religionen weiterführen, in denen sich gottwohlgefälliges Leben durch eine gewisse Extrafrömmigkeit bekunden soll: es ist das Gebiet der Askese und des Mönchtums, auf dem sich uns wieder ein besonderer Reichtum an Parallelen einschlägiger Erscheinungen einsiedlerischen Individual wie klösterlichen Kollektivlebens samt ihren Zwischenstufen in Christentum, Buddhismus, Taoismus, Manichäismus und Islam erschliesst. Man braucht aber bloss die in diesen Kreisen charakteristisch betonten geistlichen Exerzitien zu nehmen, um zu erkennen, wie hier die Erlösung durch Werke (das was der Inder *karmamarga* nennt) überboten wird durch diejenige mittelst Erkenntnis und Wissen (indisch *jñanamarga* genannt), und daran reiht sich als dritter Heilsweg, was beim Inder *bhaktimarga* heisst: die Erlösung durch gläubige Liebe und Hingebung. In indischer Bhaktireligion verglichen mit Christentum feiert, vorab in der Mystik, in welche die beiden letztgenannten Wege einmünden, Parallelismus Triumphe in einem Grad, dass Rudolf Otto, der dem Verhältnis östlicher und westlicher Mystik am eindringend-

<sup>21</sup> Es handelt sich um die Schulen der Vadagalais (Nordschule mit der sogen. « Affenregel », wonach der Mensch handeln muss wie das Affenjunge, das sich an seine Mutter klammert) und der Tengalais (Südschule mit der sogen. « Katzenregel », wonach er, selber untätig, dem Katzenjungen gleich sich von seiner Mutter im Maul forttragen lässt): Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus*, 1922, S. 386. — H. Frick, a.a.O., S. 88.

<sup>22</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*<sup>2</sup>, 1925, S. 151.



sten nachgegangen ist <sup>23</sup>, zum Schlusse kommen konnte, es liessen sich mit einigem Geschick die Grundlehren der beiden Meister der Mystik, Eckeharts einerseits und Šamkaras andererseits, so zusammenstellen und stilisieren, dass die Formeln des einen nur wie eine Übersetzung aus dem Sanskrit ins Lateinische oder Mitteldeutsche erscheinen würden und umgekehrt.

Die den verschiedenen kultischen, ethischen und religiösen Idealen entsprechende Kehrseite paralleler Auffassungen von Vergehen und Schuld, von allgemeiner Sündhaftigkeit und Sündlosigkeit, von lässlichen und von Tod-sünden, parallele Aufstellungen förmlicher Sündenkataloge in Christentum und in Buddhismus, mannigfach wiederkehrende Verwendung eines Sündenbockes sei nur im Vorübergehen gestreift.

Dabei sind im Obigen noch mit keinem Wort die Parallelismen in religiöser *Sage* und *Legende* berührt, deren genug und übergenuß wären, um Themata für sich zu bilden. Man denke nur an Schöpfungs- und Sintflutberichte, an Sagen vom Ursprung des Todes, an vereinzelte Sagenmotive wie das alttestamentliche stark verbreitete Jonasmotiv <sup>24</sup> oder dasjenige der Frau Potiphars <sup>24</sup>, das sich beispielsweise bis nach Indien verfolgen lässt, an ungezählte Parallelen griechischer und japanischer Mythologie u.s.f.

Vorab hat Sage und Legende sich des Lebens und Wirkens der *Stifterpersönlichkeiten* der grossen Religionen bemächtigt, um sie hoch über die gewöhnliche Menschheit emporzuheben. Dabei stösst man auf eine geradezu verblüffende Fülle paralleler Einzelzüge bis zum Glauben an Himmel- und Höllenfahrten der dem Tode Entkommenen sowie an deren Wiederkehr am Ende der gegenwärtigen Weltperiode, entsprechend z.B. hinduistischer Erwartung, dass alsdann der als Kalkin inkarnierte Gott Vishnu wieder erscheinen werde, um das Land der Arier von ihren Unterdrückern zu erlösen. Und um neben den Stiftern noch reformatorisch oder wenigstens theologisch

<sup>23</sup> « Westöstliche Mystik », 1926 (19292).

<sup>24</sup> M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur III*, 1920, S. 330.



besonders hervorragender Persönlichkeiten zu gedenken, sei nur erwähnt, dass man einen Tschu Hi den Thomas von Aquino des chinesischen Kirchenstaates<sup>25</sup>, einen Takī ad-dīn Ibn Tejmiġja den Luther des Islam<sup>26</sup> hat nennen können, zu Ghazālīs Bekehrung diejenige Augustins in fast buchstäbliche Parallele gesetzt<sup>27</sup> und mit Luther auch führende Geister der « neuen Paradiesessekte » des japanischen Buddhismus zusammengestellt hat.<sup>28</sup>

In innerem Zusammenhang mit der Verehrung der Religionsstifter steht diejenige der ihre Lehre enthaltenden *Schriften*, und hier springen die Parallelen geradezu in die Augen. So entspricht christlicher Inspirationslehre brahmanischer Glaube an eine den Dichtern des Veda als Empfängern schon präexistierender Texte gewordene « Schauung », und die Lehre vom ewigen unerschaffenen Wort des Korans ist rechtgläubiges Dogma des Islam. Was ferner altprotestantische Theologie von den sogen. « Eigenschaften » der heiligen Schrift zu sagen weiss, das kehrt, womöglich potenziert, in auffallender Analogie auf indischem Boden wieder. Auch verehren hier die Sikhs ihr heiliges Buch, den Adi Granth, wie *einen* Gott, und der Gebrauch, den das Volk von ihm macht, gibt dem Aberglauben nichts nach, in dem im Westen — auch aus der Schweiz wird es berichtet<sup>29</sup> — ein aus der Bibel gerissenes Blatt, in kleinen Stücken mit dem ersten Brei gekocht, dem Kinde gegeben wird, um es « fromm » zu machen. Von der Geschichte moderner Koranauslegung aber hat man sagen können, dass sie derjenigen der Bibelauslegung in fast unglaublicher Weise parallel laufe<sup>30</sup>: hüben wie drüben eine Exegese, der kaum ein Ding

<sup>25</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye<sup>4</sup>, I, S. 219.

<sup>26</sup> Ign. Goldziher, a.a.O., S. 266.

<sup>27</sup> H. Frick, *Ghazālīs Selbstbiographie, ein Vergleich mit Augustins Konfessionen*, 1919.

<sup>28</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye<sup>4</sup>, I, S. 397.

<sup>29</sup> « Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens », I, 1214.

<sup>30</sup> van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion*, S. 418, Anm. 1 unter Berufung auf Richard Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, 1928.

unmöglich war, und wo wörtliche Interpretation versagte, nahm man seine Zuflucht zu allegorischer und mystischer, bis schliesslich die Kopulierung von Koran und « Vernunft », nach einem Worte von Adam Mez<sup>31</sup>, dieselbe ergötzliche Missehe ergab wie das Entsprechende bei den Exegeten des protestantischen Rationalismus!

Aber ich darf mich durch einen Blick auf die Exegese nicht verführen lassen, Probleme der Theologie im engeren Sinne wie z.B. die Frage des Determinismus oder des Indeterminismus, der Prädestination usw. anzuschneiden, so verlockend es wäre, mannigfachen geradezu handgreiflichen Parallelen auch hier nachzuspüren. Überhaupt stehen wir ja vielleicht schon in Gefahr, in ihrer Aufdeckung kein Ende zu finden. So sei Übertreibung gleich vorgebeugt durch die Feststellung, dass es nicht schwer hielte, sich auf der Gegenseite nicht minder lange in der Aufzählung religionsgeschichtlicher Gegensätzlichkeiten zu ergehen. Zur Vorsicht mag übrigens noch ein Anderes mahnen: es liegt nämlich die irreführende Versuchung nahe, äusserlich Gleiches oder sich Ähnelndes neben einander zu stellen, was, genauer besehen, seiner innern Bedeutung nach auf den einander gegenüberliegenden Seiten ungleichwertig ist.

Aber diese Einschränkungen zugegeben — sie ändern nichts an der Tatsache einer immer noch bleibenden Unzahl religionsgeschichtlicher Parallelen. Wie sie erklären?

Dreierlei sei vorweggenommen: *vorerst* die Vielheit paralleler Vorstellungen und Bräuche, die sich als unmittelbares Erbteil einer jüngeren aus älterer hervorgegangenen Religion erweisen, wie das beispielsweise vom Verhältnis des Islam zu Christentum und altarabischem Heidentum gilt; *zweitens* Parallelen, die sich aus unwillkürlicher Beeinflussung einer Religion im Kontakt mit andern ergeben, wie z.B. im chinesischen Buddhismus durch seine Berührung mit der christlichen Nestorianer Mission des 7. Jh.s; *drittens* Parallelen aus bewusster Nachahmung: so wenn im modernen Japan mit der Übernahme

<sup>31</sup> A. Mez, a.a.O., S. 190.

protestantischer Evangelisationszüge eine Art buddhistischer Heilsarmee begründet wurde, wo doch dem Buddhismus, jedenfalls wenigstens dem ursprünglichen, alles Militaristische so gänzlich ferne gelegen hatte.

Je schwieriger freilich eine unfehlbare Grenzbestimmung einschlägiger Abhängigkeiten vielfach sein dürfte, mit um so grösserer Zuversicht wird man zur Erklärung religionsgeschichtlicher Parallelen im Grossen und Ganzen auf eine gewisse letzte *Einheit der menschlichen Psyche* und ihrer Erfahrungen rekurrieren dürfen. Wenn beispielsweise in Indien die Tamulen vom Tiruvāṣagam, dem klassischen Werk des begeisterten Shiva-verehrer's Mānikkavāṣagar, sagen: « Wessen Herz durch das Tiruvāṣagam nicht schmilzt, der muss ein Herz von Stein haben », so ist das unmittelbarster Ausdruck der Tatsache, dass es Heiliges gibt, von dem menschliches Herz schlechterdings nicht unberührt bleiben kann, und dem entsprechend müssen auch gewisse Reaktionen menschlichen Fühlens wie Denkens einander irgendwie parallel laufen. Beispielsweise begreift sich aus diesem rein Menschlich-Natürlichen heraus, was im Blick auf vedische Hymnen — und gewisse babylonische und ägyptische geben ihnen darin nichts nach — Max Müller « Kathenothismus » genannt hat, d.h. einen Monotheismus des Affektes und der Stimmung, in dem der Verehrer auch einer Vielheit von Göttern im Augenblick, in dem er einen von ihnen anruft, sich in den Gedanken an diesen einen derart hineinsteigert, als gäbe es neben ihm überhaupt keinen zweiten! Entsprechend zutiefst menschlich muten uns ja doch auch unmittelbarste Frömmigkeitsausbrüche an wie etwa ein hinduistischer Ausruf: « Nur Du, o Gott, sollst wohnen in meinem Herzen, was brauche ich denn Anderes? » oder buddhistisch: « Auch zur Nacht, wenn ich schlafe, ist mir doch keine Trennung, da ich Dich in mein Herz getan habe! »<sup>32</sup> und dabei fallen uns sofort die

<sup>32</sup> S. Rudolf Otto, *Viṣṇu Narayana, Texte zur indischen Gottesmystik* (1917), 1923<sup>2</sup>, S. 192.

teilweise fast wörtlichen Parallelen eines 73. sten oder 139. sten Psalmes ein!

Aber der Mensch hat zwei Seelen in seiner Brust, und nicht minder ächt menschlich beherrscht unter verschiedensten Him-melsstrichen das bekannte egoistische Stichwort *do ut des* (« ich gebe, damit du gebest ») verbreitetste Opferpraxis. Solch *menschlicher Doppelseitigkeitsanlage* entspringen zweifellos auch ungezählte weitere Ambivalenzen in ihren Parallelen : so der allem Religiösen eigene konservative Zug, der sich z.B. in bewusster Betonung des Zusammenhanges mit einer gewissermassen nur als verheissendes Vorspiel gefassten Vergangenheit wie in der Fülle sogenannter *survivals* bekundet, und andererseits der Drang nach Lösung und Freiheit; oder wieder das Gegenspiel vom Hang zu Kollektivismus wie zu isolierendem Individualismus, der Trieb zu missionarischer Expansion wie umgekehrt zu sektiererischer Abschliessung.

Dazu meldet sich aber auch Einiges, was uns veranlassen kann, unsere Ableitung der Tatsache von Parallelen aus einer zu Grunde liegenden letzten Einheit menschlicher Anlage in etwas zu modifizieren, und damit werde ich ganz von selber auf ein Wort über zwei Begriffe gestossen, die in den abgelau-fenen verhängnisvollen Jahren eine geradezu unverantwortliche und bis ins Verbrecherische ausartende Überbetonung erfahren haben : ich meine *Rasse* und *Boden*.

Für eine rassische Differenzierung der religiösen Psyche des Menschen dürfte vor allem vielleicht ein fast grundsätzlich zu nennender Unterschied semitischer und arischer Gottesauf-fassung sprechen, auf den schon längst ein Pionier religionsge-schichtlicher Forschung, der Holländer Tiele, geradezu eine Einteilung der Religionen glaubte aufbauen zu können, in « theokratische » und « theanthropische », sofern nämlich der Semit in erster Linie das göttliche « *krátos* », d.h. die unbedingte Übermacht der Gottheit über den Menschen und damit die unübersteigliche Kluft zwischen ihnen betont, wogegen der Arier die beidseitigen Grenzen einander derart annähert, dass sie z.B.

im brahmanischen Ideal der Parole « ich bin Brahma » geradezu ineinander verfließen. Trotzdem wird für die blosse Relativität eines Zusammenhanges von Rasse und Religion und damit gegen jede Überschätzung der Rasse auch für unsere spezielle Frage stets schon die einfache Tatsache sprechen, dass gerade grösste Religionen wie Christentum, Buddhismus und Islam ihren reichsten Nährboden zumeist unter Völkern anderer Rasse als der ihrer Stifter gefunden haben.

Was aber die Bedeutung des Bodens für die Religion anbelangt, so sei nur an die bekannte alttestamentliche Erzählung<sup>33</sup> vom Syrer Naeman erinnert, der eine doppelte Maultierlast palästinensischer Erde mit sich führt, um dem palästinensischen Gott dienen zu können, weil es nach der alten Parole « andere Länder andere Götter » anders ihm unmöglich erscheint, — dies übrigens wieder eine Parallele zum Tun des vertriebenen Inderfürsten, der in seine Landesflüchtigkeit heimatliche Erde mit sich nimmt, um darauf seinen Zauberdienst verrichten zu können. Was Wunder dann, dass die durch die Natur des Bodens eines Landes bedingten Kulturverhältnisse nicht ohne differenzierende Einwirkungen auf die religiöse Psyche seiner Bewohner bleiben. Von bedingenden Wirkungen kultureller Verschiedenheit der Einzelnen gar nicht erst zu reden, nehme man nur etwa den charakteristischen Zug, dass in Japan der Feuergott verglichen mit Feuergöttern anderer Religionen ausgesprochen böartigen Charakter trägt, weil der Japaner das Feuer, das seine naturgemäss aus Holz gebauten Häuser so oft in Asche legt, besonders fürchtet!

Aber ruft die Menge religionsgeschichtlicher Parallelen nicht schliesslich nach einer andern, bedeutungsvolleren Erklärung? Oder will man einer solchen von vornherein mit der Frage ausweichen: wer weiss, am Ende gibt es in der Welt, auch in der Welt der Religion, überhaupt gar nicht so viele Gedanken als man gemeinhin meint, musikalisch gesprochen: gar nicht so viele selbständige Themen, sondern immer nur Variationen

<sup>33</sup> II Kön 5,17.

dieser wenigen Themen? *Müssen* diese Themen dann nicht von selber so oft wiederkehren? Lieber indessen wende ich mich höher gelegenen Standort zu, von wo der Blick sich über das bisher Betrachtete hinaus weitet: erscheinen da nicht mit Einem Male alle diese Parallelen einfach als *Konvergenz auf ein letztes Ziel*, eine einheitliche Universalreligion hin? Und bereits sehen wir uns dabei wieder vor eine ganze Reihe neuer Parallelen gestellt; anzufangen mit der Bibel, wo im Alten Testament eine Maleachistelle (1,11) alle auf Erden von Ost bis West dargebrachten Opfer nur dem Einen Jahve dargebracht sein lässt, und das Neue Testament von der Zeit spricht, da Eine Herde und Ein Hirt sein sollen. Auf dem Wege in Tatsache umgesetzt zu werden, erscheinen derartige Gedanken in den vielen im Verlauf der Religionsgeschichte zu Tage tretenden Synkretismen, als deren Ausdruck ich zunächst aus dem Hymnus eines bengalischen Dichters der ersten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts, Râma Dulâla (gest. 1851), die Worte an die Muttergöttin Durgâ als das höchste Wesen herausgreife:

« Du hörst auf viele Namen,  
Wie man Dich auch rufen möge.  
Pharâ nennt man Dich in Birma,  
Gott, so nennen Dich die Franken,  
Allah Dich die Muselmanen,  
Und die Shâktas sagen Shakti,  
Bei den Shaivas bist Du Shiva.

. . . . .  
Râm Dulâl spricht: alle diese  
Vielen Namen sind kein Wunder,  
Denn indem das Einzig-Eine  
Wir als Vielheit nur erkannten,  
Ist der Sinn uns worden sündig  
Und die Wahrheit uns verborgen. »<sup>34</sup>

Diese Worte sind nur wie ein später Nachklang dessen, was

<sup>34</sup> Helmuth von Glasenapp, a.a.O., S. 163.



in einer um fast drei Jahrtausende älteren Stelle im Rigveda<sup>35</sup> zu lesen steht : « Was nur das Eirë ist, bezeichnen die Sänger mit vielen Namen : sie nennen es Agni, Yama, Mātarishvan. » Und um nur noch eine einzige der langen Zwischenzeit angehörige und zwar ausserindische Parallele heranzuziehen, sei der aus hellenistischer Zeit uns überlieferte Hymnus genannt, den die ägyptische Isis auf sich selber singt :

« Siehe, hier bin ich die.../ Deren einheitliche Gottheit in mannigfacher Gestalt und Art/ Mit mancherlei Namen der ganze Weltkreis verehrt./ So nennen mich die erstgeborenen Phryger die pessinuntische Göttermutter,/ Die Athener Athene, die Kyprier Aphrodite, die Kreter Artemis Diktynna, die Sizilier Persephone, die Eleusinier Demeter, andere Hera oder Enyo oder Nemesis,/ Die Äthiopier Afrikas aber und die in uralter Lehre erfahrenen Ägypter/ Verehren mich mit den ihnen eigenen Bräuchen und nennen mich mit dem wahren Namen Königin Isis! »

Dabei ist übrigens beim Vergleich der beiden letztgenannten Hymnen ein gewisser Parallelismus insofern vielleicht nicht so überraschend, als sich überhaupt beobachten lässt, wie es in bezug auf religionsgeschichtliche Erscheinungen auch so etwas wie Parallelen von Zeiten zu geben scheint, und wie die hellenistische eine Hochblüte synkretistischer Tendenzen aufweist, so nimmt man gerade wieder in der neueren Zeit und zunehmend bis in unsere Gegenwart hinein, zumal auf indischem und japanischem, aber auch auf abendländischem Boden, ein erstaunliches Wachstum wahr des Zuges zu gegenseitiger auf Paralleles und Gemeinsames sich gründender religiöser Annäherung und Vereinigung.

Die Problematik des Ausganges derartiger Erscheinungen mag dem objektiven Betrachter von heute vielleicht noch eine gewisse Zurückhaltung auferlegen. Mit vollem Bedacht habe ich denn auch nur den Titel « Parallelen » gewählt, indem ich

<sup>35</sup> I, 164,46.



dabei nicht übersehe, dass es optische Täuschung ist, wenn bei einem Blick in die Ferne Parallelen zusammenzulaufen scheinen. Aber abschliessend gedenke ich auch nicht den bildlichen Ausdruck zu pressen. Genug, wenn er den religionsgeschichtlichen Tatbestand wenigstens *relativ* zutreffend wiedergibt. Was ihm aber entnommen werden mag, ist zunächst, *theoretisch* die Erkenntnis der Tatsache gewisser Konstanten im Bereich religionsgeschichtlicher Entwicklung, d.h. dass in ihr doch etwas wie eine gewisse Gesetzmässigkeit obwalten muss, die tiefer zu ergründen eine der Hauptaufgaben weiterer religionsgeschichtlicher Forschung bleibt; und *praktisch* die Einsicht in ein reiches Mass menschlicher religiöser Gemeinsamkeit, die, ungeachtet aller Divergenzen, schliesslich die Konvergenz auf ein letztes höheres Ziel wenigstens mag ahnen lassen, wie es denn wohl auch nicht anders sein kann, wenn hinter und über allen Einzelreligionen *die* Religion steht! Ihrem Geist ist innerhalb sufischer Kreise einmal der Spruch auf Gott entsprungen — und er möge hier den Abschluss bilden — : « Unser Gottesdienst ist verschieden; aber Deine Schönheit ist nur Eine, und jeder deutet auf diese Schönheit hin! » <sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, a.a.O., S. 170.

# THE NAME OF GOD, A STUDY IN RABBINIC THEOLOGY

SAMUEL S. COHON

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

## I

DIVINE names embody the conceptions of God of a particular religion. Coming down from a distant past their meanings often are obscure. The personal name of a deity thus represents an epithet the meaning of which has been forgotten.<sup>1</sup> The epithet generally derived from some function, characteristic or relation of the deity to the tribe, its members or surroundings. Acquiring the distinction of a personal name, it is identified with the deity and invested with *mana*, i.e. with power and mystery. Being sacred, it is guarded by tabus against profane use and is reserved for magic rites and tribal mysteries by medicine men or priests. For ordinary relations new epithets are created denoting the relation of the deity to the life and destiny of the people and to nature. These newer appellations, expressed in more transparent language, in turn become the titles by which the deity is invoked, sometimes independently and often in combination with the original personal name. The formation and use of new epithets for the deity constitute milestones in the progress of religion.

The use which the Rabbis made of the divine name and its related expressions reveals the intensity of their effort to reach out after a fuller and firmer comprehension of the divine. In their quest after God they walked humbly with Him. Though certain of His reality and ever conscious of His presence, they spoke reservedly of His nature. They often resorted to the words

<sup>1</sup> J. A. MacCulloch, art. « Nameless Gods. » Hastings' *Enc. Rel. and Ethics*, IX, 179.

of Isaiah 45.15 : « Verity Thou art a God that hidest Thyself, O God of Israel, the Savior. » <sup>2</sup> They were aware of the challenging words addressed to Job :

« Canst thou find out the deep things of God?  
Canst thou attain unto the purpose of the Almighty?  
It is high as heaven; what canst Thou do?  
Deeper than the nether-world; what canst thou know? » <sup>3</sup>

Being unlike anything in existence, mysterious and transcendent, He is beyond human grasp. The Rabbis interpret Ex. 33.20, « Man shall not see Me and live » (האדם וחי), to mean : « Man shall not see Me nor angel. » In evident opposition to the Gnostics, who claimed direct knowledge of God, R. Akiba, who was versed in their doctrines, adds that not even the angels that bear God's throne can behold Him. R. Simeon b. Azzai supplements Akiba's statement : « Not even the ministering angels who live eternally see God. » <sup>4</sup> When Moses prayed : « Show me Thy Glory, » <sup>5</sup> he meant : « Show me the attribute wherewith Thou guidest the world. » <sup>6</sup> Even that was ruled out as impossible. « It is God's glory to conceal » His nature. <sup>7</sup> In the words of Solomon's prayer : « The Lord said that He would dwell in thick darkness. » <sup>8</sup> « He dwells in the highest secrecy, seeing all things and is Himself unseen. » <sup>9</sup>

■ Cant. R. 4; Mid. Psalms 94.1.

<sup>3</sup> Job 11.7-8. Jer. Ber. 9.1; Tanhuma, Kedoshim 15; Mid. Ps. 106.2; 139.1; Yalkut Job 906.

<sup>4</sup> Num. R. 14.22. The Marcossian Gnostics took Ex. 33.20 to refer to the ignorance of the highest divinity, whereas the Demiurge, whom they identified with Yahweh, was seen by the prophets. Some Gnostics claimed that by virtue of their spiritual natures they were acquainted with the spiritual Pleroma. Iranaeus, *Against Heresies* I.19, 1-2; II.19.2. Cf. Matthew 11.27; John 5.20; 10.15.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. 33.18.

■ Mid. Ps. 25.6.

<sup>7</sup> Prov. 25.2.

<sup>8</sup> I Kings 8.12.

<sup>9</sup> Mid. Ps. 91.1; Num. R. 12.3.

Though God is shrouded in mystery, the questing spirit strives to draw near to Him, to behold His graciousness and to perceive something of His relation to man and to the world. The whole endeavor of religion may be said to consist in bridging the gap between the finite and the infinite and thus to endow human life with sanctity and spiritual purpose.

In view of this polarity of the religious experience, the development of the Jewish idea of God exhibits a twofold trend. On the one hand, Judaism strove to discover the essential being and nature of God, which, in the idiom of the ancients, meant to find His true name. Accordingly it persisted in ascertaining the significance of the divine names in general and of the Tetragrammaton in particular. On the other hand, in its steady spiritual advance it sought to divest itself of the thought that the Divine may be named as men or objects are named. Popular piety clung to the first. Advanced theological thought tended toward the other position.

While this problem is present in all religions, it assumed a somewhat different form in Judaism. The pantheons of the polytheistic religions employ names of deities to differentiate them from one another. Monotheism, with its emphasis on the uniqueness of the Holy One, requires no names wherewith to distinguish Him from others. According to R. Levi, when Moses and Aaron came to Pharoah and asked him in the name of « the God of the Hebrews » to send forth Israel to serve Him, the monarch consulted his directory of deities. Reading off the names of the gods of Edom, Moab, Sidon, etc., he said : « I do not find here the name of your God. » To which Moses and Aaron replied : « You will not find Him among these, for they are dead, but 'the Lord God is the true God, He is the living God, and the everlasting King.' »<sup>10</sup> This comment may be related to Philo's interpretation of God's answer to Moses' request for His name : « First tell them that I am He who is, that they

<sup>10</sup> Jer. 10.10, Tanhuma, Vaera, 5; ed. Buber, 2. Cf. Philo., *Life of Moses*, I, xv, 8 (Loeb ed., p. 320).

may learn the difference between what is and what is not, and also the further lesson that no name at all can properly be used of Me, to whom all existence belongs.»<sup>11</sup> In another connection, he adds: «God indeed needs no name; yet, though He needed it not, He nevertheless vouchsafed to give to mankind a name of Himself suited to them, that man might be able to take refuge in prayers and supplications and not be deprived of comforting hopes.»<sup>12</sup> God is essentially nameless, transcending any designation that man can apply to Him. Within this limitation, however, names of God are spiritual necessities. They stem from human habits of thought and of speech. An emotion, experience or idea is incommunicable unless it is verbalized. Only when expressed in a fitting word or name does it acquire power. Names of God have retained their place in advanced Jewish monotheism not merely as survivals of earlier and less developed religious views but also as indispensable designations of the personality of the Divine and as compact attributes of His nature.<sup>13</sup> Instead of being

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 175. Cf. Josephus, *Against Apion*, II, 167, 190-191. Justin Martyr states in this spirit that «to the Father of all, who is unbegotten, there is no name given. For by whatever name He be called, He has as His elder the person who gives Him the name. But these words, Father, and God, and Creator, and Lord, and Master are not names, but appellation derived from His good deeds and functions... Also the appellations 'God' is not a name, but an opinion implanted in the nature of man of a thing that can hardly be explained.» (The *Second Apology*, 6).

<sup>12</sup> *On Abraham*, 51. Clement of Alexandria, sharing the doctrine of the Alexandrine schools of the namelessness of God observes that high names like «Father,» «God,» etc. are employed «because of our incapacity to find a true name, so that the mind may have something to rest on and steady it. None of these names taken separately express God.» (*Stromata* V, 81 ff., cited by J. A. MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, 179). The *Martyrdom of Isaiah* 1.7 declares that God's name «has not been sent into the world.»

<sup>13</sup> *Lekah Tob* Ex. 3.13 כלומר עוצם גבורתו. ואמרנו לי מה שמו. While personality is conceivable in nameless beings, it is greatly crystallized by a name.

proper names of God, in the customary sense of the word, they simply point to His reality and to His effects.<sup>14</sup> They awaken the devout and searching mind to the awesome mystery and meaningfulness which environ the soul.

### 1. The Tetragrammaton.

The recognition that God transcends all names is paradoxically coupled in Jewish thought with the persistence to invoke Him by the right name. This is the case in both Hellenistic and Rabbinic Judaism. According to Josephus, Moses besought God not to deny him the knowledge of His name that he may know how to invoke Him to be present at the sacred rites. «Then God revealed to him His name, which ere then had not come to men's ears, and of which I am forbidden to speak.»<sup>15</sup> We have here the same reserve to utter the Ineffable Name, YHWH (= Yahweh), which forms a characteristic feature of Rabbinic theology. By a play on the word יהוה in Ex. 3.15 — written defectively — the Rabbis teach that the divine name must be kept secret<sup>16</sup>. It must not be pronounced in the way in which it is written, but by a substitute word. Jewish piety, from post-Exilic times on, withdrew the four lettered name YHWH (= Yahweh), the specific designation of the God of Israel, from ordinary usage and invested it with awe and mystery. The third commandment and the related prohibitions of using the divine name in vain rendered it sacrosanct.<sup>17</sup>

The avoidance of the use of the Tetragrammaton — יהוה בן, which figured as a proper name — in some of the later books of the Bible, is due to the growing sense of God's transcendence, a tendency which shows itself in the older books

<sup>14</sup> Philo, *On Abraham* 24.121.

<sup>15</sup> *Ant.* II, 275-6.

<sup>16</sup> Pes. 50a לעולם כתיב ר' לעולם העלמה. Ex. R. 3.7. Cf. Eccl. 3.11; Kid. 71a.

<sup>17</sup> Ex. 20.7; Deut. 5.11; Lev. 18.21; 19.12; 20.3; 21.6; 22.2, 32; 24.16; Ezek. 20.39; 36.20.

as well. The editorial revisions of the second and third books of the Psalter employ *Elohim* as the general appellation for Deity — in place of Yahweh.<sup>18</sup> Job avoids the Tetragrammaton in favor of other names and particularly of the archaic *Shaddai* (31 times). Ecclesiastes makes exclusive use of *Elohim*. The same is true of Daniel, with the exception of the interpolated prayer in Ch. 9. The total avoidance of all mention of divine names in Esther may stem from the same motive rather than from the supposedly secular nature of the book.

The substitution of other names for the Tetragrammaton continued in both Hellenistic and Rabbinic literature. The LXX invariably renders it with ὁ κύριος = Adonai.<sup>19</sup> The same idea underlies the Masoretic pointing of the Tetragrammaton with the vowels of *Adonai* and with those of *Elohim* when the word *Adonai* itself precedes it. Onkelos, by identifying *Elohim* with Yahweh, removes all possible misunderstanding.<sup>20</sup>

The motive of reverence combined with the dread of breaking the third commandment underlies the use of «the

<sup>18</sup> The third book of Ps. (73-89) uses אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in place of the usual יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת. Ps. 80.5,20 combines the two; cf. vss. 8 and 15, See Wellhausen, *Book of Psalms*, p. 82.

<sup>19</sup> See Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum u. seine Stellung in der Religionsgeschichte*, p. 9 ff. *Elohim* is translated θεός. The distinction is carried out most consistently in the Psalms and fairly so in the Pentateuch. Kyrios is used also for El, Adon, and Adonai. Aquila, in his literalism, rejected the LXX usage as being inexact and introduced the word bodily into his translation, «writing it ΙΙΙΙΙΙ, a form which is found in the Hexaplar manuscripts of the Septuagint and is the representation in the Greek alphabet of the letters of יהוה read from left to right.» W. Bacher, *J.E.* XI, 263, referring to Swete, *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 30; Nestle, in *Z.D.M.G.*, XXXII, 468, 500, 506.

<sup>20</sup> Onkelos leaves *Elohim* only where it accompanies the Tetragrammaton. Where the word is used for foreign gods Onkelos translates דְּלוֹתָא (Gen. 31.32) and שְׁעוֹת עֲמֹסַיָא for אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים. Deut. 7.4; cf. 4.28. In Ex. 30.3 he uses אֵילָה אֲחֵרָא. See Luzzatto, *Oheb Ger*, p. 2. Sheftel, *Biure Onkelos*, Gen. 1.1.



Name » for Yahweh and subsequently even for its substitute *Adonai*.<sup>21</sup> This usage derived from the general tendency to identify the name with the person of its bearer.<sup>22</sup> As in magic so in ancient religion, knowledge of the name of a spirit or deity was believed to give one power over him and the means of securing his help.<sup>23</sup> However, improper mention of the name might spell disaster. Hence caution was required in its employment. Persons and objects belonging to God were designated as « called by His name. »<sup>24</sup> Owned by Him, they were entitled to His protection. Deutero-Isaiah expressed the thought of Israel's consecration to God by the words : « Every one that is called by My name, whom I have created and formed and made for My glory. »<sup>25</sup> Jeremiah spoke of himself as having « *the name* of the God of Hosts called upon » him, and referred to Jerusalem and the Temple, even as Shiloh was aforesaid, as a place over which Yahweh's name was called, or where He caused His name to dwell.<sup>26</sup> Deut. 28.10 assures the people of Israel that when the other nations « will see that Yahweh's name is over you, they shall be afraid of you. »<sup>27</sup> His power is communicated to the possessors of His name.

<sup>21</sup> Ex. 20.24 בְּכָל הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֶזְכִּיר אֶת שְׁמִי. Ex. 23.20-23 speaks of an angel in place of Yahweh moving before the people, and demands reverence for him on the ground that Yahweh's name is within him כִּי שְׁמִי בְּקִרְבּוֹ. For this tendency in the Apocrypha see W. Bousset, *Religion d. Judentums*, p. 302, n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Isa. 30.27; 42.8; 56.6; 59.19; Ps. 102.16; I Kings 3.2; 5.17, 19; 8.17, 20. Like « the Name » so « the glory » and « the face » appear in place of Yahweh. Ex. 33.14, 15, 18, 20, 23; Ps. 34.17; cf. Ex. 23.21; 32.34 and Isa. 63.9, where מַלְאֲךְ is associated with « the face of Yahweh. »

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Judg. 13.17-18; Gen. 32.30; Ex. 33.12. See G. Foucart, « Names, Egyptian, » *H.E.R.E.*, IX, 151; A. H. Gardiner, « Magic, Egyptian, » *Ibid.*, VIII, 265b.

<sup>24</sup> Am. 9.12; II Sam. 6.2; cf. I K. 16.24.

<sup>25</sup> Isa. 43.7.

<sup>26</sup> Jer. 15.16; 7.10, 12, 14 etc.

<sup>27</sup> Driver, *International Critical Commentary*, Deuteronomy, p. 310. See also Isa. 63.19, Amos 9.12 speaks similarly of other peoples.

At the same time care was exercised not to limit Yahweh or His name to any locality. While popular usage persisted in referring to Him as « He that dwells at Zion »<sup>28</sup> — a belief that gave the people ground for confidence in times of stress<sup>29</sup> — advancing Jewish thought made it clear that He was confined to no earthly habitation. II Sam. 7.11 rejects His need of a dwelling that human beings might erect for Him. Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple — in line with prophetic teaching<sup>30</sup> — repudiates the popular notion that the sanctuary is the seat of the Deity. He is the God of the universe. « The heaven is My throne and the earth My footstool. Where then is the house that ye may build unto Me, and where is the place that may be My rest? »<sup>31</sup> High and exalted, inhabiting eternity, He yet dwells with those of a contrite and humble spirit. His transcendence combined with His nearness forms the favorite theme of numerous psalms.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly Yahweh's early identification as the God of Israel was modified by the prophetic doctrine that He is the universal God of humanity. The Creator of the world is also the father of all men. He is the King of the nations who rules them by His unfailing justice and mercy.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, rabbinic usage requires that His kingship over the universe be combined with the acknowledgment of Him as personal God in the standard form of benediction.<sup>34</sup> Monotheism spells universality.

<sup>28</sup> שוכן בציון יי ושם ציון Ps. 9.12; Joel 4.17, 21; Isa. 8.18.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ps. 46.48.

<sup>30</sup> Jer. 7.4; 26.6; I Kings 8.27; II Chr. 6.16.

<sup>31</sup> Isa. 66.1; 57.15.

<sup>32</sup> Pss. 36.6 ff.; 66.4 ff.; 68.5 ff.; 89.6 ff.; 113 etc.

<sup>33</sup> Jer. 10.7, 10 ff.; Pss. 65.3; 66; cf. Isa. 6.3; 2.1-4, 9; 40.28; 44.6; Ex. 34.6, etc.

<sup>34</sup> Ber. 12a; cf. Jer. Ber. 9.1, ed. Zechariah Frankel and note. Hence every benediction begins with the six words : ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם

## 2. Liturgic Uses of the Name.

The chief use of « *the Name* » in place of Yahweh was in ritual. Ex. 20.21 states: « In every place where I cause My name to be mentioned I will come unto Thee and bless Thee. » The name is linked with the altar and with the ark,<sup>35</sup> with Mt. Zion<sup>36</sup> and Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup> « The name of Yahweh » represented a most ancient formula of worship. The Yahwistic account traces it back to the days of Enosh.<sup>38</sup> Its liturgical usage is indicated in Deut. 32.3: « I invoke the name of Yahweh, ascribe ye greatness to our God. »<sup>39</sup> Knowing His name, in which the essence of His being was believed to inhere, gave ground for trust, for invoking it brings help.<sup>40</sup> He makes His name known by responding to His people's prayers. Hence His name is a protection.<sup>41</sup> In blessing the people the priests placed Yahweh's name upon them.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand those that do not invoke His name are His enemies who are fated for His wrath.<sup>43</sup> « The Name » served also as a formula of oath-taking. Deut. 10.20 commands: « By His name shall ye swear, » i.e. in place of the names of foreign deities. Lev. 19.12 warns against swearing by His name falsely.<sup>44</sup> In prophecy the name of Yahweh « served

<sup>35</sup> The patriarchs, building altars, invoke the name of Yahweh. Gen. 12.8; 13.4; 23.33; 26.25; cf. 28.18 f.; 33.20; 35.7; II Sam. 6.2. Similarly Ps. 113.1; 135.1: יי הללו את שם; 148.5, 13: יי יהללו את שם; 34.4 and the call: הללוייה.

<sup>36</sup> Isa. 18.7.

<sup>37</sup> Deut. 12.5, 11; I Kings, 8.16; also II Chr. 6.33.

<sup>38</sup> Gen. 4.26.

<sup>39</sup> Also Ps. 72.19; cf. 113.2; Job 1.21; Neh. 9.5. See further Ex. 33.12; 34.5; Deut. 21.5; II Sam. 6.18; I K. 18.24, 25, 32 (cf. vs. 26 ויקרא בשם הבעל); II K. 5.11; Zeph. 3.9; Ps. 116.4, 13, 17; 129.8; I Chr. 16.2 etc.

<sup>40</sup> Zech. 13.9; Ps. 9.11; 91.15.

<sup>41</sup> Isa. 52.6; cf. Isa. 64.1; Ps. 20.2.

<sup>42</sup> Num. 6.27.

<sup>43</sup> Jer. 10.25 // Ps. 76.6.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Amos 8.14; Jer. 12.16. God Himself swears « by His great name » Jer. 44.26; cf. Amos 8.7.

as a mark of authenticity. » The true prophet speaks « in the name of Yahweh. » <sup>45</sup> Thus Jehoshaphat orders Micaiah to speak to him the truth in the name of Yahweh only. <sup>46</sup> Jeremiah complains that he was not permitted to speak in the name of Yahweh. <sup>47</sup> The « name of Yahweh » figured also in personal greetings, as in Judges 6.12, « Yahweh be with thee » and Ruth 2.4, « Yahweh bless thee. » It is paralleled by the benediction, « The Lord bless thee out of Zion, » <sup>48</sup> and by the interchange of greetings between the lay worshippers at the Temple and the Levites entering upon their night service. <sup>49</sup> The response to this greeting, as given in Ps. 129.8, is : « We bless you in the name of Yahweh. » Tradition reports that after the death of Simon the Just (probably the contemporary of Ben Sira), whether out of considerations of reverence or possibly because of Hellenistic persecution, the use of the divine name was withheld from greetings. With the passing of the danger, the old usage was reinstituted. <sup>50</sup> We are informed further that, bent on the Hellenization of the Jews, the Greek government forbade them to mention God's name (שם שמים) in documents.

<sup>45</sup> Deut. 18.22.

<sup>46</sup> I K. 22.16 // II Chr. 18.15.

<sup>47</sup> Jer. 11.21; 26.9; 16.20. See further Jer. 23.25; Zech. 13.3; I Chr. 21.19; II Chr. 33.18.

<sup>48</sup> Ps. 128.5.

<sup>49</sup> Ps. 134.3; cf. I Chr. 9.33.

<sup>50</sup> Bertinoro comments : ולא אמרינן מולול הוא בכבודו של מקום בשביל שם שמים עליו כבוד הבריות להוציא שם שמים עליו Yoma 39b. Marmorstein's argument in *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, Ch. 1, fails to carry conviction. See Tos., ed. Zuckermandel, *Soṭah* 13.8, p. 319, l. 24. Ms. W : משמת שמעון הצדיק פסקו מלברך בשם. Graetz considers this injunction to use יהוה in place of אדני = κύριος as « a measure taken at the time of Bar Kochba to distinguish Jews from Judeo-Christians who regarded Jesus also as Lord. *Geschichte*, 2nd ed. IV, 458. The dating fits into the statement of Abba Bar Kahana (Mid. Teh. on Ps. 36, end) that two generations used the שם המפורש, the Men of the Great Assembly and those of the period of the *Shemaḏ* (Hadrianic persecution) » — Bacher, *J.E.* XI, 263.

Following the Maccabean victory the old practice was restored. The formula ran : « In the year ..... of Johanan the High Priest of the 'Most High God.' » This use of the Divine name in secular documents displeased the sages (Pharisees), who, upon gaining the upper hand, abolished the practice on the ground that the notes, when cancelled, would be thrown away and the name would thus be defiled.<sup>51</sup>

It is noteworthy that « the name of Yahweh » nowhere figures as a separate divine being, but is generally equivalent to Yahweh. Such a phrase as « Ashtoreth, the name of Baal »<sup>52</sup> has no analogue in Hebrew writings. While Isaiah 30.27 contains the startling expression « the name of Yahweh cometh, » the context shows that Yahweh Himself is meant, and in the parallel passage 59.19 « the name » alternates with « the glory of Yahweh. » So, too, the combination of « name » with « glory, » as in « the name of His glory » or « His glorious name, » refers to God.<sup>53</sup>

While « the Name » is invariably combined with Yahweh or with a possessive pronoun, in three biblical verses it appears

<sup>51</sup> Meg. Taanit VII; R.H. 18b.

<sup>52</sup> עשתרת שם בעל *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris '81, pt. I, no. 3, i. 18.

<sup>53</sup> Ps. 72.10; 29.2; 96.8. Cf. Ex. 33.18 f. T.K. Cheyne, *E.B.*, art. « Name, » III, 3268 and כבוד in Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, and Lewy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*; Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, p. 88. שם כבוד corresponds to שמיא רבא in the Kaddish. Thus the Targum Jerushalmi to Gen. 49.2 and Deut. 6.4 states that Jacob on his death bed, hearing his sons recite the Shema and thus professing the unity of God, responded יהי שמיא רבא מברך לעלמי עלמין. Pes. 56a, repeating this Haggadah, reports that he said שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד (For variants see Kasher, *Torah Shelemah* to Gen. 49.2). Both expressions stand for שם אדנות, the Tetragrammaton. Cf. Gen. R. 93.1 וּמַלְכוּתוֹ וְאֲדֹנָיו. Thus the Shema is referred to as מַלְכוּת שְׁמַיִם. (Deut. R. 2.31. אֵיזָה מַלְכוּת שְׁמַיִם, שָׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ ה' אֶחָד ... כְּבוֹדִי אֶחָד וּמִיּוֹחַד בְּעוֹלָם.) The recitation of the Shema is referred to as קְבַלַת עוֹל מַלְכוּת שְׁמַיִם (Ber. 13a).





The Tetragrammaton was originally spoken by all the priests in the Temple in pronouncing the benediction. In the synagogues the substitute name Adonai was employed in worship.<sup>57</sup> (This practice has prevailed in worship to the present. In study and conversation *Hashem* is used.) Following the death of Simon the Just — which was marked by the spread of Hellenism and its heretical trends — the Tetragrammaton ceased to be spoken even in the Temple by the ordinary priests. The High Priest alone pronounced it on Yom Kippur while reciting Lev. 16.30 during the confessional.<sup>58</sup> R. Tarfon reports that even the high priest uttered it cautiously under his breath.<sup>59</sup> The rest

b; Sab. 36a. «The incommunicable name» appears in *Wisd. Solomon* 14, 21.

Bacher suggests that «since the Tetragrammaton is called also 'Shem Hameyuhad' it may be assumed that 'meyuhad' is used elsewhere in the terminology of the tannaitic schools as a synonym for 'meforash,' both words designating something which is distinguished by a characteristic sign from other objects of its kind.» (See Bacher, *Die Exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, I, p. 159), *J.E.* XI, p. 262, art. «Shem Ha-meforash.» See Kohut, *Aruk Hashalem*, art. יחוד II, p. 123.

It is instructive to note that theophorus names, with יהו, either as a prefix or as a suffix, so common in pre-exilic times underwent a change in post-exilic times. From the prefix the ה or הו is dropped and from the suffix the ו or the י, e.g. יהורם = יורם, יהויקים = יקים, יהושע = יושע, and חנניה = חנני, ירמיהו = ירמיה, ישעיהו = ישעיה, מיכיהו = מיכה.

<sup>57</sup> Tamid 7.2; Soṭah 7.6; 38a; Mek. Baḥodesh 11; Sifre, Num. 39; Hag. 16a. Outside of the Bible it became customary to write יי, יי, or ך (i.e. two yods with a vav over them, numerically equivalent to הויה), ה' for השם or ד' for אדני. The word אלהים was generally written without change. (See J. Z. Lauterbach, «Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton.» *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1930-31, pp. 39-67.) During the last century it became customary to write אלקים for אלהים, אלוק for אלוה, אל for אלה. J. D. Eisenstein denounces this practice on the part of preachers and journalists as blasphemous. *Hadoar*, Vol. XXI, no. 40, p. 689, Oct. 16, 1942.

<sup>58</sup> Tos. Yoma 2.2 reports that the name was spoken ten times by the high priest on Yom Kippur. For the continued use of אלהים in liturgic compositions, see Davidson, *Ozar Hashirah*, I, p. 287, nos 6295-6302.

<sup>59</sup> Jer. Yoma 3.7, end.



of the time both he and others invoked God as *Hashem*.<sup>60</sup> The LXX interprets Lev. 24.16 as treating with death any one who mentions the Tetragrammaton. Onkelos understands the verse in the same sense. On the other hand, the Jerusalem Targum adheres to the plain meaning of the text, forbidding the employment of the Tetragrammaton in abusive speech.<sup>61</sup> The Gemara preserves both meanings, basing the first one on the derivation of the word וַיִּקַּב from the root נִקַּב «to point out,» «to designate,» as in Num. 1.17, and the second one by deriving the word from קִבַּה «to curse,» as in Num. 23.8. A third meaning is added by relating it to another connotation of the root נִקַּב «to pierce,» as in II Kings 12.10, *i.e.*, using the divine name for magic purposes.<sup>62</sup>

The third interpretation of Lev. 24.16 sheds light upon the awesome sanctity with which the rabbis surrounded the Tetragrammaton. It was a cardinal Gnostic doctrine that the Creator God of the Bible was an inferior deity, whose name was known and used in their formulas, whereas the highest divinity remained unknown and inexpressible.<sup>63</sup> To overcome this heretical teaching, the rabbis stressed the ineffable nature of the Tetragrammaton as representing the one and only God, and withdrew it from ordinary use.

### 3. Theurgic Uses of the Name.

Hillel's saying וַיִּשְׁתַּמֵּשׁ בְּתֵנָא הֲלָהּ points to the theurgic use of the Name.<sup>64</sup> More definitely Abba Saul denies future bliss to anyone who pronounces the Tetragrammaton with its actual consonants. The context of the Mishnah relates this

<sup>60</sup> Ber. 4.4; Yoma 3.8; 4.2; 6.2.

<sup>61</sup> Rashi combines both meanings. Ibn Ezra takes the word in the sense of pronouncing, as in Isa. 42.2 and Num. 1.17.

<sup>62</sup> Sanh. 56a.

<sup>63</sup> Iranaeus, *op. cit.*, I, 5.

<sup>64</sup> Abot 1.13; Ab. R.N., I, ed. Schechter, p. 56.

statement to the prohibition of plying the magic art for purposes of healing.<sup>65</sup> We seem to be confronted with Gnostic practice in which sacred names and formulas were employed. The knowledge of the names of the demons or gods was essential to the Gnostic scheme of salvation. Bousset writes : « We constantly meet with the idea that the soul, on leaving the body, finds its path to the highest heaven opposed by the deities and demons of the lower realms of heaven, and only when it is in possession of the names of these demons, and can repeat the proper holy formula, or is prepared with the holy oil, finds its way unhindered to the heavenly home. » Accordingly Gnostic books (like the II Coptic Jiu) are filled with such names and symbols. « This system again was simplified, and as the supreme secret was taught in a simple name or a single formula, by means of which the happy possessor was able to penetrate through all the space of heaven.<sup>66</sup> It was taught that even the redeemer-god, when he once descended on to this earth, to rise from it again, availed himself of these names and formulas on his descent and ascent through the world of demons. » In such ideas Anz finds the central doctrine of Gnosticism.<sup>67</sup>

The use of the Tetragrammaton and other divine appellations for magic purposes by Gnostics led to the halakah that the writings of the Minim must not be saved from conflagration

<sup>65</sup> Sanh. 10.1. According to Ab. Zarah 17b Hanina b. Teradion met with a martyr's death as a punishment for teaching the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton to his disciples. From the Samaritans Theodore learned that it was pronounced 'Ia6ε. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, under תאש, I, 17; *H.E.B.E.*, art. « Charms and Amulets, » III, 424-5.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. the use of « Caulacau » among the Basilidians. Iranaeus, *op. cit.*, I, 24, 5.

<sup>67</sup> Art. « Gnosticism, » *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., XII, 155. For Jewish parallels see Hekalot Rabbati, 22, in Jellinek's *Bet Ham.*, III, 90 ff.; Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 48 ff., 358, no. 50, *et al.*

despite the *azkarot*, the divine names, occurring in them.<sup>68</sup> R. Jose taught that on week days one may read the divine names in them and store away or burn the rest. R. Tarfon, indignantly, avowed that should the books of the Minim fall into his hands he would burn them together with the divine names, because «they inject enmity, jealousy and envy between Israel and the Heavenly Father».<sup>69</sup> They offended monotheistic belief.

The rabbinic opposition to the theurgic uses of the name notwithstanding, the practice spread among the Jewish people. The belief in the almighty potency of the name, which may go back to Egyptian magic,<sup>70</sup> gained strong hold on the Jewish mind both as a subject of mystic speculation and of practice. The Ḥasidim, Essenes and Pharisees were attracted to it. Enoch 69.13-25 speaks of the «hidden name» as having been guarded by Michael and employed in the oath wherewith God created the whole universe.<sup>71</sup> The Jewish variety of Gnosticism as preserved in the mystic Haggadah utilized it. The four sages who entered the *Pardes*, i.e., Gnostic speculation, resorted to

<sup>68</sup> For the use of *הזכרה* and *אזכרה* (Aramaic *אזכרתא*) in place of *שם* in rabbinic literature see Bacher, *op. cit.*, 187. The usage goes back to the Bible, where *זכר* appears several times in place of *שם* (Ps. 30.5; 97.12; 102.13; Hos. 12.6) or as a synonym of *שם* (Ex. 3.15; Isa. 26.8; Ps. 135. 13; cf. Job 18.17).

<sup>69</sup> Tos. Sab. 13.5; 116a. Cf. Ber. 8a; Gen. R. 20.6; Tanh. B, I, 71b. See Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, p. 6 ff. et passim. *Ἰάω Σαβαώθ* and *Ἀιεὶν* figure in Greek magical papyri. In Egyptian magical papyri, too, Jewish and heathen names appear in juxtaposition or combination. Sanh. 60a, Yoma 3.7 and Eccl. R. 3.11 refers to the use of the Name by gentiles as a magic formula. See Marmorstein, *Old Rab. Doctrine of God*, pp. 18, 30. Scholem calls attention to the predilection on the part of Jewish mystics to use Greek formulas, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-9, notes 50, 57, 58. For example see Hekalot R., 12.

<sup>70</sup> The Egyptian origin of Jewish magic is attested by the books of Hermes and by the Greek and Coptic magic papyri. See L. Blau, art. «Magic», *J.E.*, VIII, 255 f. M. Gaster, art. «Magic, Jewish», *H.E.R.E.*, VIII, 303.

<sup>71</sup> See also *Prayer of Menasseh*; K. Kohler, *Origin of Synagogue and Church*, I, ch. 1.

the *Shem Hameforash* to gaze into the divine mysteries.<sup>72</sup> The mystic *Pirke de Rabbi Eli'ezer* teaches that the great Name existed by the side of God before creation.<sup>73</sup> The opinion persisted that the Name served as an instrument wherewith God created the world. The thought is further expressed that He fashioned both this world and the world to come by means of the first two letters of the Tetragrammaton.<sup>74</sup> The *Sefer Yezirah*, the classic text of cabbalistic speculation, teaches that the world was created through the combination of the letters in the Divine name. Such knowledge, we are told, enabled Rab Ḥanina and Rab Oshaiah to create a living calf every Friday for Sabbath use, an act of which the Rabbis disapproved as magic.<sup>75</sup> God wages war by means of the Name. It also served as the sword of Moses and as the weapon with which the generations of Hezekiah and Zedekiah fought. The Name was revealed to Moses that he might redeem Israel. R. Simeon b. Yoḥai says that God gave Israel a weapon at Sinai in which the name is inscribed. With its aid demons are dispelled.<sup>76</sup> The occult character of the Name is further apparent from the

<sup>72</sup> For a discussion of the entire theme see Scholem, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-78. Hag. 12a and commentaries of Rashi and R. Hananeel (Hag. 14b).

<sup>73</sup> *Pirke de Rabbi Eli'ezer*, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Hag. 2,1; Men. 29b; Gen. R. 12,10 and notes by Theodor; Kasher *Torah Shelema* II, no. 73; Midr. Alpha Betha of Rabbi Akiba II, letter Shin, *Bet Ham.* III, 54; Mas. Hekalot, Ibid., II, 46; Pesikta R. 21, ed. Friedmann, 104a **אמר הקב"ה [אני ה'] הוא שמי (יש' מב, ז) מה** **אני בונה עולמות**.

<sup>75</sup> Sanh. 7,11; 65b; 67b; Ber. 55a **שנבראו אותיות שמי בונה ומחריב עולמות**. יודע היה בצלאל לצרף אותיות **שנבראו** **שמי** **בונה ומחריב עולמות** **וארץ** **בהן שמים** **וארץ**; Gen. R. 1,1, where the Torah figures as the instrument of creation (cf. Logos).

<sup>76</sup> Midr. Tehillim 36,8; Tanḥuma, Buber, Vaera 5; Gaster, *The Sword of Moses*; J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* I, 201, **הרב של משה**; Ascoli, «Sifre Hafalashim,» in *Sinai*, 1941, IV, 236-39. See Targum Jer. Num. 31,8; Sanh. 106ab; **מעשה ישו** in L. Ginzberg, *Ginze Schechter* I, 324 ff., **תולדות ישו**, in Samuel Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen*, pp. 40, 47, 79, 118, 128, 142, 147; Jer. Yoma 3,7; Giṭ. 68a; Num. R. 12,3; Tanh., Buber, Balak, 23.

saying of R. Johanan that the sages transmitted it to their disciples once in seven years. This refers particularly to the twelve and forty-two lettered names of God. We read : « At first the twelve-lettered Name was given to any man. When the impious (פרוצים, sectarians, gnostics?) multiplied, it was entrusted only to the discreet ones (צנועים) among the priests, and they blended it in the chant of their brethren during the priestly benediction. R. Tarfon says. Once I went up to the dais (where the benediction was pronounced) with my maternal uncle. I inclined my ear and heard the high priest blend it in the melody of his brother priests. R. Jehudah cited Rab's teaching that the forty-two lettered Name may be entrusted only to one who is discreet and humble, and in his middle years, who is not given to anger and to drunkenness and is not stubborn. He who knows it and is careful about it and who guards it in purity is beloved above and is liked below, and he is respected by his followmen and he inherits both this world and the world to come. »<sup>77</sup> The Haggadah knows also of a seventy-two lettered Name. It is believed to be the name wherewith God delivered Israel from Egypt.<sup>78</sup> The twelve lettered Name is supposed to be composed of the three words אהיה in Ex. 3.14. The forty-two lettered Name is represented by the abbreviations of the forty-two word prayer ascribed to the first century tanna, R. Nehunya b. Hakanah, אנה בכה, arranged in three letter words : אב"נ ית"ץ קר"ע שט"נ נג"ר יב"ש ;<sup>79</sup> בט"ר צת"ג חק"ב טנ"ע יג"ל פו"ק שק"ו צי"ת.

<sup>77</sup> Kid. 71a. Cf. Eccl. R. 3.11; Hekalot R., 13; Bet Ham. III, 93. Scholem, *op. cit.*, 46 ff.

<sup>78</sup> Gen. R. 44.19 and notes by Theodor; Pesikta R. 15, 78b. Alpha Beta of R. Akiba, letter He, Bet Ham. III, 23-25.

<sup>79</sup> I. Davidson, *Ozar Hashirah V'hapiyyut* I, 285, no. 6242; *Nehora Hashalem*, p. 12. These speculations bear a strong relationship to the teachings of the Marcosian Gnostics regarding the names of deity. « The unoriginated and inconceivable Father, » they held, enunciated his whole name as consisting of thirty letters, which correspond to the names of the Aeons and figured as instruments of creation. Irenaeus, *op. cit.*, I, 14.

ed as the combination of the letters of יהוה אהיה יהוה, written in full, viz., אֶלֶף דָּלֶת נוּן יוֹד הָא וָאוּ יוֹד הָא אֶלֶף הָא יוֹד הָא אֶלֶף הָא The seventy-two lettered Name is derived from the three verses, Ex 14.19-21 (וַיִּסַּע וַיָּבֹא וַיֵּט), each of which contains seventy-two letters. The letters of these verses are fantastically arranged in three lettered words by reading the letters of וַיִּסַּע and וַיָּבֹא forward and of the middle verse וַיֵּט backward.<sup>80</sup> According to the Hebrew book of Enoch the mysterious great name of God was confided to Metatron, who entrusted it to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra, and Ezra to R. Abbahu, and R. Abbahu to R. Ze'era, and R. Ze'era to the men of faith (אֲנָשֵׁי אֱמוּנָה = mystics) and the men of faith to their disciples (אֲנָשֵׁי אֱמוּנָה לְבַעֲלֵי אֱמוּנוֹת) to guard it and to cure with it all sicknesses.<sup>81</sup>

Rationalists looked with disfavor upon the extravagant speculations regarding the Name. Maimonides considers the twelve lettered name inferior in sanctity to the Tetragrammaton. In his opinion it was «not a simple noun, but consisted of two or three words, the sum of their letters being twelve.» These words were employed as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton in the manner of the substitute Adonai, but of more distinctive character. Similarly the forty-two lettered name, he maintains, could not possibly constitute one word but rather «a combination of words of metaphysical character conveying a correct notion of the essence of God.» «*Shem hameforash* applied neither to the Name of forty-two letters nor to that of twelve but only to the Tetragrammaton.» Whereas all other names for God are homonyms, the Tetragrammaton is the

<sup>80</sup> Lekah Tob, ad loc.; Responsum of R. Hai Gaon, *Ozar Hageonim*, Hag. p. 23 and art. «Names of God» in *J.E.* IX, 164, where a table of the 72 tri-lettered names is given. See also שְׁעוֹר קוּמָה in Eisenstein's *Ozar Midrashim* II, 562a.

<sup>81</sup> Sefer Hanok, *Bet Ham.*, II, 117.



distinct name of God, denoting something peculiar to Him which is shared by no one else.<sup>82</sup>

Maimonides warns against the theurgic uses of the Divine names. « You must beware of sharing the error of those who write amulets (*kame'ot*). Whatever you hear from them, or read in their works, especially in reference to the names which they form by combination, is utterly senseless; they call these combinations *shemot* and believe that their pronunciation demands sanctification and purification, and that by using them they are enabled to work miracles. Rational persons ought not to listen to such men, nor in any way believe their assertions. »<sup>83</sup>

Cabalists, on the other hand, found a fertile field for their activities in the occult manipulations of the letters of the Divine names. Through such combination they believed themselves able to work miracles. Various uses of this type are enumerated in the question concerning the Name addressed to Rab Hai Gaon. Excepting the talmudic reports of the miraculous uses of the Name, he categorically rejected all subsequent claims as based on mere hearsay and credulity and denounced them as sheer nonsense.<sup>84</sup>

#### 4. God's Attributes.

While the Tetragrammaton was revealed by God to Moses,<sup>85</sup> it was also believed to have been discovered by the

<sup>82</sup> *Guide* I, 62; *Biur Shemot Kodesh Vehol*, ed. Gaster, *Debir* I, 194 f.: וזהו שאומר עצמו שמו ושמו עצמו cf. *Kuzari* IV, 3.

<sup>83</sup> *Guide* I, 61, tr. Friedlander, p. 90 f.

<sup>84</sup> *Oẓar Hageonim*, Ḥag. pp. 16-17 : ... אליו וכיוצא בהם דברים במלים. וכל אלה דברי רוח. Albo, *Ikkarim* II, 28, ed. Husik, Vol. 2, pp. 285-6. Cf. *Sefer Razi'el Hamalak*, Amsterdam, 1701, p. 2b. The term *Baal Shem* came to figure prominently as a theurgist and folk healer, particularly after the spread of Lurianic Cabbalah. See Abraham Kahana, *Sefer Haḥasidut*, pp. 20 ff. Reference is made to שם בעלי שם in 'ס' מלחמות ה' in *Maḥzor Viṭri*, p. 738.

<sup>85</sup> Ex. 6,2-3,



unaided reason of man. Human intelligence expressing itself in naming objects, found also the name God. R. Aha says that when the Holy One was about to create man, the angels dissuaded Him. « What is man that Thou rememberest him? »<sup>86</sup> « His wisdom will exceed yours, » God replied. While the angels proved unable to find the names of animals, beasts and birds, « the man gave names to all cattle and the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field. »<sup>87</sup> Himself he called Adam because of his origin out of the earth (*Adamah*). « And what is My name? » The Holy One asked him. « It is fitting to call Thee Yahweh (= Adonai), for Thou art the Lord of all Thy creatures, » Adam replied. R. Aha adds : « The Holy One said, 'I am Yahweh; that is my name;'<sup>88</sup> that is the name which Adam gave Me; that is the name which I specified for Myself; that is the name which I agreed upon with the ministering angels.' »<sup>89</sup>

To reconcile this belief with the statement of Gen. 4.26 that in the days of Enosh men began to call upon the name of Yahweh, the Rabbis interpret the latter to mean that in the days of Enosh men began to call their idols by the name of Yahweh.<sup>90</sup>

The other names of God are all of human origin. R. Johanan cites R. Simeon b. Yohai's teaching that Abraham commenced to

<sup>86</sup> Ps. 8.5.

<sup>87</sup> Gen. 2.20.

<sup>88</sup> Isa. 42.8.

<sup>89</sup> *Pesiḳta* R. 14, pp. 59b-60a, on I K. 5.11. Gen. R. 17.4 cites the additional saying of R. Aha in the name of R. Hiyya.

<sup>90</sup> Thus Targum Onkelos reads חלו. Jonathan states : הוא דרא דביומוהי : שריאו למטעי ועבדו להון מעוון ומכנין לטעותהון בשום מותרא דיי Gen. R. 23, 16 interprets the word הוחל as לשון מרד. Midrash Aggada, ad. loc. states : נעשה שמו של הקב"ה מחולל שעשה ע"ז ומנעו עצמם מלקרא בשם ה' : Rashi explains ד"א הוחל, התבטל, כמו לא יחל דברו (במדבר ל. ג) כתרגומו לא יבטל. (לשון חולין) לקרא את שמות האדם ואת שמות העצבים as הוחל explains See Kashner, *Torah Shelema*, n. 159.

call the Holy One by the name of *Adon* = Lord (אדני יהוה) (במה אדע וכי' <sup>91</sup> Hannah was the first to call Him *Zebaoth*. <sup>92</sup> The other designations of the Holy One represent human efforts to make His being real to themselves. They are descriptive of His nature and actions and may be classed as *divine attributes*. The Mekilta regards them as terms of praise, and lists among them : « God, » « Judge, » « Almighty, » « [Lord of] Hosts, » « I am that I am, » « gracious and merciful, » « long-suffering and of great kindness and true, » and « Almighty Lord. » <sup>93</sup> The Talmud includes the following seven among the sacred names that may not be erased : אלהים (אלהיך אלהיכם), אהיה, אל, אלהים (אלהיך אלהיכם), אשר אהיה, אדני, שדי, צבאות <sup>94</sup> יה, יהוה, צבאות, אלהי ישראל, אלהים חיים, ומלך : Ex. 34.6-7 : <sup>95</sup> עולם, אל, שדי, רחום, וחנון, רם ונשא, שוכן ער, מרום וקדוש שמו.

The Midrash knows of seventy names of God of biblical origin. <sup>96</sup> The late Hebrew book of Enoch refers to ninety-two names without listing them. <sup>97</sup> Marmorstein discusses ninety-one

<sup>91</sup> Gen. 15.8; Ber. 7b; cf. Sifre, Deut. 317 and *Yalkut Hamakiri*, Ps. 22.12: עד שלא בא אברהם אבינו לעולם כביכול לא היה הקב"ה מלך אלא על השמים. משבא אברהם אבינו המליכו על השמים ועל הארץ.

<sup>92</sup> I Sam. 1.11, Ber. 31b, and Tosafot.

<sup>93</sup> Ps. 89.9. Tractate Kaspā, tr. J. Z. Lauterbach III, 181.

<sup>94</sup> Shabuot 35a, b; Soferim 4.1. Maimonides presents these seven with some variations : ושבועה שמות הם, השם הנכתב יו"ד ה"א ו"ו ה"א והוא : ואלהי, שדי וצבאות השם המפורש או הנכתב אדני, ואל, אלוה, ואלהים ואלהי, שדי וצבאות השם הנכתב... ואלה, ואלהים, (ed. Wilna) *H. Yesode Hatorah* 6.2 and *Kesef Mishneh*, *Yoreh Deah* 276, 12.

<sup>95</sup> *Sefer Yezirah* 1.1.

<sup>96</sup> Num. R. 14.12; an incomplete list is given in Mid. Zuṭṭa to Canticles, ed. Buber, p. 8; *Yalkut Hamakiri*, ed. Buber, Psalms, 24.35. Mid. Hagadol to Gen. 46.8 gives the full list. See Konovitz, *Haelehut*, 1.5, where 71 names are listed.

<sup>97</sup> *Bet Ham*, II, 116.

terms for God in Rabbinic literature.<sup>98</sup> To these may be added numerous creations of the Cabbalists, *Payyetaṇim* and philosophers.<sup>99</sup> The above quoted Midrash comments that the seventy names are those expressed directly, but the indirect names are numberless.<sup>100</sup> The Zohar regards the whole Torah as composed of God's names.<sup>101</sup>

Upon examination, some of the names in the Midrash and in Marmorstein's study can be admitted only by a most liberal stretch of the imagination. We refer to such designations as אדם, איש, אש, אריה, עופר האילים, צבי, נשר. Some of them are dynamic symbols of life, light, power, truth, justice, etc. serving to intimate God's nature. Others are metonyms derived from some association with God in the text of Scripture. Still others express His relation to the world and to man. We may group them into terms expressing God's :

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.*, Ch. III.

<sup>99</sup> Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, pp. 498-500 presents a number of rare names. See *Midrash Talpiyyot*, art. כְּנוּיֵי הַמְדוּת, pp. 407 ff. for Cabbalistic and J. Klatzkin, *Oẓar Hamunahim Hapilosufim*, 4 vols., for philosophical additions.

<sup>100</sup> Sefer Hanok, *Bet Ham.* II, 114.

<sup>101</sup> *Zohar*, III, 73. See Naḥmanides, Com. Gen. 1.1. Muhammad, while stressing the unity of God, refers to many names of God. In Quran 20.7 he declares : « God, there is no god but He! His are the excellent titles. » According to a tradition of Abu Huraira, he taught : « Verily there are ninety-nine names of God, and whosoever recites them shall enter Paradise. » These names all express some quality of God, such as Merciful, Creator, Clement, Majestic, etc. The reason offered for this multiplicity of epithets is that God may be ever addressed by a name most suited to the needs of His petitioner. In confessing sin, a man addresses God as « The Forgiving » or « The Acceptor » of repentance; when in need of sustenance he may invoke God as « the Provider. » In perplexity he may turn to God as « the Director, » etc. « To assist in the repetition of these names, a rosary of one hundred beads is used. The Wahabites, however, use their fingers, believing that to have been the custom of Muhammad. The name of *Allah* is recited first or last to make up the hundred. » (Edward Sell, art. « God, Muslim, » *H.E.R.E.*, VI, 301.)

- a) reality : אהיה אשר אהיה, היה הוה ויהיה, אחד, יחיד, אמת, חי, חי : אלהים חיים.
- b) personality : אני, אתה, הוא, פנים, איש, אדם.
- c) mystery : נורא, נפלא, מסתתר, קדוש, הקדוש ברוך הוא, רואה ואינו : נראה, יושב בסתרו של עולם.
- d) eternity : ראשון, אחרון, עתיד יומין, שוכן עד (ש' עדי עד), קדמוני : של עולם, עתידו של עולם.
- e) sublimity : נשגב, נשא, רם, עליון, בחר, דגול מרבבה.
- f) beauty : צה ואדום, הדר, הוד.
- g) wisdom : חכם, מבין, בעל מחשבות, יודע מחשבות, חוקר לבבות, בוחן : לבבות, בוחן כליות.
- h) moral excellence : תמים, צדיק, חסיד, טוב, ישר, הטוב והמטיב, הרחמן, רחמנא, חנון ורחום, ארך אפים, ורב חסד, נוקם ונוטר, נאמן, הימנותא. בעל הנחמות, ב' הפקדון, ב' הרחמים, ב' השבועה, ב' המשפט, מי שענה. אביר, אדיר, גבור, הגבורה, עוז, צבאות, שדי, אל, אלהים, i) might : גאון, חזק, מגדל עוז, [הצור].
- j) nature symbols : אש, אריה, נשר, צבי, צור, עופר האילים.
- k) relations to (1) space : שכינה, מקום, שמים, גבוה, גבהות העולם, רומו של עולם [רם ונשא, עליון], מעון, מרום, מעלה. בורא, יוצר, פועל, קונה, רוגע, בעל הבית, (2) world : בעל הבירה בעל מלאכה, צור עולמים, רבון העולם (ר' העולמים), רבש"ע, יישרו של עולם, צדיקו של עולם, גדול העולמים, אלופו של עולם, מי שאמר והיה העולם, כבשונו של עולם, כבודו של עולם, יחדו של עולם, מזגא דעלמא. מרותיה של עולם, עשירו של עולם, שלום העולמים, הי העולמים, מרן די בשמיא.
- (3) Israel : אלהי ישראל, שומר ישראל, צור ישראל, לבו : (לבן) של ישראל, אביר יעקב, (א' ישראל), תוקפיהו של ישראל. אב, אח, דוד, ירד, גואל, שומר, רועה, עד, ריין, (4) Man : שופט, מרי (מרן), אדון, מלך, ממ"ה, קורא הדורות, אב לכל באי עולם,

These and the numerous other designations of God clearly convey the meaning of God in the life and thought of the Jewish people. The freedom with which they are used indicates

that the Jewish religious consciousness was clear regarding their symbolical significance and was not troubled by their possible misunderstanding. To the Jewish mind they conveyed provisional and figurative but nonetheless real presentations of the deepest truths of religion, of God's being, His transcendence and His nearness, His baffling mysteriousness and His clear light and accessibility. The conviction was firm — though not philosophically demonstrated — that while God is one and unique, nameless and inscrutable, He acts outward upon the universe, revealing attitudes and ways to which names may be given. But these are human creations and consequently apply to God only provisionally. Hence great caution must be exercised in their use. We are told that a certain man invoked God in these terms : « The great God, the mighty, the awe-inspiring, the strong, the powerful, the feared, the omnipotent, the forceful, the true and the revered. » When he finished praying, R. Ḥaninah rebuked him : « Have you exhausted the praises of your Master? Why all these attributes? Even the first three, had they not been spoken by Moses in the Torah<sup>102</sup> and fixed by the Men of the Great Synagogue in the *Tefillah*, we would hesitate to speak them. And you heap up all these! It is like a person who owned myriads of golden dinars and was praised for possessing some silver coins. Is not such praise an offence to Him? »<sup>103</sup> « 'Who can express the mighty acts of the Lord? Who can proclaim all His praise?'<sup>104</sup> Rabba bar bar Ḥana said in the name of R. Johanan : 'He who details the praises of the Holy One more than is proper

<sup>102</sup> Deut. 10.17.

<sup>103</sup> Ber. 33b. The parallel account in Jer. Ber. 9.1 reports this incident as having occurred to R. Johanan and R. Jonathan. In Ket. 8b Judah bar Nahmani approvingly praised God as « the great in the abundance of His greatness, mighty and strong in the abundance of His fear, reviving the dead by His word, doing great things beyond searching out and wondrous things without end ».

<sup>104</sup> Ps. 106.2.

will be extirpated from the world'...<sup>105</sup> » R. Judah of Kefar Giburiyah (or of Gibbor Ḥayyil) interprets the words of Ps. 65.2 דומיה תהלה לך (literally : « praise befitteth Thee ») as « for Thee silence is praise. »<sup>106</sup> Since God's praises cannot be expressed adequately, it is most becoming for man to remain silent before Him.

Despite these exhortations, the praises of God in Jewish worship reached the extravagant. Both the formal liturgy and the *piyyuṭim* abound in them. In many instances they assume the form of wearisome enumerations of divine honorifics, strung together alphabetically. However, at times — as in portions of the Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services — they rise to ecstatic heights, producing an overpowering sense of mystery and awe before the supreme majesty and glory of the Holy One.

<sup>105</sup> Referring to Job 37.20.

<sup>106</sup> Meg. 18a; Jer. Ber. 9.1; Midr. Ps. 19.2. For the use of these passages in support of the doctrine of negative attributes see Maimonides, *Guide* I, 59,

DU PROBLÈME LITTÉRAIRE  
AU  
PROBLÈME RELIGIEUX

RENÉ DUSSAUD

Membre de l'Institut

ON ne saurait trop admirer la science et l'ingéniosité qui ont été déployées au cours des siècles dans l'étude du Pentateuque. Il faut rendre hommage tout d'abord au soin apporté dans leur tâche par les copistes successifs de l'Ancien Testament. La découverte récente de manuscrits hébreux dans la fameuse grotte du désert de Juda en apporte une preuve nouvelle.

L'examen paléographique de ces documents par M. John C. Trever les reporte tous avant notre ère<sup>1</sup>. Le R.P. de Vaux a signalé, d'autre part<sup>2</sup>, qu'il avait pu reconstituer quarante petites jarres restées dans la grotte; toutes sont du même modèle de la fin de l'époque hellénistique, antérieures à l'époque romaine. Si on admet que ces jarres, évidemment établies sur commande et à loisir pour une « bibliothèque » déterminée, ont été cachées dans la grotte quelque temps plus tard, on voit que le diagnostic de M. Trever est en parfait accord avec le renseignement archéologique apporté par le R.P. de Vaux.

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Le travail critique sur l'Ancien Testament a effectivement commencé avec l'œuvre remarquable des Massorètes. Cepen-

<sup>1</sup> BASOR, no 113, févr. 1949, p. 6 et suiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes rendus* Académie des Inscriptions, séance du 8 avril 1949.



dant, il faut attendre le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec Spinoza (mort en 1677), pour qu'on envisage d'aborder les problèmes religieux en se fondant sur la simple raison. Dans son *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678) Richard Simon a posé, dans ce sens, des règles précises. Il vit se dresser contre lui non seulement Bossuet, mais aussi les pasteurs protestants et même les rationalistes. « Aujourd'hui, a récemment déclaré le professeur d'exégèse à l'Institut Catholique de Paris, M. l'abbé André Robert, nous rendons hommage à la sincérité des intentions de Richard Simon, à ses précieuses intuitions, à son immense érudition, à la rigueur de sa méthode. »<sup>3</sup>

Ce mouvement aurait simplement laissé le souvenir d'une manifestation polémique si Jean Astruc (mort en 1766) n'avait pas inauguré la recherche critique des sources de la Genèse. Eichhorn étendit la méthode à tout le Pentateuque alors que les études philologiques faisaient de grands progrès avec Schultens et Ewald. Grâce à Ed. Reuss, à Graf et à J. Wellhausen, pour ne citer que les principaux exégètes, on pouvait penser avoir atteint une mise au point définitive. De fait, à partir de 1878, les *Prolegomena* de Wellhausen firent loi. L'œuvre la plus ancienne paraissait avoir été celle des prophètes, puis serait intervenue la découverte du Deutéronome, enfin, au temps de l'exil, aurait été constitué le Code sacerdotal (Priestercodex) et l'ensemble, vers 445, aurait constitué le Pentateuque à peu près tel que nous le possédons.

Entre temps, les découvertes de l'orientalisme apportaient une importante contribution. La stèle de Mésa vint heureusement confirmer le Livre des Rois et, de leur côté aussi, le déchiffrement des textes assyro-babyloniens. Les tablettes d'el Amarna révélèrent dans le Proche Orient un monde en effervescence et le Code d'Hammourabi incita au comparatisme.

Les vues des panbabylonistes firent long feu; mais la faveur si légitime accordée aux Hittites et l'engouement sus-

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, fasc. XX (1947), col. 630.

cité par les Hourrites, surtout quand on croyait que ces derniers appartenaient aux Indo-européens, reléguèrent les Sémites à l'arrière plan, tout au moins jusqu'à l'Exode des Israélites. S'appuyant sur un anachronisme dans le texte biblique (*Exode*, I, 11) on a placé la sortie d'Égypte sous Ramsès II. Cette basse époque était si bien établie qu'elle a résisté à la découverte de la stèle de Merneptah qui aurait dû la faire écarter.

L'École de critique biblique, ayant déclaré post-exilique le rituel lévitique, en a négligé l'étude. Wellhausen ne nie pas que le sacrifice ait existé de tout temps en Israël; il admet même qu'il eut toujours une grande importance; mais, à son avis, c'était anciennement un geste « naïf » et ce n'est qu'après l'exil que le rituel s'organisa pour fonder la théocratie.<sup>4</sup> Cependant, les pénétrantes recherches de Mannhardt et celles de Robertson Smith, reprises, en ce qui concerne le sacrifice, par Henri Hubert et Marcel Mauss, qui en ont écarté le totémisme; puis les travaux de Sir James Frazer, auraient dû ouvrir les esprits à une compréhension plus large du développement religieux en Israël. Il faut cependant citer l'œuvre remarquable de H. Gunkel et celle de Hugo Gressmann, trop tôt disparu.

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Au cours d'une recherche entreprise pour préciser la lecture des tarifs sacrificiels carthaginois, l'analogie entre ces tarifs et le Lévitique s'est imposée à nous avec une telle force qu'elle ne nous a laissé d'autre ressource que de conclure à l'identité primitive des deux rituels.<sup>5</sup> Cependant, aux rapprochements que nous proposons en 1921, on opposait, non

<sup>4</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 5<sup>e</sup> éd., p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Les Origines cananéennes du Sacrifice israélite*, Paris, 1921. Une deuxième édition mise à jour a été établie par les Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1941.

sans quelque raison, que ces rapprochements étaient peu nombreux et de date récente puisque les tarifs carthaginois n'étaient pas antérieurs au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. Aussi les critiques, notamment Alfred Loisy, les écartèrent résolument. Seul, Hugo Gressmann y prêta attention.

Depuis, sont apparus les textes phéniciens de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, et, avec ce recul du temps, on eut la surprise de constater que les contacts qu'on pouvait établir de part et d'autre se multipliaient, ce qui témoigne que les documents bibliques, dans l'ensemble, remontent à une époque plus ancienne qu'on ne le pensait.<sup>6</sup>

Ainsi M. Theodor H. Gaster a relevé, dans la littérature d'Ugarit, vingt-quatre termes sacrificiels qui se retrouvent dans l'Ancien Testament, et il conclut : « la terminologie sacrificielle d'Israël était déjà en usage à Ras Shamra au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, sinon plus tôt. »<sup>7</sup> Voilà qui met en défaut les déductions tirées de considérations littéraires.

Mais rien ne vaut une constatation matérielle. Elle a été apportée par les fouilles que M. Harding et le R.P. de Vaux ont entreprises, en 1949, dans le sol même de la grotte qui, aux confins de la mer Morte, a fourni la bibliothèque hébraïque désormais célèbre. Plusieurs centaines de débris de manuscrits ont été recueillis. Quelques-uns en écriture du type de Lakish, donc pré-exilique, ont été identifiés par le P. de Vaux avec des passages du Code de Sainteté (*Lévit.*, XVII-XXVI). Il en résulte que ce dernier a été rédigé avant l'exil et qu'il est antérieur à la thora d'Ezéchiel.

Cela explique les traits d'archaïsme dont il est empreint. Ainsi les fidèles sont autorisés à immoler eux-mêmes les victimes qu'ils offrent à condition de les présenter à Yahvé (*Lév.*, XVII, 5; 8; 9). Le rituel des fêtes conserve encore son carac-

<sup>6</sup> Voir nos *Découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., 1941.

<sup>7</sup> Theodor H. Gaster, *The Service of the Sanctuary : a study in Hebrew survivals*, dans *Mélanges syriens*, p. 580.

tère agraire (*Lév.*, XVII, 9-17). La mention du grand-prêtre n'a rien de surprenant puisqu'à Ugarit il est fait mention d'un *rab kohanim*. Nous n'avons malheureusement pas la copie complète du Code de Sainteté; elle aurait donné un vif intérêt aux variantes qu'elle aurait certainement révélées, car le texte massorétique témoigne de quelque flottement. Pour n'en donner qu'un exemple, il faut corriger *Lév.*, XVII, 14, d'après le texte massorétique de *Lév.*, XVII, 11 : « l'âme de la chair est dans le sang » — entendez dans le sang de la victime qui s'écoule.

Par l'imposition de la main, l'offrant a identifié son âme à celle de la victime, pour permettre au prêtre, qui porte le sang de la victime sur l'autel, de procurer l'expiation de l'offrant. En effet, le texte précise : « car c'est le sang qui procure l'expiation de l'âme. » Existe-t-il un autre rituel aussi précis que le Lévitique et comportant une explication aussi nette des opérations? La notion de sainteté si fortement exprimée, et dont nous pouvons dire qu'Ezéchiel s'est inspiré, n'est que le transfert sur le nom de Yahvé d'une notion très ancienne, celle du sacré si bien mise en valeur par Robertson Smith.

Il s'agit donc de soumettre à une révision complète les commentaires bibliques en usage, en abandonnant le plan uniquement littéraire, dont l'insuffisance est éclatante, pour aborder le plan religieux fondé sur l'histoire des religions et les découvertes philologiques récentes.

Ces dernières attestent que, chez les Israélites comme chez les Cananéens, régnait le même culte du dieu El. Même mécanisme des apparitions : El se manifeste surtout en songe et la grande récompense qu'il accorde à ses fidèles consiste en une progéniture. Déjà la parole de El comporte, dans les textes de Ras Shamra, la Sagesse (*h k m*); il est le maître du monde. Les Cananéens professent à son égard une soumission absolue; ils y rattachent leur idéal de justice, notamment envers la veuve et l'orphelin.

Les Cananéens connaissent Yahwé (*Yw*) en temps que fils de El et de Elat. On peut supputer que la réforme de Moïse consista à remplacer El, dieu des patriarches, par Yahwé. Les prophètes s'attachèrent à reporter encore sur Yahwé les fonctions de Ba'al. Cela résulte de Jérémie, X, 12-13. Dans le premier de ces versets, Yahwé manifeste l'activité de El : 1° avec la puissance, il crée la terre; 2° avec la sagesse, il organise le monde; 3° avec l'intelligence, il déploie le ciel. L'activité empruntée à Ba'al est décrite au verset 13 : il fait entendre le tonnerre; il amoncelle les nuées; il lance les éclairs qui accompagnent la pluie; il déchaîne le vent.<sup>8</sup>

Dès lors, on comprend que nombre de travaux aient déjà trouvé dans les textes d'Ugarit un précieux secours pour une meilleure intelligence du texte de l'Ancien Testament. Il nous suffira de citer le beau mémoire du professeur J. Morgenstern sur le psaume 82<sup>9</sup>, comme modèle de la nouvelle exégèse qui s'offre à l'activité de l'*Hebrew Union College*.

<sup>8</sup> Comparer II AB, IV-V, 68-71.

<sup>9</sup> Julian Morgenstern, *The Mythological background of Psalm 82*, dans *Hebrew College Annual*, t. XIV (1939); cf. *Syria*, 1940, p. 233.

## DIE WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ALLEGORISTIK DES JÜDISCHEN MITTELALTERS

ISAAK HEINEMANN

Jerusalem

DIE folgende Untersuchung möchte ein noch unbeschriebenes Blatt in der Geschichte der Bibelexegese ausfüllen, auf Grund der schärferen Bestimmung des Wesens und der Motive der Allegoristik, zu der frühere Untersuchungen<sup>1</sup> geführt haben.

Allegorien sind bildhaft gemeinte Sinnnganze im Gegensatz zu Metaphern als bildhaften Einzelwendungen. Allegorist kann also nur heissen, wer grössere Einheiten, zumal ganze Erzählungen und Gesetze, bildlich auffasst, auch ohne offenbaren Zwang, nicht aber, wer einzelne Worte, insbesondere etwa Attribute Gottes, metaphorisch deutet. Diese Unterscheidung ist für die Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Schriftauslegung grundlegend. Denn hier ist das Recht der metaphorischen Deutung unbestritten; nur die Allegoristik steht zur Diskussion. Wer, wie es vielfach geschieht, auch Wortdeutungen allegoristisch nennt, nimmt sich die Möglichkeit klarer Fragestellung.

Aber freilich haben Allegorie und Metapher gemein, dass sie neben dem wörtlichen Sinn einen anderen enthalten; im Namen der Allegorie (= Andersrede) kommt dies klar zum

<sup>1</sup> Die wissenschaftliche Allegoristik der Griechen: « Mnemosyne », Serie IV, Vol. II, 1949, 5-18. = האליגוריסטיקה של היהודים ההלניסטים — מחקרים ... לזכרון של יוחנן לוי ז"ל (ירושלם תש"ט) ואילך. — « Altjüdische Allegoristik, » Breslau, 1936 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars; die Sonderdrucke sind vergriffen). In diesen Arbeiten sind auch die Belege für die im folgenden angeführten Tatsachen enthalten.

Ausdruck. Wie verhält sich nun dieser andere, bildliche Sinn zum wörtlichen? Bei der Metapher in der Regel feindlich. Wer Gottes Attribute metaphorisch fasst, sagt damit, dass Gott kein « Antlitz » hat, dass er nicht « herabsteigt » u.s.w. Diese negative Seite der Deutung, die Beseitigung des Wortsinnes also, ist dem Exegeten mindestens so wichtig wie die positive: die Ermittlung des bildlichen Sinnes. Ausnahmsweise bleibt aber der Wortsinn bestehen, ja, er wird von dem Tiefsinn sogar vorausgesetzt. Rahel sagt zu Lea: so mag denn Jakob zur Nacht bei dir schlafen. Nach dem Midrasch (Gen. R. 72.3) geht dies in Wahrheit auf den Todesschlaf; aber Rachels Trennung von Jakob im Tode ist nur die Strafe dafür, dass sie « Geringschätzung des frommen Mannes » gezeigt hat, durch den buchstäblichen Sinn ihrer Worte. Hier wird man also von metaphorischer *Mehrdeutung* sprechen müssen, während in der Mehrzahl der Fälle Umdeutung vorliegt. Auch bei der Allegorie, der « fortlaufenden Metapher » (Quintilian), wird in der Regel der Wortsinn bestritten; Philon betont oft ausdrücklich seine Unmöglichkeit. Aber gilt dies ausnahmslos? Oder gibt es allegoristische Mehrdeutungen, neben den Umdeutungen? Unsere Untersuchung wird jedenfalls mit dieser Möglichkeit zu rechnen haben.

Auch bezüglich der *Motive* der Allegoristik ist vor verbreiteten Ungenauigkeiten zu warnen.

Nach der herrschenden Anschauung dient jede Allegoristik lediglich dem apologetischen Zweck, eine Scheinbrücke zu schlagen zwischen der fortgeschrittenen Erkenntnis und heiligen Urkunden. Sie gilt daher als « ebenso unentbehrliche wie nichtsnutzige Kunst » (Dilthey). Wäre diese Anschauung richtig, so hätten wir kein Recht, von einer « wissenschaftlichen » Allegoristik zu reden.

In Wahrheit ist diese Anschauung aber durchaus einseitig und grossenteils durch die erwähnte Verwechslung der Allegoristik mit der Metaphoristik verschuldet. Die ältesten allegoristischen Deutungen beziehen sich z.T. auf Texte, die keiner



Umdeutung bedurften : in Griechenland auf die Erzählung vom Wettlauf des Achilleus und Hektor (= Sonne und Mond), im Judentum auf die Warnung vor der Ehebrecherin im Spruchbuch, welche die LXX als Warnung vor religiösem Abfall auffasst — gemäss bekannter biblischer Bildersprache, ebenso wie neuere kritische Erklärer. Der Jude Philon billigt die Allegorisierung der Hera und der Hestia — wahrlich nicht aus apologetischem Interesse, sondern weil er sie, im Hinblick auf den Charakter der griechischen Naturreligion, für wissenschaftlich berechtigt hielt.

Aber auch soweit die Allegoristik in den Dienst der Rettung der *Dichter* gestellt wurde, erwies sie der Religion einen sehr zweifelhaften Dienst. Denn diese beruhte ja weitgehend auf dem Glauben an den Wortsinn, den die Allegoristik aufhob. Es ist kein Wunder, dass in Griechenland zu den ersten Allegoristen die Schüler jenes Anaxagoras gehörten, der als Feind der Volksreligion Athen verlassen musste. Plutarch kennt Griechen, die in der allegoristischen Verflüchtigung der Persönlichkeit der Götter « den Abgrund der Gottlosigkeit » erkennen; in Alexandria widersetzen sich fromme Juden der Allegoristik, die den Schöpfungsbericht, die Persönlichkeit der Patriarchen und die Gültigkeit der Ritualgesetze aufhebt.

Aus diesen Tatsachen folgt : die Darstellung der mittelalterlichen Allegoristik wird mit der *Möglichkeit* zu rechnen haben, dass bei der Allegorisierung auch wissenschaftliche Motive mitwirkten, bei ihrer Bekämpfung auch apologetische. Überdies konnte sich bei allen Umdeutungen die Freude am geistreichen Spiel auswirken, deren Bedeutung, auch innerhalb des religiösen Lebens, neuerdings immer klarer geworden ist.<sup>2</sup>

Die folgende Untersuchung gilt nicht der gesamten Exegese des jüdischen Mittelalters. Ausgeschlossen bleiben einerseits die Karäer, die natürlich in besonders geringem Masse zur Abweichung vom Wortsinn neigten<sup>3</sup>, andererseits die Kabbala und ihre

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. insbesondere : Huizinga, *Homo ludens*, 1949.

<sup>3</sup> Über sie vgl. Poznanski, *Studies in Jewish Literature*, issued in

Vorläufer, bei denen eine besonders starke Neigung zu tief-sinniger Umdeutung vorausgesetzt werden darf. Unser Hauptinteresse ist der philosophischen Exegese zugewandt.

# 1. GESCHICHTLICHE VORAUSSETZUNGEN

Die Allegoristik des jüdischen Mittelalters ist nicht, wie die griechische, als originale Schöpfung anzusehen und nicht, wie die hellenistisch-jüdische, als Übertragung der Homerexegese auf die Bibel zu betrachten. In der Umdeutung der Bibel selbst waren ihr Philon und der Midrasch, Christentum und Islam vorausgegangen. Gemeinsam ist allen diesen Vorgängern der Glaube an den göttlichen Ursprung und den Tiefsinn der biblischen Urkunde. Dieser Glaube schuf natürlich für die Allegoristik einen weit günstigeren Nährboden als der neuzeitliche Rationalismus mit seiner Neigung, die Bibel als ein Literaturdenkmal neben anderen aufzufassen, und seinem Bedürfnis nach Eindeutigkeit und Durchsichtigkeit.

Wie weit Philon auf die mittelalterliche Allegoristik gewirkt hat, sei es unmittelbar, sei es durch Vermittlung der Kirche, kann sich erst aus unserer Untersuchung ergeben. Von vornherein ist aber mit dem Einfluss des Midrasch zu rechnen. Nur galt die altrabbinische Exegese den Auslegern des Mittelalters nicht unbedingt als autoritativ, selbst in der Halacha<sup>4</sup>, geschweige in der Aggada.<sup>5</sup> Ein Erklärer wie Raschi, der gewiss zum Anschluss an die Überlieferung neigt, bezieht die Aufforderung des Qohelet zum Lebensgenuss auf Mässigkeit im

*honor of K. Kohler*, 244 ff. In der sexuellen Umdeutung von Gesetzen schliessen sie sich an die Rabbinen an (vgl. « Altjüd. Alleg. » 42; nachzutragen: Ginzberg, *Jewish Studies Kohut*, 1935, 311 über שמשון המותן). Auch hier ist zweifellos nicht Apologetik am Werk, sondern zu weit gehende Auswertung des auch von den Rabbinen bemerkten Strebens der Bibel nach dezenter Umschreibung.

<sup>4</sup> Albeck, *Festschrift B. M. Lewin* (hebr.) 2 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Über ihre geringere Autorität vgl. דרכי האגדה (1950), 187 ff.

Essen und Trinken; die aggadische Umdeutung<sup>6</sup> teilt er zu 8<sub>15</sub> neben seiner eigenen Erklärung mit; nur die Worte ראה טוב 3<sub>13</sub> (vgl. 5<sub>17</sub>) bezieht er auf religiöses Tun. Andererseits geht er über die meisten Aggadisten hinaus, wenn er im Spruchbuch nicht nur die gute Frau als Allegorie der Thora auffasst, sondern auch die schlechte als Sinnbild des Götzendiensten (1<sub>1</sub>) oder des Unglaubens (5<sub>3</sub>) nimmt<sup>7</sup>. Offenbar hat er aus dem Titel des Buches geschlossen, dass es « Gleichnisreden » enthielt; es darf aber auch angenommen werden, dass nach seiner Ansicht die Allegorisierung der guten Frau notwendig die der Verführerin nach sich zieht. Diese Forderung folgerichtiger Deutung erhebt Raschi in voller Klarheit in der Einleitung zur Erklärung des HL: unter den midraschischen Deutungen fand er sowohl einheitliche wie fragmentarische (מפוזרים), die sich nicht an die Reihenfolge der Bibel halten; er lehnt die letzteren nicht völlig ab, auf Grund der Anerkennung der Vieldeutigkeit der Schrift; aber er selbst hält sich methodisch an die ersteren. Er geht also den Weg des Targum, da ja auch sein Kommentar zu zusammenhängender Lektüre bestimmt ist, während die Midraschim nur Fragmentsammlungen bieten<sup>8</sup>; grundsätzlich weicht er von den Rabbinen nicht ab. Wir erwähnen seine Haltung nur, da sie zeigt, dass dem mittelalterlichen Erklärer trotz seiner Bindung an die alte Aggada ein weiter Spielraum blieb.

Den *Arabern* entnehmen die meisten jüdischen Philosophen die Terminologie. Diese ist nicht gerade eindeutig. Man bezeichnet die Allegoristen als bāṭinijja; aber بطن (= בטן) steht ganz allgemein von dem « inneren Sinn » der Schrift, den viele Erklärer auch neben dem äusseren (ظهر) gelten liessen. Von jeder Art Umdeutung, insbesondere Metaphorik, kann تاویل

6 « Altjüd. Alleg. » 58; דרכי האגדה 155 ff.

7 « Altjüd. Alleg. » 54. Vgl. über die Auffassung des Midrasch,

8 « Altjüd. Alleg. » 62; דרכי האגדה 137 f.

gebraucht werden, das im Hebräischen meist durch פרוש<sup>9</sup>, selten durch דרש<sup>10</sup> wiedergegeben wird; bisweilen wird es von تطبیق «Parallelisierung» unterschieden,<sup>11</sup> welches Mehrdeutungen (zum Begriff s.u.) wörtlicher und allegoristischer Art bezeichnet.

Für das Recht der Vergeistigung berief man sich auf ein Hadith, nach welchem jeder Koranvers einen «äusseren und inneren» Sinn hat<sup>12</sup>. Aber auch alt- und neutestamentliche Stellen wurden allegorisiert<sup>13</sup>; auch heidnischen Riten wird ein tieferer Sinn zugesprochen; und der Scharfsinn der Allegoristen bestätigt sich sogar — bei einem Kinderliedchen<sup>14</sup>. Man wird hoffentlich nicht erst zu beweisen brauchen, dass die Allegoristik des Islam nicht ausschliesslich aus apologetischen Motiven hervorgegangen ist.

Weit verbreitet war die radikale Umdeutung von Gesetzen und Erzählungen allerdings nicht, zumal in den auf das Judentum wirkenden Kreisen. Wohl ist nach den Lauteren Brüdern der Wortsinn für die Masse, der innere Sinn für die wahrheitskundigen Anwärter des Jenseits bestimmt<sup>15</sup>. Aber selbst in mystischen Kreisen galt der Tadel Ghazzalis gegen die «einaugigen» Batinijs, deren Beschränkung auf den inneren Sinn

<sup>9</sup> Efros, *Philosophical Terms in the More Nebukim* 100; Klatzkin, *Thes. phil.*, III, 210.

<sup>10</sup> Bachja, חובות הלבבות XI g.E.

<sup>11</sup> Bei Ibn Arabi (13. Jahrh.: Goldziher, *Richtungen der Koran-auslegung*, 242 f.). Nach ihm bezeichnet die Sintflut das Meer der Materie, aus welchem man sich in die Arche des göttlichen Gesetzes retten muss; trotzdem ist die Erzählung in all ihren Teilen wörtlich zu nehmen und zu glauben. Nach dem gleichen Mystiker bezeichnet die Kiste des Moses dessen menschliche Anlage, das Wasser die höchste Erkenntnis, die Ammen, die das Kind (nach dem Midrasch!) abweist, die Gesetzgebungen, die die Thora aufhebt.

<sup>12</sup> Goldziher 215. Ghazzali berief sich auch auf einen Koranvers: Goldziher 246,1.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. z.B. Anm. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Goldziher 196; 235.

<sup>15</sup> Goldziher 196; 210; doch vgl. 192.

ebenso einseitig ist wie die Zurückweisung aller Geheimnisse durch die « Grobsinnlichen ». <sup>16</sup> Daher kann es nicht Wunder nehmen, dass sich die Juden wenig um sie kümmerten. Nur Maimuni wirft (More II 25) einen nicht gerade achtungsvollen Blick auf die Umdeutung der biblischen Wundererzählungen durch die « Anhänger des inneren Sinnes ».

Weit ernster nahm man die *christliche* Allegoristik. Wie stellte sie sich dem Auge des Juden dar?

Das N.T. war in den Kreisen der jüdischen Philosophen wohl bekannt. Maimuni weiss natürlich, dass die Christen die Thora « im Widerspruch zur Halacha » auslegen, und meint sogar, dass Jesus sie in einer Weise erklärt, die zu ihrer Aufhebung führen musste <sup>17</sup>; aber es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, dass er in den Evangelien Allegoristik fand; er mag an die Antithesen der Bergpredigt gedacht haben. Auch Paulus ist weit entfernt von der Allegoristik der jüdischen Alexandriner, welche die Personen der Bibel als Symbole von Seelenzuständen auffassten und auch die Gesetze auf seelische Prozesse bezogen, die Beschneidung also als « Ausschneidung alles Überschüssigen aus der Seele » deuteten. Grundlegend für Paulus' Dogmatik ist ja die Lehre von der auf uns vererbten Sünde des Menschen Adam und von dem Glauben des Menschen Abraham, durch den er « gerechtfertigt » wurde; auch die Gesetze waren bis zur Ankunft des Erlösers zu wörtlicher Erfüllung bestimmt. Die Ausnahme, die Umdeutung des Verbotes, dem dreschenden Ochsen das Maul zu verbinden (I Kor 9), bestätigt durch ihre besondere Begründung (« sorgt Gott für die Ochsen? ») die Regel <sup>18</sup>. Auch die Bezeichnung der Christen als « Israel im

<sup>16</sup> Goldziher 237. Reiches Material über Mystiker 259 ff. — D. H. Baneth macht mich überdies freundlich aufmerksam auf W. Ivanow, *Kalami Pir* (Bombay, 1935), S. XXXIV der Einleitung, S. 55 des persischen Textes.

<sup>17</sup> Iggeret Teman S. 18 f. Holub; vgl. über christliche Bibelauslegung Bacher, *Bibelexegese Maimunis* (1896), 16,4.

<sup>18</sup> Auch die typologischen Deutungen I Kor. 10,11; Gal. 4,22; Hebr. 9,9; 11,19 geben den Wortsinn nicht preis.

Geiste » (Rö. 9, 7), ist, wie Jehuda Hallevi (Kus. I 4) wusste, nicht auf allegoristischem Wege gewonnen<sup>19</sup>. Aber frühchristliche Urkunden wie namentlich der Barnabasbrief<sup>20</sup> erklären unter scharfer Polemik gegen die Juden, dass bestimmte Gesetze der Thora (z.B. die von den Propheten bekämpften Opfergesetze) garnicht wörtlich gemeint sein konnten. In weitestem Umfang bediente sich Origenes der Allegoristik zu apologetischer Umdeutung anstössiger Bibelstellen. In seinem Einflusskreise wurde der Wortsinn geradezu als *sensus iudaicus*, die Juden als *carnalis populus* und *amici literae* bezeichnet<sup>21</sup>; und selbst ein Mann wie Pascal, der den « Führer » des Maimuni und dessen allegoristische Deutungen kannte, klagt die Juden wegen völliger Verwerfung der Allegoristik an<sup>22</sup>. Diese Überspannung des zweifellos vorhandenen Gegensatzes wird verständlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Allegorisierung der Bibel der Mission gute Dienste leistete. Ein Prämonstratenser des 12. Jahrhunderts rühmt sich, einen Juden mit Hilfe der Allegoristik widerlegt zu haben<sup>23</sup>; und wenn der Konvertit Wilhelm aus Burgos besondere Freude an allegoristischen Umdeutungen auch da zeigt, wo keinerlei apologetisches Bedürfnis vorlag, also z.B. die Kinder Thr 1<sub>5</sub> als Sinnbilder der Sinne deutet<sup>24</sup>, so geht man nicht fehl in der Annahme, dass er die

<sup>19</sup> Natürlich hat man aber diese Gleichstellung zum Ausgangspunkt für die Umdeutung genommen, sogar bei den Worten Jesu, er sei nur an die verlorenen Schafe des Hauses Israel gesandt: Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums* (1949), 300.

<sup>20</sup> Der Brief des Ptolemaios an die Flora rechnet Beschneidung, Sabbat und Fasten zu dem « typischen » Teil der Bibel; mit dem Erscheinen der Wahrheit ist ihnen der wörtliche Sinn genommen, der geistliche erhalten geblieben.

<sup>21</sup> Harnack, *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeit des Origenes*, II, 47; Schoeps ebd.

<sup>22</sup> Noch Pascal bestreitet, dass die Juden die Allegoristik überhaupt üben, obwohl er Maimuni kennt: Mitteilung meines Schülers Seidmann s. A.

<sup>23</sup> Bacher = « Winter und Wünsche », *Jüd. Literatur*, II, 29,3.

<sup>24</sup> Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens der Juden*, I, 37.



allegoristische Schrifterklärung der Christen allgemein der « fleischlichen » Schriftdeutung seines Volkes für überlegen hielt, auch da, wo sie den christlichen Unterscheidungslehren eine Stütze bot.

Im Zusammenhang mit der altjüdischen, moslemischen und christlichen Allegoristik und ihren Gegenströmungen ist die Allegoristik der Juden des Mittelalters zu begreifen.

## 2. METHODISCHE STELLUNGNAHME

Die Frage nach dem Rechte der Allegoristik konnte zwar im Mittelalter nicht mit voller Schärfe gestellt werden, da man, wie wir sahen, einen Fachausdruck für diese Form der Umdeutung nicht besass. Aber im Rahmen der allgemeinen Frage nach dem Rechte der Umdeutung biblischer Stellen kommt es zu wichtigen methodischen Bemerkungen.

Im VII. Buch seines philosophischen Hauptwerkes behandelt *Saadia* die Frage der Auferstehung. Er hält sich für verpflichtet, die wörtliche, also nicht allegoristische Auffassung der auf sie bezüglichen Bibelstellen zu rechtfertigen. « Wir Israeliten halten uns stets an den Wortsinn, es sei denn, dass er zum Widerspruch führt mit der Wahrnehmung (Eva ist nicht Mutter alles Lebenden, sondern nur der Menschen), mit der Vernunft (Gott ist nicht Feuer, sondern seine Strafe wirkt wie Feuer), mit anderen Bibelstellen (« stellt mich auf die Probe » Mal 3<sub>10</sub>, einzuschränken wegen Dt 6<sub>16</sub>), mit der Tradition (Dt 25<sub>3</sub> « 40 Schläge » abgerundet für 39). Wollte man auch sonst Umdeutungen zulassen, so könnte man auf Grund von Parallelstellen das Verbot des Feueranzündens am Sabbat auf Aufstellung von Truppen beziehen, das des Gesäuerten auf Unzucht, das Verbot, die Vogelmutter mit Jungen zu töten, auf Grausamkeit im Kriege : die Erzählung, dass die Israeliten mitten ins Meer kamen, könnte ihr Eindringen ins feindliche Heer bezeichnen; das Stillstehen der Sonne und des Mondes könnte auf die Fortdauer der Herrschaft, der Schöpfungs-



bericht auf die Wiederherstellung eines Volkes bezogen werden<sup>25</sup>.

Saadia hält also der Allegorisierung von Ez 37 entgegen, dass die uneingeschränkte Umdeutung biblischer Stellen zu ganz unmöglichen Konsequenzen führe und nur aus zwingenden Gründen eine Abweichung vom Wortsinn zulässig sei. So denken « wir Israeliten »; als seine methodischen Gegner sieht er also wohl Araber, wie die Lauteren Brüder, sowie Christen an; er wird aber gewusst haben, dass sich ganz ähnliche Einschränkungen des ta'wil auch im Islam finden<sup>26</sup>, und dass z.B. Augustin in viel stärkerem Masse als Origenes den Wortsinn neben dem allegorischen gelten lässt<sup>27</sup>. Hält man sich an Saadias Gedankengang, so bleibt immerhin für die Allegoristik ein beschränkter, aber nicht unerheblicher Spielraum. Sieht man dagegen auf seine Beispiele, so ergibt sich, dass alle zulässigen und gebotenen Umdeutungen lediglich Einzelheiten betreffen, dagegen die von ihm erwähnten Allegorisierungen sämtlich falsch sind. Man wird hieraus noch nicht schliessen dürfen, dass er de facto alle Allegoristik ablehnt; dagegen liesse sich sogar anführen, dass er dem Spruchbuche ausdrücklich einen inneren Sinn (bāṭin) zuspricht und 31<sub>10</sub> ff. zwar dem Wortsinne nach auf eine tüchtige Frau, aber auch allegoristisch auf einen vorbildlichen Weisen bezieht<sup>28</sup>. Immerhin dürfte ihm, wie vermutlich auch Raschi, der Titel der « Gleichnisreden » die Anregung gegeben haben<sup>29</sup>; irgendwelchen Reiz hat die Allegoristik auf einen so nüchternen Ausleger nicht ausüben können.

<sup>25</sup> Gekürzte Wiedergabe aus dem philosophischen Hauptwerk, VII, 211 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Bacher, *Bibelexegese der Philosophen vor Maimuni*, 26.

<sup>26</sup> Goldziher 134; 201; über islamische Polemik gegen christliche Allegoristik vgl. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter* (1930), 135.

<sup>27</sup> Auch bei der — ihm sehr unbequemen — Erzählung von Davids Schuld lässt er den Wortsinn gelten: Doctr. chr., III 21 f.

<sup>28</sup> Heller, *REJ*, XXXVII, 227; 247.

Von hier aus erklärt sich das Verhältniß *Abraham ibn Esras* zu Saadia. Dieser wendet sich gegen die Allegoristen in den gereimten Vorreden zu seinen beiden Thoraerklärungen.

Nach dem gangbaren Kommentar<sup>30</sup> ist der dritte Weg der Erklärung ein Weg der Finsternis : der Weg derer, die willkürlich allen Dingen einen geheimen Sinn unterstellen und Gesetze und Rechte als Rätsel auffassen. Nach einigen verächtlichen Worten gegen sie gibt er zu, dass sie « in einem Recht haben » : (darin nämlich), dass « jedes Wort und Gesetz, gross oder klein, auf der Wage des Herzens gewogen werden muss », mit Hilfe jener Vernunft, die in göttlicher Weisheit ihre Wurzel hat. Und wenn ein Wort entweder dieser Vernunft oder auch der Sinneswahrnehmung widerspricht, so suchen wir für es einen geheimen Sinn (סוד). Was aber die Vernunft nicht ablehnt, erklären wir nach seiner einfachen Bedeutung : wozu auch Offenbares in Verborgenes verwandeln? Und wenn (Offenbares und Verborgenes) an manchen Stellen miteinander verbunden ist, so ist jenes dem Körper, dieses dem Gedanken zu vergleichen, wie die Beschneidung am Fleische und am Herzen und das holde Geheimnis (סוד ינעם) des Baumes der Erkenntnis : auch hier sind die Worte wahr im buchstäblichen Sinne — wie Nase, Zunge und Beine doppelten Zwecken dienen. — Nach dem unvollständig erhaltenen Thorakommentar<sup>31</sup> ist der erste Weg der christlichen Weisen (הכמי הערלים), nach denen die ganze Thora nur Rätsel und Gleichnisse enthält : sowohl die Erzählungen des ersten Buchs Mose wie die Rechte und Satzungen. So sollen die sieben kanaanitischen Völker die sieben inneren Organe bedeuten (die wir niederzuringen haben) ; die Wöchnerin soll die Kirche bezeichnen, und die Zahl der unreinen Tage soll es beweisen<sup>32</sup> ; die Zahl der

<sup>30</sup> David Rosin, « Reime und Gedichte des Abraham ibn Esra I » = *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars*, 1885, 35 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Rosin, « Reime und Gedichte... II » = *Jahresbericht*, 1887, 57.

<sup>32</sup> Nach Rosin soll mit der Wöchnerin die Jungfrau Maria gemeint sein, da kein Vater genannt ist; mir scheint dies der Andeutung im Text nicht zu entsprechen.

zwölf Stämme soll auf die Apostel des Irrtums hindeuten. Das ist alles eitles Gerede. Jedes Gebot und jede Erzählung sind ihrem Wortlaut gemäss zu erklären, soweit sie dem Geiste einleuchten. Es ist aber freilich richtig, dass manches einen geheimen Sinn hat, — an sich wahr und zugleich rätselhaft ist, wie die Erzählung vom Paradies und vom Baum der Erkenntnis. Stets verbinde sich<sup>33</sup> die Weisheit des (menschlichen) Herzens mit der aus dem Munde des Vaters vernommenen; der sichere Zeuge für all unser Erklären ist die Vernunft des Herzens, die der Heilige uns eingepflanzt; und was wider die Vernunft ist, gilt gleich dem, was den Sinnen widerstreitet<sup>34</sup> ... Finden wir (also) in der Thora, was der Vernunft nicht tragbar ist, so haben wir (den Wortsinn) zu erweitern oder zu berichtigen, nach den Gesetzen der Sprache, die der erste Mensch geprägt<sup>35</sup>. So verfahren wir auch bei Geboten, falls der Wortsinn undenkbar scheint, wie bei dem Gebot: beschneidet die Vorhaut eures Herzens; denn von allen Geboten heisst es, dass man sie tue und durch sie lebe; überdies kann Gott unmöglich die Ermordung anderer verpönen und grausamsten Selbstmord vorschreiben... Fragt man aber: wie können Sätze sowohl dem Wortsinn wie dem Geheimsinn nach richtig sein? — so antworten wir: eben darin zeigt sich die Herrlichkeit der Worte des lebendigen Gottes gegenüber den Weisen der Völker, den Verfassern von Rätselbüchern mit Bildern von Blinden und Stummen (s.u.). Dagegen mag uns Gottes Weg bei der Gestaltung des Menschen seinen Weg (bei der Erteilung der Thora) deutlich machen: auch die Nase hat vier Verrichtungen: das Gehirn zu entlüften und zu ent-

<sup>33</sup> Rosin bezieht die folgenden Bemerkungen nur auf die zuvor erwähnten Mehrdeutungen; sie gelten aber allgemein, auch von den Umdeutungen.

<sup>34</sup> Gemeint ist umgekehrt: was den Sinnen zuwiderläuft, steht mit dem der Vernunft Widerstrebenden auf einer Stufe.

<sup>35</sup> Keine Anspielung auf den göttlichen Ursprung der Sprache (Rosin); zur Erklärung s.u.

schleimen, den Geruch zu ermöglichen und unsere Erscheinung zu zieren.

Beide Stellen zeigen, dass der Verfasser nicht die islamische, sondern nur die christliche Allegoristik ernst nimmt, und zwar weniger wegen der Umdeutung der Erzählungen, auf welche nur die zweite Stelle kurz anspielt, sondern wegen der Leugnung des Wortsinnes der Gesetze. Nun gibt Ibn Esra namens des Judentums zu, 1) dass alles umzudeuten ist, was der — ebenso wie die Thora von Gott gegebenen — Vernunft und auch den Sinnen widerspricht, 2) dass manche Stücke der Thora einen Tiefsinn enthalten. Aber aus beidem folgt nicht, dass der willkürlich angenommene<sup>36</sup> Tiefsinn an Stelle des Wortsinnes treten dürfe. Wo Umdeutung angenommen wird, ist der wahre Sinn festzustellen, nicht nach Belieben der Erklärer, sondern nach den Gesetzen der von Adam geprägten Sprache, d.h. auf Grund des Satzes: « die Thora redet in der Sprache der Söhne Adams », den nicht die Aggada<sup>37</sup> und noch nicht Saadia<sup>38</sup>, wohl aber dessen Nachfolger überall da anwenden, wo sie anthropomorphe Wendungen umdeuten. Gegen diese Forderung methodischer Behutsamkeit würde auch Saadia, an den sich der Verfasser offensichtlich anschliesst, nichts eingewandt haben; deutet er doch an, dass sogar die von ihm verworfenen allegoristischen Deutungen sich auf biblische Metaphern berufen könnten. Dagegen geht Ibn Esra über Saadia hinaus, indem er ein Wohlgefallen an tiefsinnigen Deutungen verrät. Nur, meint er, steht dieser tiefere Sinn dem Wortsinn ebensowenig im Wege, wie das Gebot der Beschneidung dadurch aufgehoben wird, dass wir es als Symbol der Beschneidung der

<sup>36</sup> Nach der zweiten Stelle (Rosin II 58) deuten die Christen die Schrift « wie es ihnen einfällt, mit Zufügung oder Weglassung ».

<sup>37</sup> Bacher, *Bibelexegese vor Maimuni*, 72,1 u.ö. Marmorsteins Widerspruch (*Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, II, 120) scheint mir keineswegs begründet.

<sup>38</sup> Mein früherer Schüler Hochmann s. A. begründete dies damit, dass Saadia die scharfe Scheidung zwischen der Masse und den Wissenden noch nicht kennt.

Herzenstriebe fassen. Ebenso soll die Paradiesgeschichte neben ihrer wörtlichen Bedeutung auch eine tiefere haben, die der Verfasser freilich nicht näher bezeichnet. Ibn Esra wird gewusst haben, dass bei vielen christlichen Auslegern, darunter Augustin, der *sensus mysticus* den *sensus literalis* nicht grundsätzlich aufhebt. Trotzdem legt er den von ihm bekämpften radikalen Allegoristen die Frage in den Mund, wie solcher Doppelsinn möglich sei; aber er tut es nicht zum Zwecke der Apologetik, sondern zum Zwecke des Angriffs. Denn der Doppelsinn ist freilich ausgeschlossen bei Texten, wie etwa Apokalypse 5<sub>6</sub> « ein Lamm mit sieben Hörnern und sieben Augen : das sind die sieben Geister Gottes, gesandt in alle Lande ». Solche Wesen existieren allerdings für niemanden, der seine Augen und seine Zunge zu brauchen weiss<sup>39</sup>. Aber derartige Unmöglichkeiten enthalten die Erzählungen der göttlichen Thora nirgends. Dadurch heben sie sich über die der Christen heraus; und diese begehen den methodischen Fehler, bei der Erklärung des wahren Gotteswortes Grundsätze anzuwenden, die bei ihren menschlichen Urkunden angebracht sein mögen — eine Bemerkung, die dem gegnerischen Standpunkt eben dadurch den Boden entzieht, dass sie ihn von seinen Voraussetzungen aus erklärt<sup>40</sup>.

Weit stärker als Saadiah nüchterne Kühle musste Ibn Esras geheimnisreiche Tiefe den Reiz der Allegoristik empfinden. Wer

<sup>39</sup> Das bedeuten wohl die Worte *המשלים על פי עורים אלמים*.

<sup>40</sup> Ausführlicher erklärt Abarbanel im Kommentar zur Paradiesgeschichte (21 d ed. Hanau) es für den besonderen Vorzug der Thora vor allen Werken menschlicher Weisheit, dass diese entweder ausschliesslich den offenbaren Sinn enthalten, ohne Hinweis auf höhere Lehren, oder nur den inneren Sinn, während der äussere leer und wesenlos bleibt; in der Thora dagegen ist der äussere Sinn den Begebenheiten gemäss und voll Anspielung auf höhere Wahrheit. — Die von Saadia (s.o.) und seinen Nachfolgern grundsätzlich zugegebenen Widersprüche zwischen dem Buchstaben der Schrift und der Erfahrung oder der Vernunft sind durch die Annahme einer nicht peinlich genauen Ausdrucksweise zu beheben und daher mit Kühnheiten wie denen der Apokalypse kaum zu vergleichen.

selbst so gern in Rätseln redet wie er, musste sich durch das Bestreben der Christen, die ganze Bibel als Rätselbuch aufzufassen, stark angezogen fühlen. Dennoch will auch er die Beseitigung des Wortsinnes nur in besonderen Notfällen billigen; und er sagt uns nicht, ob nur einzelne Wendungen umzudeuten sind, wie die « Beschneidung des Herzens », die ja noch niemand wörtlich genommen hat, oder etwa auch Sinnnganze. Auch hier empfangen wir also infolge des Mangels einer klaren Begriffssprache keine völlig eindeutige Antwort auf die Frage der Allegoristik. Klar ist nur, dass er in den weitaus meisten Fällen die umdeutende Allegoristik ablehnt. Aber die kritischen Bemerkungen gegen die christliche Deutungsweise, die er in diesen kurzen, gereimten Einleitungen vorträgt, sind von den Späteren als sehr ergänzungsbedürftig befunden worden. Crescas<sup>41</sup> hält den Christen vor, dass ja sie selbst die Taufe im wörtlichen Sinne üben, wiewohl sie auf die Reinigung von Sünden hinweist: entsprechendes gelte von den Geboten über Levirat und Feiertage. Albo<sup>42</sup> erklärt, die Thora heisse Zeugnis; ebensowenig wie ich in der Aussage « A hat den B am Sonntag getötet » einen uneigentlichen Sinn annehmen darf, ebensowenig sind Figuren oder Umdeutungen<sup>43</sup> bei den Gesetzen der Thora annehmbar. Dies Zeugnis heisst wahrhaft, d.h. wahr im wörtlichen Sinne; es geht nicht an zu sagen, dass das Verbot des Schweinefleisches zeitbegrenzt war (wie nach Paulus) oder sich nur auf den bösen Trieb bezieht (wie nach der Allegoristik)<sup>44</sup>. So gewiss nach der Meinung aller Weisen Erzählungen wie die vom Paradies und seinen Strömen Anspielungen auf höhere, geistige Gegenstände enthalten, so wenig hat man deshalb ihre Existenz bestritten, wie ja auch das Stiftszelt in Wirklichkeit

<sup>41</sup> בטול עקרי תנזרים 77 Deinard.

<sup>42</sup> עקרים III 21.

<sup>43</sup> צורה ist zu wörtliche Wiedergabe von figura.

<sup>44</sup> Nach dem Barnabasbrief 10,2 bedeutet das Verbot des Schweinefleisches, dass man nicht mit Leuten verkehren soll, die Schweinen ähnlich sind.



existiert und doch auf Höheres, Wertvolleres hinweist, und wie beim Menschen Zunge, Zähne und Lippen zwar zum Essen dienen, wie bei den Tieren, überdies aber einem höheren Zwecke als Werkzeuge der Rede<sup>45</sup>. In diesem Sinne haben die Weisen auch das irdische Jerusalem als Gleichnis des himmlischen bezeichnet, ohne deshalb die Existenz des irdischen zu bestreiten.

Der apologetische Seitenblick aller dieser Erklärer auf das Christentum fehlt in der Stellungnahme *Maimunis*. Grundlegend erscheint ihm, nach der Einleitung zum More 6 b f., der Bibelvers « Goldene Äpfel in silbernem Netzwerk — das ist ein Wort, das in seiner doppelten Bedeutung gesprochen ist » so fasst er das schwierige מַצֵּנֶת (57). Die Worte der Propheten enthalten schon im buchstäblichen Sinne recht nützliche Dinge, bei tieferer Auffassung aber die volle wissenschaftliche Wahrheit. So ist mit der Buhlerin Prov. 7<sup>6</sup> ff. die Materie gemeint (u.z. nach III 8 eine schlechte, unempfindliche, im Gegensatz zu der guten Materie, deren Symbol die gute Frau 31,10 ff. ist<sup>46</sup>). Der Wortsinn ist keineswegs verächtlich; vielmehr schrieb Salomo das Buch, « um vor Unzucht und Völlerei zu warnen » (III 8); aber zwischen dieser wörtlichen und der tieferen Bedeutung besteht ein guter Zusammenhang: ist es doch die Materie, die den Geist herabzieht. Die Deutung gründet sich darauf, dass Platon die Materie mit einer Frau vergleicht<sup>47</sup>.

Natürlich bedeuten diese Sätze nicht, dass der Wortsinn *überall* annehmbar sei. Gibt doch Maimuni II 25 unumwunden zu, dass wir an sehr zahlreichen Stellen zu (metaphorischer) Umdeutung greifen müssen, um Anthropomorphismen zu besei-

<sup>45</sup> Geschickte Weiterführung des Schlussgedankes Ibn Esras (Überlegenheit der Thora).

<sup>46</sup> Schon sein Vater hatte diese Deutung vertreten (Rosin, *Ethik des Maimonides*, 52,4). Levi ben Gerson sieht zu 31,10 ff. in der tüchtigen Frau die dem Geiste tadellos dienende Materie, deutet dagegen zu 2,16 und weniger bestimmt zu 5,6 die schlechte Frau als die begehrende Seele; auch er hält aber ausdrücklich am Wortsinn fest.

<sup>47</sup> Ebenso Ibn Roschd: Schmiedl, *Studien über jüd. Rel.-Phil.* (1869), 231.



tigen; und er scheut sich ja auch nicht, Tatsachenberichte als Visionen umzudeuten. Aber anscheinend ist gerade die Allegorisierung nach ihm nur als Mehrdeutung, nicht als Umdeutung, zulässig. Diese Haltung des Erklärers Maimuni erscheint umso merkwürdiger, da der Schriftsteller Maimuni die echte, eindeutige Allegorese nicht verschmäht und seinem Schüler Josef ben Jehuda auf seine Klage über die Untréue der ihm angetrauten « Tochter » Maimunis in gleichem Stile geantwortet hat <sup>48</sup>. Das Festhalten am Wortsinn, neben dem Tiefsinn, ergibt sich bei ihm — nicht wie bei Saadia aus dem Missbehagen darüber, dass uns bei willkürlicher Umdeutung gleichsam der Boden unter den Füßen entzogen wird, und nicht, wie bei Ibn Esra und seinen Nachfolgern, aus wesentlich apologetischen Motiven (sonst würde auch er vor allem auf Gesetzesdeutungen anspielen <sup>49</sup>), sondern aus der Überzeugung, die ihn von vielen Philosophen unterscheidet, dass der echte Volkslehrer zwar die letzten Geheimnisse nur den Erlesenen verkünden darf und kann, aber doch auch der Menge die Grundlehren der Weisheit und Sittlichkeit zu vermitteln hat <sup>50</sup>.

Haben nun die Philosophen diese methodische Haltung zur Allegoristik bei ihren Erklärungen vollkommen durchzuführen gewusst?

### 3. ALLEGORISTISCHE DEUTUNGEN DER PHILOSOPHEN.

Allegorisiert werden durch die Philosophen lediglich Weisheitsschriften und besonders geartete Erzählungen, nicht Gesetze.

<sup>48</sup> Herausgegeben und ausführlich besprochen durch Baneth, *אגרות הרמב"ם* I, 1946, 17 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Ganz beiläufig lehnt Maimuni die Umdeutung der Gesetze ausdrücklich ab: *Sefer hamizwot*, 193 Bloch.

<sup>50</sup> Die Haltung Maimunis zur Frage der Volksaufklärung habe ich *MGWJ*, 1935, 126 ff. ausführlich dargestellt. Zur Ergänzung vgl. Rawidowicz, *Kneset*, 1938, insbesondere 330 ff., der mit Recht betont, dass auch Maimuni an die Unfähigkeit der Menge, sich Geistiges vorzustellen, geglaubt hat.

Wir wissen bereits, dass das Spruchbuch nach den Philosophen « Gleichnisreden » enthält und dass Saadia den beiden Frauen eine ethische, Maimuni und seine Nachfolger ihnen eine naturphilosophische Deutung gibt. Aber auch das HL. konnte ihnen als « Lied der Lieder » nur erscheinen, wenn es als allegorisierende Weisheitsschrift aufgefasst wurde. Gemäss dem Glauben an das Recht der allegoristischen Mehrdeutung schliesst die geistige Deutung den Wortsinn keineswegs aus. Ibn Esra führt eine wörtliche Deutung durch; Gersonides will manche Einzelheiten nur wörtlich nehmen und der Allegorisierung entziehen<sup>51</sup> — ganz im Sinne seines Meisters Maimuni, der ausdrücklich davor gewarnt hatte, bei der Deutung biblischer Gleichnisse jeden Einzelzug ins Bildliche zu übertragen.<sup>52</sup> Ibn Esra schliesst sich der wesentlich nationalen Deutung der Aggada an und weist eine psychologische (auf Verbindung des höheren Seelenteils mit dem Körper) und eine astronomische ab<sup>53</sup>. Maimuni erwähnt die nationale Deutung im Trostbriefe nach Jemen (3 b, 4 d, 7 e), sieht aber selbst in der Beziehung der beiden Liebenden das Symbol der Liebe zwischen Mensch und Gott<sup>54</sup>. Seit seinem Schüler Ibn Aqnin ist die metaphysische Deutung auf die Verbindung des Menschengeistes mit dem aus Gott emanierten « wirkenden Geist » sehr beliebt<sup>55</sup>.

Wie in der Deutung des HL. knüpft die Philosophie methodisch an die Aggada an, indem sie den Satan des Buches Hiob und den mächtigen König Qoh. 9<sub>14</sub> als Symbole des bösen

<sup>51</sup> Salfeld, *Das HL bei den jüdischen Erklärern des MA*, 99.

<sup>52</sup> In der Fortsetzung der oben (vor Anm. 46) mitgeteilten Stelle. Vgl. über solche « gemischte Allegorien » Eduard König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur* (1900), 275.

<sup>53</sup> Einl. zur Erklärung des HL.; Bacher, *Ibn Esras Einl. zu seinem Pentateuchkommentar* (1876), 67.

<sup>54</sup> Besonders schön Hilchot Teschuwa X; weiter Belege aus Mischne Thora und More bringt Bacher, *Bibelexegese Maimunis*, 17,3.

<sup>55</sup> Salfeld ebd. 80 ff.

Triebes fasst: More III 22<sup>56</sup>. Im 45. Psalm ist das Lob des Königs, der die fremde Fürstentochter heimführt, noch heute der katholischen Exegese schwer tragbar<sup>57</sup>: Maimuni sieht in dem König den Intellekt, in den Königstöchteren die Kräfte der Denkseele; dabei wird צר V. 13 als צור gedeutet<sup>58</sup>.

Unter den Deutungen von Erzählungen steht die der Paradiesgeschichte voran. Nicht umsonst gilt sie Ibn Esra, wie wir sahen, als Muster einer Allegorisierung.

Nach Gabirol<sup>59</sup> ist Eden das Göttliche, die Oberwelt, der Garten das Pleroma<sup>60</sup>. Der Strom ist die « Mutter » der Körper, also die Urmaterie; seine vier « Häupter » sind die vier Wurzeln » (Elemente). Adam, der die Dinge benennt, bezeichnet die Vernunftseele, Eva die animalische, die Schlange die begehrende Seele (beides etymologisch begründet)<sup>61</sup>. Der Baum der Erkenntnis symbolisiert den Geschlechtstrieb, die Kleider den Körper<sup>62</sup>. Der Geist, durch das Niedere herabgezogen, kann des ewigen Lebens teilhaftig werden durch den Genuss vom Baum des « Lebens », d.h. der Gotteserkenntnis; diesen

<sup>56</sup> Die Deutung des Königs findet sich bereits bei Bachja, *Herzenspflichten* V 5 gegen Anfang, die des Satan in einem anonymen Hiobkommentar: Bacher, *JQR*, XX, 35; *Harkavy-Festschrift*, 222.

<sup>57</sup> Dagegen lässt Anatoli, *Malmaḥ hatałmidim*, 19 ff., den Wortsinn neben dem Tiefsinn gelten.

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. Bacher, *JQR*, IX, 280 ff., über die Schrift פרקי ההצלחה.

<sup>59</sup> Angeführt in Ibn Esras fragmentarischem Kommentar zu Genesis (abgedruckt bei Friedländer, *Essays on the Writings of I. E.*, 1877, 40 des hebr. Teils).

<sup>60</sup> Reich des Lichtes nach gnostischer Vorstellung. David Kaufmann, *Studien über Gabirol* (1899), 68,3, zieht den (hier durch המון wiedergegebenen) Ausdruck noch nicht heran, erkennt aber die Bedeutung und beweist, dass Pleroma oft durch מלוא wiedergegeben wurde. Zur Erläuterung der Stelle vgl. auch Rosin, *MGWJ*, 1898, 484 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Zur Unterscheidung vgl. S. Horovitz, *Psychologie der Jüdischen Religionsphilosophen*, 115,77.

<sup>62</sup> Deutungen von Thora- und Koranstellen auf Körper- und Seelenkräfte im Islam belegt Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 227; 233.

Weg wehrt freilich das Flammenschwert, d.h. die Sonne, den Unwürdigen <sup>63</sup>.

Maimuni deutet die Paradieserzählung zweimal. Im exoterischen Teile des « Führers », I 2, hält er sich an die Bibel, findet nur, im Anschluss an den Targum, das Essen vom Baum der Erkenntnis habe dem Menschen keinesfalls Ähnlichkeit mit Gott verleihen können; er war ja schon im Ebenbilde Gottes geschaffen; vielmehr sinkt er durch die Hingabe an seine Phantasie und körperliche Genüsse auf die Stufe der « Grössen der Erde » herab, und seine Strafe ist nicht sowohl durch Gottes Willen verhängt, als vielmehr die unausbleibliche Folge seines Abfalles <sup>64</sup>. Wohl mag der Sündenfall nach dieser Erklärung zugleich als Darstellung des ewigen, überzeitlichen Abfalls des Menschen von seiner Bestimmung erscheinen; und eben dies findet Maimuni angemessen einem Buche, das « als Wegweiser der Früheren wie der Späteren », also als Kündler überzeitlicher Wahrheiten und nicht bloss als Chronik einmaliger Begebenheiten, geschrieben ist; aber der äussere Gang der biblischen Erzählung wird durch die Erklärung nicht berührt; man mag sie typologisch nennen <sup>65</sup>; allegoristisch ist sie nicht.

Anders steht es mit jener Erklärung, die er II 30, wo er mit gereiften Lesern rechnet — nicht etwa gibt, sondern dunkel durchblicken lässt, aus Midraschworten, die er ganz ausgezeichnet findet, aber ohne Kommentar lassen will, um nicht « Geheimnisse zu verraten ». Nach diesen bildeten Adam und Eva nur ein Wesen; die Schlange war so gross wie ein Kamel; auf ihr ritt Samael und redete nicht unmittelbar zu Adam, sondern zu Eva; die Schlange befleckte sie mit ihrem Schmutz; und dieser wurde von Israel am Berge Sinai genommen, von

<sup>63</sup> Julius Guttman, *MGWJ*, 1936, 180 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. *MGWJ*, 1938, 389 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Nach Thomas von Aquino, *Summa*, I, 1,10 kann Gott die Zukunft nicht nur durch Worte voraussagen, sondern auch durch (von ihm gefügte) geschichtliche Vorgänge,

den Heiden aber niemals. Letzterer Ausspruch wäre, wie Maimuni betont, undenkbar, wenn die Erzählung wörtlich zu verstehen wäre. Aber auch die weitere Bemerkung, dass der Baum des Lebens einen Umfang von 500 Jahresreisen hatte, teilt Maimuni gewiss nur mit, um zu zeigen, dass diese Aggadisten an die buchstäbliche Existenz des Baumes nicht glaubten. — Offenbar sieht Maimuni in der Paradiesgeschichte die allegorische Darstellung eines rein seelischen Vorgangs; Samael hat keine andere Bedeutung als der Satan in den von Maimuni angeführten Midraschim, der den Abraham und den Isaak versucht; der Baum der Erkenntnis, den Gott dem Menschen nicht offenbart hat noch offenbaren wird, bezeichnet natürlich den Besitz der letzten Wahrheiten, die uns versagt sind; aber der Ausdruck וינחה weist nach der Aggada darauf, dass Gott den Menschen erhöhte und ihm Ruhe gewährte, wie sie den an die Daseinsform des Werdens und Vergehens gebundenen Wesen versagt ist. Im Zusammenhang damit steht eine Bemerkung, die Maimuni ohne Anhalt in der Aggada vorträgt: es sei weise, dass Adams Söhne Kain und Abel genannt werden und gleichzeitig zugrundegehen, obschon sich Gott gegen den Mörder langmütig zeigt, dass dagegen Set Bestand erreichte; offensichtlich sieht er in den ersten Söhnen das Streben nach Besitz und Tand allegorisiert, in Set den — dauerndes Leben verbürgenden — Erkenntnisdrang.

An Maimuni knüpft *Levi ben Gerson* im Thorakommentar an. Zweck der Paradieserzählung ist Belehrung über die Werkzeuge, die Gott dem Menschen zur Erlangung der Seligkeit gegeben hat: 14 a. Diese Seligkeit beruht nach Gersonides darauf, dass unser hylischer Verstand (also die Verstandesanlage) durch den aus Gott emanierten «wirkenden Verstand» Erkenntnisse erhält und so zur aktuellen, den Körper überdauernden Existenz gelangt<sup>66</sup>. Mit dem Garten ist demgemäss der hylische, mit Eden der wirkende Verstand gemeint: 14 b; der

<sup>66</sup> Über solche Deutungen auf den hylischen und den wirkenden Verstand in der Koranauslegung Ibn Sinas vgl. Goldziher, 184,3.

Baum des Lebens ist die intelligible Ordnung der niederen Welt; das « Gute und Böse » meint, wie nach More I 2, das was die Menschen für gut und böse halten, das Angenehme und Unangenehme. Die Flüsse bezeichnen die Einwirkung des hylischen Verstandes auf die anderen Seelenkräfte, die Schlange die Vorstellungskraft, die Engel die Formen, durch deren Vermittlung wir das Intelligible erfassen, das Flammenschwert (das doch nach der Bibel den Weg zum Paradies verwehren soll) den Einfluss des wirkenden Verstandes, der oft blitzartig erfolgt <sup>67</sup>.

Abarbanel fasst in der wörtlichen Deutung den Baum der Erkenntnis gleichfalls als Vermittler der konventionellen Werte und baut auf ihr eine eigenartige kulturpessimistische Geschichtsauffassung auf <sup>68</sup>. Seine allegoristische Deutung (Komm. 28; vgl. 34 b) kombiniert die wesentlich kosmologische des Gabirol und die psychologische des Gersonides. Der Garten in Eden bedeutet die niedere Welt, die sich mit ihren wechselnden Formen innerhalb der « umfassenden Sphäre » befindet; die Bäume und Pflanzen im allgemeinen bezeichnen den Bedarf des Menschen, für den Gott sorgte, der Baum des Lebens die Erkenntnis des Intelligiblen, der des Guten und Bösen die des Politischen. Die vier Ströme bedeuten sowohl die vier Elemente wie die vier Formen der Naturreiche, die als mineralische, vegetabilische, animalische und geistige Kraft auch im Menschen wirksam sind. Aber die Verpflichtung, Eden zu pflegen, hat den Sinn, dass der Mensch seine Seele <sup>69</sup> pflegen und zumal vor den Einwirkungen des Baumes des « Guten und Bösen » behüten soll; zum Genuss seiner Frucht verleitet die Schlange, d.h. Vorstellungs- und Begehrungsvermögen.

Die meisten dieser Allegorisierungen sind durchaus als Mehrdeutungen anzusehen. Ibn Esra sagt, wie wir oben sahen,

<sup>67</sup> Über diese aufblitzende Erkenntnis nach Maimuni vgl. Jul. Guttman, *Philosophie des Judentums*, 178. Über Platon als Quelle dieses Gedankens vgl. Stenzel, *Die Antike*, II, 238 und meine Bemerkung *MGWJ*, 1933, 395. Weiteres über Gersonides' Deutung bei Schmiedl, 227 f.

<sup>68</sup> Ich habe sie *MGWJ*, 1938, 384 ff. eingehend besprochen.

<sup>69</sup> Obschon doch Eden vorher als die Seele aufgefasst war!



ausdrücklich, dass der Wortsinn nicht aufgehoben wird. Gersonides hat die Erzählung von der Erschaffung Evas wörtlich genommen, da er aus ihr folgert, dass der Mann die Zweckursache der Frau sei und deshalb Anspruch auf ihre Botmässigkeit habe; er sieht aber auch in den vier Flüssen die bekannten Weltströme und erkennt «eine besondere Weisheit dieses Gleichnisses (משפ) darin, dass auch seinem Wortsinn Realität zukommt» 14 d. Zweifelhaft ist Gabirols Auffassung. Nach Ibn Esra zu 3,1 (in beiden Fassungen) hat Saadia bestritten, dass die Schlange gesprochen habe, und darin habe ihm Gabirol zugestimmt. Hat er sich die nicht-allegorisierende Deutung Saadias zu eigen gemacht, nach welchem ein Engel statt der Schlange gesprochen hat, oder hat er den Wortsinn völlig verworfen? Sicher scheint mir dies bei Maimuni. Die Übergehung der allegoristischen Deutung im I. Buch, die gewollte Dunkelheit im II. und die ständige Verschanzung hinter anerkannte rabbinische Autoritäten zeigen deutlich, wie sehr er sich der Kühnheit dieser Auslegung bewusst war; und die Ausführung der Aggada über den ungeheuren Umfang des Lebensbaumes kann nur den Sinn haben, dass der Wortsinn nach ihm bereits den Rabbinen unmöglich erschienen ist.

Auch die Deutung des Prologs zu Hiob III 22 ist als Umdeutung, nicht als Mehrdeutung anzusehen. Beruft sich doch Maimuni auf Resch Laqisch ausdrücklich dafür, dass der Satan als Persönlichkeit nicht existiert. Ebensowenig glaubt Maimuni an persönliche Engel. Sowohl die «Söhne Gottes» wie der an die Erde gebundene, nur zufällig unter die höheren Geister geratene Satan sind also nichts als Personifikationen; sie sind nur zu Hause im «Lande: rate!», wie Maimuni den Namen Uz bekanntlich wiedergibt <sup>70</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Weitere Deutungen ganzer Erzählungen von Maimuni sind mir nicht bekannt. Es besagt nicht viel, dass er *Sefer hamizwot* S. 14 Bloch die Deutung erwähnt, nach welcher die Eroberung von Kirjat Sefer die Wiedergewinnung alter Halachot bedeutet (Temura 16 a; Verwandtes «Altjüdische Allegoristik», 36); es kommt ihm dort weit mehr auf die



Die Allegorisierung eines Gesetzes findet sich zwar bei dem Nichtphilosophen Samuel ben Meir, der Ex. 13,9 nicht auf die Tefillin, sondern auf die dauernde Erinnerung an den Auszug aus Ägypten bezog; Ibn Esra hat diese Deutung ausdrücklich abgelehnt.

#### 4. HALBPHILOSOPHISCHE ALLEGORISTIK DER NACHMAIMUNISCHEN ZEIT.

Im Kampf um die Schriften Maimunis ist mehrfach von Männern die Rede, die zwar ihre philosophischen Anschauungen vorwiegend Maimuni verdanken, aber in der Anwendung der Allegoristik weit über ihn hinausgehen<sup>71</sup>. « Was in der Thora steht, von der Schöpfung bis zur Gesetzgebung am Sinai, ist nach ihnen nur Gleichnis ». Insbesondere sollen Abraham und Sara Materie und Form darstellen; die Geburtsgeschichte des Moses könne nicht wörtlich gemeint sein, da sonst Jochebed mit 130 Jahren Mutter geworden wäre; und das wäre ein noch grösseres Wunder als bei Sara; vielmehr ist mit בית לוי allgemein die « Zusammensetzung des Menschen » gemeint<sup>72</sup>. Aber

Angaben über die Geschichte der Tradition an als auf ihre exegetische Anknüpfung. Über die Deutung von Ex. 3,6 « Moses verhüllte sein Antlitz » und 33,21 « siehe, ein Ort ist bei mir » vgl. Bacher, *Exegese Maimunis*, 12. Beide Verse sollen zwar auf Moses' Scheu beim Vordringen zur Erkenntnis und auf seine Rangerhöhung hinweisen, aber doch ihren wörtlichen Sinn nicht verlieren — wie eine Einzelheit der Dornbuscherzählung, die Bezugnahme auf die beiden Schuhe des Moses, im Islam metaphorisch gedeutet wurde, mit und ohne Aufhebung des Wortsinns: Goldziher, 199; 232; 236. Keinesfalls handelt es sich hier um Allegorisierung von Sinnanzen.

<sup>71</sup> Hauptquelle *Minhat Qenaot* und ein Gutachten, das David Kaufmann in der *Jubelschrift Zunz*, 143 des deutschen, 142 des hebr. Teils herausgegeben hat. Einzelnes auch bei S. Horovitz, *Stellung des Aristoteles bei den Juden des Mittelalters* (1911), 17. Diese und die im folgenden angeführten Arbeiten heben den Einfluss des Christentums gebührend hervor.

<sup>72</sup> רמז לכלל הרכבת האדם Kaufmann, 160 hebr.

auch « das Joch der Ausübung der Gebote schütteln sie ab und nehmen keinen Anteil an ihrem Wortsinn » <sup>73</sup>.

In der bitteren Klage der Gegner der Philosophie : « seit die Weisheit sich verbreitet hat, ist es aus mit der Frömmigkeit und der Scheu vor Sünde » <sup>74</sup> liegt gewiss ein berechtigter Kern. Nicht nur die Berührung mit der griechischen Philosophie, sondern auch der Verkehr mit christlichen Freidenkern hat gewiss zu schwerer Erschütterung des traditionellen Glaubens geführt. Wieweit aber ernsthafte Männer einer radikalen Allegoristik huldigten, welche die geschichtlichen Grundlagen des Judentums, mit Einschluss des Auszuges aus Ägypten, in Abrede stellte, und die Verbindlichkeit der Religionsgesetze bestritt, ist aus diesen Anspielungen grundsätzlicher Gegner der Wissenschaft schwer zu entscheiden. Ein Mann wie Jakob ben Abbamari Anatoli zeigt wohl für die Allegoristik starkes Interesse ; er hat mit seinem Gönner, dem sehr freidenkenden Hohenstaufen Friedrich II. (starb 1250), die Kosmologie der Pirque de Rabbi Elieser auf ihren philosophischen Gehalt untersucht, und dieser hat gemeint, der Schnee (§ 3) bezeichne die erste Materie, die alle Formen annehme, wie das Weisse alle Farben annimmt <sup>75</sup>. Aber sein recht einflussreiches Werk Malmad hatalmidim zeigt ihn insofern als Schüler Maimunis, als er grundsätzlich nicht die umdeutende, sondern die mehrdeutige Allegoristik vertritt <sup>76</sup> : « der offenbare Sinn der Schrift stiftet

<sup>73</sup> *Minhat Qenaot*, 153.

<sup>74</sup> Kaufmann hebr., 157.

<sup>75</sup> Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie* (1859), 145.

<sup>76</sup> Gleiches gilt wohl von dem vermutlich ältesten Dokument dieser Allegoristik : der unter Maimunis Briefen (Qobez, II, 38 ff.) befindlichen, von Bacher, *Exegese Maimunis*, 18 ff. kurz besprochenen Abhandlung. Nach ihr ist z. B. Ägypten der Körper (= Philon, *Leg. all.*, II, 59 u.ö.), die guten Könige bezeichnen die Vernunft, Schomron die verwünschte Materie. Mit letzterer Deutung knüpft Vf. ausdrücklich an Maimuni an; überdies bezieht er sich auf Ibn Esra, des gleichfalls die Mehrdeutung, nicht die Umdeutung der allegorisch gemeinten Stellen vertritt. Aber der höhere Wert der geistigen Auffassung tritt deutlich hervor, wenn

Nutzen für alle, der verborgene Sinn besonderen Nutzen für die Vereinzelten » (33 a). Die Patriarchen sind ihm durchweg (z.B. 14 ff.) Persönlichkeiten, wenn er auch ihre Geschichte wesentlich ihres religiösen Gehaltes wegen liest. Und wenn man nach ihm die Gebote des Schofar und des Tallith nur auf Grund der Erkenntnis ihres Sinnes richtig erfüllen kann (Vorrede 5 a), so zeigt dies seinen Gegensatz sowohl zu den Vertretern einer naiven, nicht reflektierenden Frömmigkeit wie auch zu den Verächtern des gesetzlichen Lebens. — Mit dem Urteil über Levi ben Abraham ben Chajim (um 1300) wird man zurückhalten müssen, bis sein Werk *Liwjat Chen* allgemein zugänglich ist; wenn es richtig ist, dass er in seiner Neigung zur Philosophie noch « gemässigt war als Anatoli »<sup>77</sup>, so kann die Allegorisierung der Patriarchenerzählungen in seinem Munde nur homiletisch, nicht aber als Leugnung ihrer geschichtlichen Existenz, gemeint gewesen sein. Völlig sicher ist dies bei Isaak Arama (starb 1494), der als Gegner der Philosophie diese mit Hagar, dagegen die Thora mit ihrer Herrin Sara vergleicht<sup>78</sup>; und wenn ein vorwiegend der Halacha zugewandter Mann wie Moses Isserles die Purimgeschichte allegorisch deutet<sup>79</sup>, so ist das natürlich nicht mehr als geistreiches Spiel — jenen Kühnheiten entsprechend, zu denen die Feststimmung gelegentlich schon in rabbinischer Zeit Anlass gab<sup>80</sup>. Auch Salomo ben

Abraham die Beschneidung des Fleisches, Moses die des Herzens gelehrt haben soll. Hier wird jener Fortschritt, der sich nach christlicher Lehre beim Übergang von Judentum zum Christentum vollzogen haben soll, als innerjüdischer Prozess aufgefasst.

<sup>77</sup> Baeck, *MGWJ*, 1900, 28 : im Gegensatz zu Gross, ebd. 1879, 430, nach welchem L. » die Bibel in lauter Allegorien aufzulösen scheint ». Über die Patriarchenerzählungen vgl. Suler, *EJ*, X, 847.

<sup>78</sup> חיות קשה § 11. Schmiedl, *Studien über jüdische Rel.-Phil.*, 217, macht auf die Verwandtschaft mit Philon aufmerksam, unterschätzt aber den Unterschied; für Philon ist die Philosophie die Herrin der Enkyklia!

<sup>79</sup> Über die Schrift פתח יין vgl. Glenn, *The Jewish Forum*, 1948, 48 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Bacher, *Aggada der pal. Amoräer*, III, 553,

Efraim Luntschitz (starb 1619), der sogar die 10 Gebote allegorisiert (Mord bedeutet Zurückhaltung vom Thoralernen, wodurch man sich an seiner Seele versündigt)<sup>81</sup>, hat es natürlich nur auf erbauliches Spiel abgesehen, nicht auf Zerstörung des geschichtlichen und gesetzlichen Gehaltes des Judentums.

Zusammenfassend wird man wohl sagen dürfen, dass diejenigen Männer des späteren Mittelalters, deren Ansichten einen Widerhall im Judentum gefunden haben, von den radikalen Allegoristen der Zeit Philons sehr weit entfernt geblieben sind. Aber kaum verkennbar ist, dass die radikale christliche Allegorisierung, die schon auf Ibn Esra Eindruck machte, den Geschmack der nachmaimunischen Zeit weitgehend bestimmt hat, entsprechend dem stärkeren Einfluss, den das Christentum, seit der zunehmenden Verdrängung des Islam zumal aus Spanien, auf das jüdische Geistesleben geübt hat. Wieweit diese Wendung zusammenhing mit der fortschreitenden Abwendung des jüdischen Geistes von den streng rationalen Methoden der Philosophie und der steigenden Zuwendung zu den geheimnisvollen Tiefen kabbalistischer Welt- und Schriftdeutung, kann im Rahmen unserer Monographie nicht untersucht werden.

##### 5. UMFANG, MOTIVE UND GEHALT DER MITTELALTERLICH-JÜDISCHEN ALLEGORISTIK.

Die Allegoristik des jüdischen Mittelalters beschränkt sich, wie wir gesehen haben, meist auf einen geringen Kreis von Texten; und auch diesen nimmt sie im allgemeinen nicht den Wortsinn, sondern setzt nur einen tieferen Sinn neben ihn. Die Klage der Kirche über die Juden, die von der Allegoristik nichts wissen wollen, erweist sich daher wohl als etwas übertrieben, aber als grundsätzlich berechtigt.

Denn der Kirche kam es gerade auf das an, was das Judentum verweigerte: die Umdeutung geschichtlicher und gesetz-

<sup>81</sup> Charakteristik und Proben bei S. Bäck, *Winter und Wünsche*, II, 675 ff.; dazu Schmiedl 236 mit L. Löws Anm. über christliche Parallelen.

licher Stellen. Wenn im allgemeinen, wie wir einleitend sahen, die Allegoristik durch die Aufhebung des Wortsinnes die geschichtlichen Religionen bedroht, so war diese Aufhebung dem Christentum erwünscht: sie erleichterte es ihm, am A.T. grundsätzlich festzuhalten und doch den geschichtlichen und gesetzlichen Charakter der altbiblischen Religion fallen zu lassen. Insofern dient ihm die Allegoristik zur Harmonisierung des Bibeltextes — nicht mit « fortgeschrittenen » Anschauungen der Wissenschaft, aber mit den Normen seiner eigenen, vom A.T. entfernten Religion.

Dennoch trifft das eingangs erwähnte Urteil Diltheys über die Allegoristik auf die kirchliche Allegoristik nicht zu. Sie ist weder « unentbehrlich » (Paulus kam ohne sie aus) noch « nichtsnutzig », d.h. in bewusstem oder unbewusstem Widerspruch zur wissenschaftlichen Wahrheit, apologetischen Zwecken zuliebe ersonnen. Denn an einen geheimen Sinn antiker Urkunden, der sich erst bei etymologisch-allegoristischer Deutung erschliesst, glaubt das Mittelalter weit über das apologetische Interesse hinaus. Sonst hätte man nicht, auf allegoristischem Wege, « im Schmutze Vergils Gold gesucht »<sup>82</sup>. Und sonst hätte die christliche Allegoristik es nicht vermocht, einzelne Juden zur Anerkennung ihrer Methoden und Ergebnisse zu überreden (oben § 4) oder sie sogar dem Judentum abspenstig zu machen (oben § 1). Die allegoristische Methode fühlte sich vielmehr der « fleischlichen Deutungsweise » gegenüber auch wissenschaftlich überlegen und konnte auch Aussenstehenden als grundsätzlich berechtigt erscheinen — wie die Deutung der Homerischen Götter Philons Billigung fand.

Auch in der jüdischen Allegoristik wirken religiöse Motive mit wissenschaftlichen zusammen, aber in wesentlich anderer Richtung.

Harmonistische Dienste, denen zuliebe die Allegoristik ersonnen sein soll, hat sie im Judentum nicht geleistet. Zum

<sup>82</sup> Konrad Müller, *Pauly-Krolls Realenzyklopädie der Altertumsw.*, Sppl., IV, 22.

Ausgleich des biblischen und des aristotelischen Weltbildes bedient man sich der Metaphoristik oder fasst Geschehnisse als Visionen.<sup>83</sup> Wohl nirgends dient die Allegorisierung dazu, einen unbequemen Text «los zu werden»; auch den Wortsinn der Paradieserzählung lässt man neben dem Tiefsinn meist gelten; selbst Maimuni betrachtet ihn im I. Buch des More nicht als untragbar, wie die Anthrópomorphismen. Wohl hat man die Allegoristik auch im religiösen Interesse gepflegt; schon die Tatsache, dass den heiligen Texten ein Mehrsinn zugeschrieben werden konnte, gab ihnen nach allgemein mittelalterlicher Vorstellung<sup>84</sup> einen Vorzug vor menschlichen Urkunden; überdies erhielten die Weisheitsschriften, darunter vor allem das HL., durch die Allegorisierung, auch die mehrdeutende, einen höheren Wert; auch fand das philosophische Weltbild durch sie eine religiöse Sanktion. Eben deshalb ist zu beachten, wie stark man, in betontem Gegensatz zum Christentum, die Allegoristik einschränkte, und mit welcher Vorsicht Maimuni, der einzige, von dem uns Umdeutungen überliefert sind, seine Auffassung andeutet. Man hat sich offenbar nicht darüber getäuscht, welch schwere Gefahren die Zurückdrängung oder gar die Beseitigung des Wortsinns der Gesetze und Erzählungen der Bibel für den Bestand des Judentums in sich schloss. Die Rücksicht auf das religiöse Interesse, welche nach der herrschenden Meinung die ausschliessliche Quelle der Allegorisierung sein soll, hat im Judentum des Mittelalters mindestens so stark *einschränkend* wie fördernd auf die Allegorisierung gewirkt.

Aber wie in der christlichen Allegoristik (s.o.) mit den religiösen Motiven auch wissenschaftliche zusammenwirken, so auch in der jüdischen. Die Einschränkung, die sie vornahm, lag gewiss im Interesse der Erhaltung des jüdischen Glaubens, entsprach aber zugleich der zweifellos richtigen Erkenntnis, dass die geschichtlichen und gesetzlichen Stücke der Bibel wört-

<sup>83</sup> J. Kramer, *Problem des Wunders* (1903), 74 ff.

<sup>84</sup> «Altjüdische Allegoristik», 75.



lich gemeint sind; dass man die Allegorisierung gerade auf solche Stücke beschränkte, die entweder durch ihren Inhalt zur Tiefendeutung herausforderten, wie die Erzählungen vom Baum der Erkenntnis und des Lebens, oder von den Verfassern selbst als mehrdeutig bezeichnet zu werden schienen<sup>85</sup>, zeugt dafür, dass man sich über das Recht der allegoristischen Mehrdeutung wissenschaftlich Rechenschaft gab. In der Tat wird das Recht der Allegorisierung ja auch heute grundsätzlich nicht bestritten; wenn das jüdische Mittelalter es etwas weiter bemass als wir es tun, so fragt es sich durchaus, ob nicht die stärkere Neigung jener Zeit, biblischen Stücken einen gewollten Doppelsinn zuzuschreiben, wissenschaftlich durchaus vertretbar ist.<sup>86</sup> Jedenfalls ist es zu verstehen, wenn man in der Durchführbarkeit der allegoristischen Deutung bis in Einzelheiten hinein einen Beweis für die Richtigkeit der Voraussetzung, also des Mehrsinnes der gedeuteten Stellen, erkannte. Maimuni ist von der Wahrheit seiner Deutung des Hiob und des 45. Psalms derart überzeugt, dass er versichert, ihre Erkenntnis sei wie eine göttliche Offenbarung über ihn gekommen.<sup>87</sup> Und seine halbwissenschaftlichen Fortsetzer, die in den Söhnen der Lea die Sinne sehen wollten, fühlten sich in ihrer Anschauung sicher dadurch bestärkt, dass unter den Söhnen Dans חושבים erscheint<sup>88</sup>.

Wieweit neben dem religiösen Glauben an den Tiefsinn der Bibel und der wissenschaftlichen Überzeugung vom Rechte der Allegoristik auch das Bedürfnis nach künstlerischem Spiel mitwirkte, ist natürlich nicht leicht zu entscheiden. Es mag kein Zufall sein, dass die sehr freien Deutungen der nachmaimu-

<sup>85</sup> Vgl. § 2 über Maimunis Deutung von Prov. 7,6 und die Einleitung zu *Malmed hatalmidim* über den Vergleich der Worte der Weisen mit דרבנות ומשמרות Qoh. 12,11.

<sup>86</sup> Zum Verständnis der antiken Wertschätzung des Rätselhaften (« Altjüdische Allegoristik », 9,15) vgl. namentlich Huizinga, *Homo ludens* (1949), 110, der im Rätsel sogar « a ritual element of highest importance » erblickt.

<sup>87</sup> Bacher, *JQR*, IX, 282, 6.

<sup>88</sup> Vgl. Bacher, *Winter und Wünsche*, II, 317.



nischen Zeit gerade bei Hochzeiten vorgetragen wurden<sup>89</sup>, also bei Gelegenheiten, bei denen der Wunsch, die Gäste geistreich zu unterhalten, gewiss nicht minder wirksam war als das Bedürfnis religiöser Erbauung oder wissenschaftlicher Belehrung.

Dennoch gewährt die Allegoristik, mit Einschluss der spielerischen, einen sehr ernsten Einblick in die Gedankenwelt des jüdischen Mittelalters, wenn wir nach ihrem weltanschaulichen *Gehalt* fragen. Wir meinen folgendes: Jede Allegorisierung projiziert den gegebenen Text in eine andere, irgendwie als höher empfundene Welt. Welches war diese Welt?

Die wenigen allegoristischen Deutungen der Aggada zeigen eine starke Neigung zur Beziehung auf das Schicksal Israels. Wo sogar die Träume der Beamten Pharaos national-jüdischen Sinn gewinnen<sup>90</sup>, ist gewiss zu verstehen, dass das HL. vorwiegend als Zwiegespräch zwischen Gott und Israel gedeutet wird. Solche Deutungen fehlen völlig bei Philon: er kennt nur « ethische » oder « physische » Allegorisierung. Sie finden sich gelegentlich bei den Karäern<sup>91</sup>, den späteren Homileten und namentlich den Kabbalisten<sup>92</sup>, aber fast nie bei den Philosophen<sup>93</sup>. Maḥmuni erwähnt zwar die nationale Deutung des HL.; er selbst zieht aber die psychologische vor; im allgemeinen überwiegen die kosmischen Allegorisierungen. Die Philosophen des Mittelalters treten also bezüglich des *Umfangs* des Allegoristik (in der Ablehnung der Umdeutung von Gesetzen und Erzählun-

<sup>89</sup> David Kaufmann, *Jubelschrift Zunz*, 148, deutsch.

<sup>90</sup> דרכי האגדה, 83, auch über Verwandtes.

<sup>91</sup> Nahawendi deutet Qoh. 1,5 « die Sonne geht auf und unter » auf das Reich Israel, 12,3 « da die Hüter des Hauses zittern », auf Tempel und Leviten: Poznanski, *Jewish Studies...* K. Kohler, 247.

<sup>92</sup> Luntschitz, עיר גבורים 11d ff. deutet das Gesetz von dem Mann, der seine Tochter verkauft, ausführlich auf Gott und die Seele, dann aber im Anschluss an den Midrasch (« Altjüd. All. », 68), auf Gott und Israel. Beide Deutungen finden sich auch im Sohar, II, 94.

<sup>93</sup> Nur ausnahmsweise werden More, II 29, Weissagungen über kosmische Veränderungen geographisch gedeutet.

gen) auf Seiten der Rabbinen gegen die Hellenisten, bezüglich ihres übernationalen *Gehaltes* aber auf Seiten der Hellenisten gegen die Rabbinen.

Wie erklärt sich dieser paradoxe Tatbestand?

Auf quellenkritischem Wege ist die Lösung nicht zu finden. Bekanntschaft der mittelalterlichen Philosophen mit dem jüdischen Hellenismus ist vor Abarbanel<sup>94</sup> nicht bezeugt, und der Vergleich der allegoristischen Deutungen beider spricht nicht für, sondern gegen Benutzung Philons. Nur die Bemerkung Ibn Esras<sup>95</sup>, dass sich innerer und äusserer Sinn der Schriftstellen verhalten wie Leib und Seele, könnte aus Philon, Migr. Abr. 93, durch Vermittlung des Origenes, De princ. IV 173, entnommen sein; aber die Deutungen der Paradiesgeschichte beruhen ganz auf den vom Mittelalter rezipierten Systemen, und zur Deutung der Weisheitsschriften fehlt bei Philon jede Parallele. Natürlich kannte man durch die Kirche die Methoden « physikalischer » und « ethischer » Deutung. Aber warum konnten sie die nationalen Deutungen verdrängen, die man in dem traditionellen und, trotz manchen Widerspruchs im einzelnen, doch verehrten rabbinischen Schrifttum fand?

Hier gibt es nur eine Antwort: weil der Versuch der Philosophen, jüdische Frömmigkeit auf die internationale Metaphysik zu gründen, naturgemäss das Historisch-Jüdische in den Hintergrund rücken musste, zwar nicht in der Frömmigkeit, wohl aber in der Theologie. Es ist derselbe Tatbestand, der in dem Zurücktreten des Problems der Erwählung Israels zum Ausdruck kommt. Der Vorzug Israels, an den selbstverständlich auch die Philosophen glauben, gründet sich nach ihrer Theologie auf seinen besonderen Anteil an den übernationalen Wahrheiten, nicht auf den historischen Akt des Bundesschlusses<sup>96</sup>. Nur zum

<sup>94</sup> Für die Deutung des Stiftszelts bezieht er sich auf Josephus: Thora-Komm., 153 d.

<sup>95</sup> In der Einl. zum gangbaren Komm., 3. Weg g. E. Auch die Exegese nach Maimuni berührt sich mit Philon nur schwach: oben Anm. 78; Kaufmann, 145.

<sup>96</sup> Wieweit Jehuda Halevi abweicht, kann hier nicht erörtert werden.

Herold der ewigen Wahrheiten, nicht zum Verkünder des besonderen geschichtlichen Verhältnisses zwischen Israel und Gott wird daher die Schrift in philosophisch-allegoristischer Auslegung.

Diese ganz knappen Andeutungen dürften genügen, um zu zeigen, dass die Betrachtung der jüdischen Allegoristik des Mittelalters nicht nur als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibelexegese ihren Wert hat. Sie legt Zeugnis ab von der Umbildung, die sich unter dem Einfluss griechischer Wissenschaftslehre nicht in einzelnen Sätzen, sondern in der Tiefe des jüdischen Gemeingefühls vollzog. Dies Zeugnis ist unbewusst; aber der Satz der Halacha, dass die unbewusste Aussage<sup>97</sup> vielfach den Vorzug vor der bewussten verdient, gilt auch in der Wissenschaft. Dies Zeugnis ist nur aus der Allegoristik zu gewinnen, nicht aus den anderen Formen der Umdeutung. Auch es rechtfertigt daher die gesonderte Betrachtung, die wir der Allegoristik, losgelöst von anderen Methoden, gewidmet haben.

97 Des מסיח לפי תומו.



LA OBRA ENCICLOPÉDICA  
YĖSODÉ HA-TĖBUNA W-MIGDAL HA-ĖMUNÁ  
DE R. ABRAHAM BAR ĤIYYA HA-BARGELONĬ

JOSÉ M. MILLÁS-VALLICROSA  
University of Barcelona

LA obra de R. Abraham bar Ĥiyya ha-Bargeloní titulada יסודי התבונה ומגדל האמונה « *Fundamentos de la inteligencia y torre de la creencia* » era una obra de tipo enciclopédico que, como su mismo título ya deja entrever, abarcaba tanto las ciencias especulativas como las de carácter religioso; estas dos directrices de la obra la dividían en dos partes principales, según veremos más adelante. Desgraciadamente sólo nos han llegado algunos fragmentos de esta obra, de tan amplios fines. Los fragmentos que conservamos son, según nuestra información bibliográfica, los siguientes :

A) Introducción general, en la cual se dice que la obra se asienta en base bíblica, y se explica el plan y división de la misma; se conserva en un manuserito único, el n° 1170 de la Biblioteca *Palatina* de Parma, fols. 1-6 r, precediendo precisamente a otra obra de nuestro autor : La *Geometría* חבור המשיחה והתשברת. Este prólogo o introducción general fué identificado por Steinschneider en su artículo *Die Encyklopädie des Abraham bar Chijja*<sup>1</sup>.

B) El principio de la primera parte de la obra, en que se estudian las ciencias siguientes : La Aritmética, teórica y práctica, la Geometría, la Óptica y se inicia la Música. Se conserva en los manuseritos citados a continuación, que nos dan un texto bastante homogéneo : Ms. 36 de la *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* de Munich, fols. 203 v-209; Ms. 1268, fols. 118 ss.,

<sup>1</sup> *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I, pág. 389.

de la Biblioteca *Bodleiana* de Oxford; Ms. 79 de la Biblioteca de Berlin, fols. 121 r-136 v. A estos manuscritos que hasta ahora conocíamos, se puede añadir otro, descubierto por nosotros: El ms. n.º 400, fols. 66 r-75 r, de la Biblioteca *Vaticana*, cuyo texto coincide casi completamente con el ms. de Munich<sup>2</sup>.

Por lo tanto, a base de estos fragmentos, la idea que podemos formarnos de esta obra ha de ser, necesariamente, incompleta; además, en los autores posteriores no hemos hallado referencias que nos ayudaran indirectamente a completar nuestro conocimiento. Y no acertamos a comprender como el Prof. S. Gandz, en un reciente artículo<sup>3</sup>, ha podido decir que « this Encyclopaedia is not 'almost completely' lost as Sarton<sup>4</sup> thinks, but almost completely preserved » y que la obra, tal como se especifica en su introducción, sólo trata de las tres ciencias: Aritmética, Geometría y Música. S. Gandz debe haber sufrido un lapsus al confundir la introducción general de la obra, según se conserva en el ms. de Parma, con el principio del texto fragmentario, que reproducen los demás manuscritos anotados.

Todavía se presentan algunas dudas que conviene aclarar: ¿Fueron realmente redactadas todas las partes de la vasta *Enciclopedia* de nuestro autor, tal como se anuncia en la Introducción? Esta duda, basada en la carencia de noticias acerca de estas partes, se hace más probable por el hecho de que nuestro autor anuncia, en otra de sus obras<sup>5</sup>, partes y ampliaciones que, al parecer, no llegó a redactar. Y como quiera que R. Abraham bar Hiyya escribió obras especiales sobre Astronomía, Ética, Exégesis bíblica, ciencias que, según dice la citada

<sup>2</sup> Cf. mi artículo *Manuscripts hebraics d'origen catalá a la Biblioteca Vaticana*, en *Homenatge a A. Rubio i Lluch*, I, págs. 102 ss. Barcelona, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> *The Rule of Three in Arabic and Hebrew Sources*, en *Isis* XXII (1934), pág. 221.

<sup>4</sup> *Introduction of the History of the Science*, II, pág. 207.

<sup>5</sup> En el prólogo de su obra צורה הארץ.

Introducción, se integraban en nuestra obra enciclopédica, se podría creer que aquellas obras especiales representasen partes de la Enciclopedia. Pero nos inclinamos a rechazar esta hipótesis<sup>6</sup>, sobre todo si tenemos en cuenta que en nuestra obra los temas científicos están estudiados de un modo muy sintético y general, mientras que en las demás obras citadas el tema o ciencia objeto de ellas se trata de una manera muy sistemática y didáctica, y con un evidente fin técnico o práctico.

Lo cierto es que el texto, tal como aparece en alguno de los manuscritos, parece indicar que la obra sólo constaba de las tres partes correspondientes a las tres ciencias : Aritmética, Geometría y Música; así, dice al principio (mss. de Munich y Roma) : « Esta obra se basa en las tres partes... (Aritmética, Geometría y Música)... ». ¿Cómo explicarnos ésto que se contradice con lo afirmado en la Introducción? Steinschneider<sup>7</sup> se inclina a creer que un copista fué quien modificó de este modo el texto, por disponer de una sola copia que contenía aquellas tres partes. Esta explicación no nos parece muy convincente; pues, ¿cómo se explica que no haya huellas de las otras partes de la obra tan fundamental de nuestro autor, cuando las demás obras suyas han dejado una importante tradición en la cultura hebrea e incluso en la cristiana?

Y aún otra duda. Al principio de la Introducción, en el ms. de Parma, se dice que la obra fué traducida del árabe al hebreo שנתק מכתב ערבית ללשון הקדש por R. Abraham b. Ḥiyya; además, en los manuscritos de Berlín y Oxford, nuestra obra está rotulada como « *Colectánea del Libro acerca de los números, de Arquímedes* », y al principio del texto en algún manuscrito se dice que Abū Iṣḥaq Azarquelu<sup>8</sup> tradujo la obra de Arquímedes, del árabe al hebreo, resumiendo lo más esencial.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Abraham Judaeus*, en *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I, pág. 339.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Encyklopädie*, loc. cit., pág. 391.

<sup>8</sup> O sea, el célebre astrónomo toledano (de la segunda mitad del siglo XI) Azarquiel, al que hemos dedicado una obra « *Estudios sobre Azarquiel* » Madrid, 1943-50,



Esto, que no es sino una absurda incongruencia de un copista<sup>9</sup>, reitera también el carácter de recensión, ya que no de traducción, de nuestra obra. Según veremos inmediatamente, en el estudio que vamos a hacer, la obra que nos ocupa tiene todos los síntomas de ser original de nuestro autor — obsérvense las alusiones a la Biblia y los rabinos —, pero, eso sí, hecha a base de resúmenes de varias obras árabes, como el mismo autor confiesa al final de la Introducción.

En efecto, la primera «columna» de nuestra obra estudia la Aritmética, considerada primeramente en su aspecto de Aritmética pura o Teoría de los números, y luego como Aritmética práctica, ciencia del cálculo o Logística. En la primera parte, es decir, en la Teoría de los números, R. Abraham b. Ḥiyya sigue de cerca la Introducción a la Aritmética de Nicómaco de Gerasa<sup>10</sup>, según demostramos mediante las notas que acompañarán a nuestra traducción. La obra de Nicómaco, el mejor espécimen que haya acerca de la teoría de los números en la antigüedad clásica, ejerció considerable influencia en los latinos (Apuleyo, Boecio) y en los orientales: Fué traducida al árabe por Tābit ibn Qurra y parafraseada, en la España musulmana, por el obispo de Elvira, Abū Sulaymān b. Yahyā — probablemente de la segunda mitad del siglo X<sup>11</sup> —. R. Abraham b. Ḥiyya resume mucho la obra de Nicómaco aunque, siguiendo la costumbre de su época, no la cita nunca; es interesante ver como la terminología aritmética hebrea, creada por nuestro autor al traducir el texto árabe, no concuerda con la terminología utilizada en la traducción posterior (1317), llevada a cabo por Kalónimos b. Kalónimos<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übers.*, pág. 594.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. sobre este autor, Sarton, *Introduction*, I, pág. 253 y sobre todo el excelente estudio y traducción de su obra por M. L. D'ooge, F. E. Robbins y L. Ch. Karpinski, *Nicomachus of Gerasa, Introduction to Arithmetic*, Nueva York, 1926. A esta traducción nos referimos en las citas que haremos de la obra de Nicómaco.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.*, pág. 517.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Die Encyklopädie*, loc. cit., pág. 399.

En cuanto a la segunda parte de la Aritmética, a sea, la ciencia del Cálculo, es seguro que nuestro autor siguió un tratado árabe de cálculo, derivado muy probablemente de la obra aritmética — cuyo original se ha perdido — de Muḥammad b. Mūsà al-Jwārizmī<sup>13</sup>, es decir, que esta parte de nuestra obra forma un pequeño tratado de *algoritmo*, expuesto, sin embargo, en una forma tan resumida que es difícil hallar la correspondencia exacta con la fuente árabe. Después de una breve referencia a las cifras árabes y a los órdenes de unidades superiores, explica sobriamente las siguientes operaciones aritméticas: Multiplicación חשבון מנין במנין, división חלוק מנין על מנין<sup>14</sup>, sustracción חסרון מנין ממנין, suma תוספת de números enteros o fraccionarios, integración תשלום y conversión חזרה de fracciones. No habla de las fracciones sexagesimales ni de las potencias y raíces, según suele hacerse en los tratados de algoritmo de tradición árabe<sup>15</sup>; ésto se explica por el carácter compendiado de nuestra obra.

Como complemento de esta parte de la ciencia del cálculo nos ofrece un capítulo titulado *Cálculo de compra y venta*, que corresponde a lo que podríamos llamar Aritmética mercantil de los árabes: *mu'āmalāt* o *Regula mercatorum* de los

<sup>13</sup> A juzgar por la definición de algunas operaciones matemáticas que aparecen en sus obras, Bar Ḥiyya conoció el álgebra de Al-Jwārizmī. Cf. la bibliografía que da Sarton, *Introduction*, I, pág. 563, Steinschneider, *Die europ. Übersetz. aus dem Arab.*, pág. 31 y L. Ch. Karpinski, *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of al-Khowarizmi*, pág. 15, n. 4 para la crítica de la edición del texto latino que hizo B. Boncompagni, *Trattati d'Aritmetica*, Roma, 1857, y los trabajos de S. Gandz: *The terminology of multiplication in arabic and hebrew sources*, en *Hebrew Union College Annual*, VI (1936), págs. 263-276, y *The sources of al-Khowarizmi's Algebra*, en *Osiris* I (1936), págs. 263-277.

<sup>14</sup> Junto con la división se trata de la razón קצב entre dos números.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. la edición latina de la Aritmética de al-Jwārizmī, anteriormente citada, y la mayor parte de los tratados de algoritmos medievales, y el mencionado artículo de S. Gandz, *The Terminology of Multiplication in Arabic and Hebrew Sources*, en H.U.C.A., VI (1929), pág. 261, n. 78,

autores latinos medievales<sup>16</sup>, cuya tradición arranca de los antiguos egipcios (*Papiro Rhind*), y que a través de los mercaderes arameos debió llegar a los indios y los árabes. Este capítulo suele figurar en todos los tratados de Aritmética o Álgebra de tradición árabe, desde el Álgebra de Muḥammad b. Mūsà al-Jwārizmī, probable fuente de nuestro autor, al *Liber Abbaci* de Leonardo Pisano<sup>17</sup>, pasando por la Aritmética o *Libro del número* de R. Abraham ibn 'Ezra<sup>18</sup>. Fiel a su pauta, nuestro autor expone este capítulo muy brevemente pero con toda claridad.

La segunda columna está dedicada a la Geomètria, la que — dice el autor — se denomina en árabe *Handasa* (هندسة) y está subordinada a la Aritmética. Se divide en dos partes principales, la primera de las cuales trata de la definición de los conceptos que aparecen en dicha ciencia, mientras que la segunda parte es más práctica, orientada a la Óptica. Es probable que en la primera parte el autor haya seguido preferentemente, al enunciar los conceptos y propiedades de los elementos geométricos, dejando aparte la influencia de las ideas de Nicómaco de Guerasa, los *Elementos* de Euclides, por medio de las traducciones árabes que de dicho libro se hicieron<sup>19</sup>. En otra obra, muy importante, de nuestro autor, en su *Geometria*, se ve confirmada esta dependencia. También aquí es interesante ver que la terminología utilizada por nuestro autor es un reflejo de las fuentes originales y que, a veces, no fué aceptada por los traductores hebreos posteriores. El orden que el autor sigue — que no es precisamente el de Euclides — es muy didáctico: Estudia primero el cuerpo, luego la superficie, y finalmente la línea y el punto. A continuación analiza las clases de líneas, su disposición correlativa, los ángulos y sus clases, los tipos de superficies y sus propiedades, triángulos,

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, II, pág. 488.

<sup>17</sup> Cap. VIII.

<sup>18</sup> Cap. VI.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Die Hebr. Übers.*, pág. 503 ss.

cuadriláteros y demás polígonos, poliedros, esfera, óvalo, cilindro, cono, y sus propiedades. Como remate de esta parte, el autor nos da una buena referencia bibliográfica de los varios autores — autores alejandrinos, con sus nombres alterados por influencia de la pronunciación árabe — que se destacaron en el cultivo de las distintas ramas de la Geometría; además de los *Elementos* de Euclides, cita las *Esféricas* de Teodosio y Menelao, *Sobre el movimiento de las esferas* de Autólico, las *Figuras cónicas* de Apolonio, las obras sobre el cilindro y la esfera de Arquímedes, Herón y otros autores de grafía menos segura.

En esta segunda columna, nuestro autor estudia una segunda parte: La Óptica, que puede considerarse bajo un punto de vista teórico, matemático y en su aspecto fisiopsicológico. Después de una disquisición acerca de si la luz va del ojo al objeto o bien del objeto al ojo, el autor siguiendo a los geómetras — Euclides — se muestra favorable a la primera de estas teorías, pero, eso sí, sin prejuicio por ninguna de ellas y fundándose únicamente en razones prácticas. Luego transcribe algunas de las primeras proposiciones de la Óptica de Euclides, que están interrumpidas por unas consideraciones psicológicas sobre el acto de la percepción visual, que desarrollará ampliamente en otra de sus obras. Pero a partir de aquí nuestro autor sigue muy de cerca, e incluso traduce literalmente, el capítulo de Óptica de la *Ihṣā al-‘ulūm* de al-Fārābī<sup>20</sup>, que, sin duda alguna, fué muy considerada por Bar Ḥiyya al planear y redactar la obra que nos ocupa.

A la Óptica sigue, en el ms. de Berlín, el epígrafe y primeras palabras del otro capítulo sobre la Música; en los otros dos manuscritos, de Munich y la Vaticana, antes de este epígrafe del capítulo de la Música se intercala un apéndice o *corona* al capítulo de la Geometría, en el que el autor habla del origen bíblico de las ciencias y las artes, e insiste en las ideas exegéticas que expuso en la Introducción.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. la edición y traducción de A. González Palencia, Madrid, 1932.

La Introducción de la obra tiene un interés capital porque nos muestra el fundamento exegético que el autor hace de su obra; en R. Abraham bar Ḥiyya el científico no borra u oscurece al escriturario sino que siempre muestra que la ciencia se apoya en el Texto bíblico, del cual recibe sus títulos. La finalidad científica ha de estar siempre subordinada a los fines transcendentales y supremos de la Religión revelada, de modo que las varias ciencias son los *fundamentos* sobre que descansa el edificio o *torre* de la creencia : De ahí el título de la obra. La base del razonamiento de nuestro autor se halla en el pasaje de Jeremías IX, 22, donde se reprueba el hombre que se alaba por su ciencia, fortaleza o riqueza, pues solamente puede alabarse en la comprensión y en el conocimiento de Yahvé. En las tres primeras cualidades el autor ve una referencia a las tres ciencias o tipos de ciencias, Matemáticas, Física y Política, mientras que en la comprensión y conocimiento de Yahvé cree que hay una alusión a la ciencia superior, la Metafísica y la ciencia de la Ley religiosa, a la que se subordinan las primeras. Vemos, pues, en la exégesis de nuestro autor — y lo veremos también en otras obras suyas — que es muy alertado en resolver las dificultades del Texto — nuestro pasaje es un un ejemplo aleccionador — conciliando la ciencia y la religión en beneficio de esta última. A pesar de que R. Abraham bar Ḥiyya era un gran científico, no era un intelectualista, y aún estaban lejanos los días en que se procedería a la inversa.

Al final de la Introducción se da la división de la obra en dos partes y de la primera parte en los cuatro fundamentos o secciones correspondientes a las ciencias antes citadas. Cada fundamento se divide en columnas y éstas en capítulos. El autor da los nombres árabes de las ciencias estudiadas en el primer fundamento. Del plan de la obra y del estudio de las partes que aún conservamos, se deduce que la célebre obra *Iḥṣā al-‘ulūm* : Catálogo de las ciencias de Al-Fārābī presidió el plan e incluso la redacción de la nuestra. Con ello B. Ḥiyya se adelanta a la larga serie de traductores y resumidores de

la obra de Al-Fārābī : Johannes Hispalensis, Dominicus Gundisalus, Gerardo de Cremona, etc.<sup>21</sup> En nuestra obra se utilizan otras fuentes que amplían sus límites, según veremos más adelante. Finalmente, al acabar la Introducción el autor declara el carácter sintético de la obra y dice que la escribió a base de obras arábicas y a instancias de los judíos de Francia, que no tenían ninguna obra hebrea que expusiera las ciencias naturales.

Considerando el gran interés de esta obra de R. Abraham bar Hiyya, que sólo nos ha llegado fragmentariamente y de la que hasta ahora sólo teníamos las someras noticias que dió Steinschneider<sup>22</sup>, nos hemos decidido a editarla críticamente y a traducirla anotándola<sup>23</sup>. En cuanto a la traducción, hemos procurado que fuera fiel y legible — lo que, a veces, es muy difícil — y hemos añadido las notas explicativas, de identificación de fuentes y de pasajes paralelos, que hemos creído necesarias. Damos aquí, como anticipo, la traducción de la Introducción.

#### TRADUCCION

Este es el «*Libro de los fundamentos de la inteligencia y torre de la creencia*», que fué traducido del árabe al hebreo<sup>23'</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Sobre la tradición e influencia de la obra *Ihṣa al-ʿulūm* de Al-Fārābī entre los autores judíos medievales, cf. el artículo de H. A. Wolfson, *The Classification of Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy*, en *Hebrew Union College Annual, Jubilee Volume* (1925), págs. 263-315, en el que falta la referencia a B. Hiyya. Cf., además, su *Note on Maimonides' classification of the Sciences*, en *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. XXVI (1936), págs. 369-377.

<sup>22</sup> En su citado trabajo *Die Encyklopädie des Abraham bar Chijja*. También dió una breve referencia H. Schapira en su estudio del texto del *Mischnath ha-middoth*, contenido en el ms. 36 de la Biblioteca de Munich, publicado en *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. d. Math.*, III (1880), pág. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Tenemos preparada la edición crítica para un próximo volumen de las publicaciones del Instituto Arias Montano.

<sup>23'</sup> Cf. sobre el carácter de recensión de fuentes árabes que tiene esta obra, lo que antes hemos dicho.



por el príncipe, el sabio R. Abraham ben R. Ḥiyya (d.e.p.), el sefardí.

#### INTRODUCCION

Está escrito : « Así dijo Yahvé : No se alabe el sabio por su sabiduría, ni el fuerte por su fortaleza ni el rico por su riqueza ; sino que en ésto se puede alabar : En comprender y conocerme, pues Yo soy Yahvé, el que hace misericordia, rectitud y clemencia en la tierra, pues en estas cosas me complazco, dice Yahvé » <sup>24</sup>. Y también está escrito : « El principio de la sabiduría es el temor de Yahvé y la ciencia de los justos es inteligencia » <sup>25</sup>, y también está escrito : « Y dijo al hombre : Ciertamente el temor de Dios es sabiduría y el huir del mal es inteligencia » <sup>26</sup>.

Y uno podría preguntarse acerca de estos pasajes bíblicos cómo uno de ellos dice que el sabio no ha de alabarse por su sabiduría, o sea, que le disuade de alabarse a sí mismo, y después de ésto dice dicho pasaje : « Sino que en ésto se puede alabar : En comprender y conocerme », es decir, que permite al hombre alabarse por conocer a Dios, y es cosa cierta y de todos sabida que no hay sabiduría ni inteligencia si no es en el conocimiento de Dios, y por ello quien posee el conocimiento de Dios es digno de ser llamado sabio, como se especifica en el segundo pasaje bíblico que dice : « La ciencia de los justos es inteligencia ». Y ésto se explica porque la expresión del citado pasaje equivale a decir : « No se alabe el sabio por su sabiduría, sino alábase el hombre por la sabiduría ». Y así se ve que los dos miembros de la frase bíblica exponen dos cosas contrarias una a la otra. Nosotros nos fijamos extensamente en esta cuestión no porque sea difícil, sino porque se trata de la sabiduría, y es muy conveniente al hombre ocuparse detenidamente en lo que a la sabiduría se refiere.

<sup>24</sup> Jeremias IX, 22-23.

<sup>25</sup> Proverbios IX, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Job XXVIII, 28.



Y así comenzamos diciendo que la palabra *sabiduría* חכמה se usa en dos sentidos : Primeró, en el sentido de sabiduría sustancial ממש חכמה, a la que se refiere el pasaje bíblico : «Y la sabiduría ¿dónde se halla?»<sup>27</sup>. En este sentido la sabiduría es el conocimiento de todos los seres, en la evaluación de sus formas, en el contenido de sus naturalezas y en la verdad de sus existencias. Nos hemos visto obligados a añadir estas tres limitaciones a la definición de sabiduría para dar en dicha definición tres grados o jerarquías de ciencias, y así por medio de la expresión «en la evaluación de sus formas» incluimos en esta definición la ciencia que estudia las formas de los seres, la disposición de sus cuerpos, como son la ciencia de los números y análogas; y por medio de la otra expresión «en el contenido de sus naturalezas» nos referimos a la ciencia que estudia los cuerpos de los seres y la disposición de sus naturalezas como, por ejemplo, las ciencias que se refieren a la estructura de los cielos y de la tierra, y a las demás criaturas. Por fin, con la tercera expresión «en la verdad de sus existencias», indicamos la ciencia que está sobre todas las ciencias, es decir, la ciencia de la Ley, dada a los que temen a Dios.

Y estas tres clases o jerarquías de ciencias se corresponden con los tres grados de verdad y certeza que podemos hallar en la ciencia, ya que la ciencia que trata de los límites de los seres y de sus formas externas se ocupa de una materia que es fácil de comprender, sin que sea posible ninguna discrepancia, de modo que su verdad es firme, libre de toda duda. La ciencia que trata de la naturaleza de los seres y de sus formas internas es una ciencia que estudia cosas ocultas a los sentidos corporales, más bien difícil de entender y sólo por vía de hipótesis, de modo que entre los que se dedican a esta ciencia hay grandes discrepancias, y el hombre tiene libertad para apoyarse en las afirmaciones de aquel sabio cuyas palabras le parezcan mejores a su inteligencia; obrando así no comete ningún daño ni pecado. Y así, según su propio criterio y

<sup>27</sup> Job XXVIII, 12.

comprensión, puede rectificar aquellos datos, aumentándolos o reduciéndolos, sin que por ello se desvíe de los caminos propios de dicha ciencia.

Mas la ciencia que trata de las cosas santas es una ciencia que procede del Espíritu de santidad *והחכמה המעיינת בדברי הקדש* e investiga asuntos que son inasequibles a la razón humana, por ser imponderables y muy elevados. Al igual que el ojo humano no puede contemplar la luz del sol al mediodía porque la luz del sol es entonces más luminosa y fuerte que la luz del ojo humano, así también la certeza y la verdad en las cosas de la Ley son tan brillantes y maravillosas que la inteligencia del hombre no puede llegar a ellas sino por medio de los Profetas, a quienes Dios corroboró con el Espíritu de santidad; y el hombre ha de aceptar sus palabras y no puede rectificarlas, aumentándolas o disminuyéndolas, y solamente puede guardarlas y aclararlas, pues si alguien añade o quita algo, peca y se hace culpable ante el cielo. Así pues tenemos tres jerarquías de ciencias, y la definición que hemos dado de ciencia las abarca todas. Estas ciencias se denominan ciencias intelectivas o del intelecto *החכמה שכלנית*.

La segunda acepción en que se toma en la lengua hebrea la palabra sabiduría es en el sentido de sabiduría práctica y artística *החכמה האומנות והמלאכות*, que el hombre adquiere y aprende gracias a la inteligencia de su corazón, como reza el pasaje bíblico: «E hicieron todos los sabios de corazón»<sup>28</sup>, «y toda mujer sabia de corazón»<sup>29</sup>, con lo cual el Texto se refiere a los que hacen obras de caracter artístico o técnico. La definición de sabiduría, tomada en este sentido, es la facultad que posee el hombre para poder reproducir con sus manos todas las formas y figuras que se hallan en su imaginación<sup>30</sup>; por éso se denomina ciencia del corazón y ciencia práctica.

<sup>28</sup> Éxodo XXXVI, 8.

<sup>29</sup> Éxodo XXXV, 25.

<sup>30</sup> Literalmente : corazón.

El hombre adquiere estas dos ciencias merced a la facultad de su alma espiritual, pues Dios otorgó al hombre tres almas o bien una sola alma en la que había tres potencias, pues, sea como sea, es lo mismo para el asunto que ahora nos interesa. Los sabios paganos discrepan en ésto, ya que unos dicen que el alma es una y tiene tres potencias, mientras que otros sostienen que hay tres almas; esta discrepancia no nos afecta ahora <sup>31</sup>. Una de estas tres almas es la facultad o potencia gracias a la cual el hombre nace, crece, se multiplica, come, bebe y se deleita con lo deleitable de este mundo; con esta facultad el hombre se asemeja a las plantas y a los vegetales, y por ello se denomina alma *vegetativa* y alma *concupiscible* הנפש הצמחה והנפש המתאוה.

La segunda de las tres almas corresponde a la facultad vital de la ira y de la pasión, de la fortaleza y el movimiento de un lugar a otro, y el hombre con esta facultad se asemeja a los animales, por lo cual se la llama alma *animal* e *irascible* בעלת החימה.

Con la ayuda de la tercera alma el hombre puede distinguir entre el bien y el mal, en todos los asuntos de este mundo, entre lo reprobable y lo recomendable en los actos humanos, puede establecer separación entre la verdad y el error en todas las materias que es posible conocer con la inteligencia, y distinguir lo justo de lo falso.

Gracias a estas cualidades el hombre se diferencia de los animales y las bestias y se asemeja a los ángeles y jerarquías del mundo superior. Esta alma se denomina alma *espiritual* y *reflexiva* נפש דברנית והגה, porque mediante ella el hombre piensa y habla. El sentido que aquí tiene la palabra « *hogá* »

<sup>31</sup> El autor habla acerca de esta cuestión en sus obras *Hegyón ha-nefeš*, pág. 11 (ed. Rapoport) y *Mëgûl·lat ha-mëgal·lé* (ed. Guttmann) pág. 58 y 72. La posición de Bar Hiyya no es bien definida, y tiende a conciliar Platón (partidario de las tres almas) con Aristóteles (partidario de las tres potencias). Cf. Horowitz, *Die Psychologie der jüd. Religionsphilosophen*, pág. 115, nota 17.

*reflexiva* y la palabra « *mēdabber* » *que habla* <sup>32</sup> ni es el sonido que sale de la boca ni la articulación producida por la lengua, sino la reflexión del corazón y el lenguaje del alma; así la primera palabra la hallamos usada en el texto bíblico en el sentido de concepciones y pensamientos que se hallan en el interior del corazón y de conceptos grabados y guardados en el alma, tal como la usa el Texto en muchos pasajes <sup>33</sup>.

Con las facultades de esta alma se completa la definición de hombre y se señala su límite, que da a conocer su naturaleza y declara las señales que la distinguen de los animales. He aquí la definición de hombre: Es el ser vivo, que habla y es mortal. El adjetivo *vivo* es el género remoto que comprende tanto al hombre como a los demás animales que no hablan. El adjetivo « *que habla* » es la nota que separa al hombre de los animales, bestias, aves y de todos los animales que no hablan, y, en cambio, le asimila a los ángeles. El adjetivo *mortal* sirve para separar entre el hombre y los ángeles, y lo incorpora a todos los animales y demás seres vivos cuyo fin es la muerte; el adjetivo « *que habla* » (דובר) se toma aquí en el sentido de habla del corazón y en el sentido de inteligencia, y gracias a esa cualidad el hombre se asemeja a los ángeles en su lenguaje, y por medio de ella puede hablar y entender; por ello, el hombre que no puede hablar con su boca, no por ésto deja de llamarse hombre y de participar en su definición, puesto que comprende con el corazón. Y así la cualidad del *que habla* tanto puede referirse al momento presente como al futuro, y así se entiende en exégesis.

Asimismo, la cualidad de *mortal*, que entra en la definición, significa que el fin del hombre es la *muerte*, y así en el lenguaje bíblico hallamos esta palabra con los dos sentidos: En el sentido de un ser ya difunto que dejó este mundo y en

<sup>32</sup> El autor explica la acepción en que está tomada la raíz hebrea, que puede tener muchos sentidos.

<sup>33</sup> Omitimos la traducción de estos distintos pasajes bíblicos.

el de estar próximo a la muerte<sup>34</sup>. En la definición se toma en el segundo sentido, o sea, dé que el fin del hombre es la muerte, ya que el difunto no entra en la definición de hombre porque ni vive ni piensa, según dice el pasaje : « Los muertos no entienden nada »<sup>35</sup>.

El alma racional del hombre es la superior y la que gobierna las otras dos, y el hombre a quien esta alma dirige por el buen camino y en quien las cualidades propias del alma racional dominan las otras dos almas, es el hombre insigne y elogiabile en todas sus obras. Pero cada una de estas tres almas tiene cualidades buenas y, por consiguiente, dignas de encomio, y cualidades perversas que son vituperables. Entre las cualidades que adornan el alma vegetativa está la equidad y la moderación, que el hombre se domine a sí mismo y se defienda de las pasiones perversas y del fraude de las adquisiciones<sup>36</sup>; en cambio, son cualidades perversas las contrarias a las anteriores, es decir, las que hacen que el hombre se incline ante los apetitos de este mundo. El hombre no puede dominar sus apetitos si no goza de cierto bienestar o riqueza con la cual pueda huir de las adquisiciones fraudulentas, ya que el pobre, hambriento y necesitado, a causa de su extremada miseria y pobreza, se ve obligado a tomar parte en todos los negocios que le lleguen a las manos, sean buenos o malos. O sea, vemos que entre las condiciones loables del alma vegetativa está el bienestar.

También el alma sensitiva tiene cualidades buenas y malas, siendo estas últimas fruto de que no se subordine ni siga al alma racional y, en cambio, se someta al alma vegetativa; y viceversa, sus buenas cualidades dependen de que acepte los consejos del alma racional y se imponga al alma vegetativa, superando su rudeza.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. el pasaje de Jueces IV, 22.

<sup>35</sup> Eclesiastés IX, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Estas cualidades buenas del alma vegetativa referentes al desarrollo normal de la persona, están relacionadas con las funciones que el autor señaló antes al alma vegetativa.

Todos los sabios comparan el alma vegetativa a un alocado animal que pretende únicamente devorar y destruir todo lo que tiene delante, y, por el contrario, comparan el alma sensitiva al freno puesto en la boca de aquel animal, es decir, que, a no ser por la fuerza de este freno que le frena sus apetitos, el hombre no podría montar este alocado animal, ni podría ensillarlo ni llevarlo donde quisiera; y al igual que el aguijón enseña a la vaca dócila y huraña a ir por su camino, el alma sensitiva precisa fuerza y dominio y que una de sus más loables cualidades sea la fortaleza.

El alma racional necesita dos clases de cualidades buenas para con una de ellas guiar las otras dos almas, avisarlas y amonestarlas en el servicio del cuerpo en todas las necesidades de este mundo, y para ordenar las fuerzas del cuerpo y las obras y prácticas de esta vida, y el precitado pasaje bíblico denomina estas cualidades «sabiduría»; la segunda categoría la forman las cualidades mediante las cuales el alma se organiza a sí misma y vigila con ellas todas las potencias a nímicas del hombre y con las cuales adquiere el mérito de la vida futura. Gracias a esta clase de cualidades, el alma puede contemplar todas las cosas maravillosas y sublimes, y el citado texto bíblico denomina esta categoría «comprensión»<sup>37</sup>; o sea, que en el alma racional hay dos cualidades loables: Sabiduría y comprensión. Por lo tanto el Texto dice: «No se alabe el sabio por su sabiduría» lo que equivale a decir: No se alabe el hombre por las cualidades del alma racional por medio de las cuales gobierna las potencias del cuerpo; y el otro pasaje: «Ni el fuerte se alabe por su fortaleza» equivale a decir: No se alabe por la cualidad buena de su alma sensitiva; el otro pasaje: «Ni se alabe el rico por su riqueza», equivale a «no se alabe por la cualidad buena de su alma vegetativa», ya que estas buenas cualidades pertenecen al cuerpo y se refieren a los asuntos de este mundo. Pero el hombre puede alabarse por la «comprensión», ya que es una cualidad de su alma

<sup>37</sup> El citado texto bíblico utiliza el infinitivo: «comprender».



racional, mediante la cual el alma se gobierna a sí misma y vislumbra el mundo superior. ✓

Pero ni siquiera podrá alabarse por esta última cualidad a menos que esté unida al conocimiento de Dios, pues el hombre no podrá alcanzarlo si Dios no le ayuda, por mediación del Espíritu de santidad, a captar las palabras de los Profetas, que proceden del mismo Espíritu de santidad; o sea, que toda sabiduría que esté al margen de ello no es digna de elogio y es tan sólo una adquisición humana, y el hombre que la adquiere y no se ocupa de las cosas de la Ley ni se esfuerza en practicarlas es como un ciego entre tinieblas, que vaga entre las viñas y no es capaz de hallar el camino que ha de llevarle a la ciudad. Pero, aquel que adquiere el temor de Dios y se aplica al estudio de la Ley y después se ocupa en las restantes ciencias, va por camino de derecho y conseguirá un buen fin. Esto es lo que dice el texto bíblico : « El principio de la sabiduría es el temor de Yahvé », y quien teme a Dios y estudia la Ley ha de gloriarse de su suerte y alabar a su Creador; ha de saber que Dios se muestra misericordioso con el hombre y le da la inteligencia y la razón para comprender la sabiduría, pues el hombre no sería digno de ella si no fuera por merced de Dios que se la concedió; por ello dice el citado pasaje : « (No se alabe) por su sabiduría », y de este modo, mediante el adjetivo posesivo, determina la palabra sabiduría, para que el hombre no diga : La sabiduría que poseo es mía, la he logrado con mi inteligencia; antes bien, el hombre ha de alabar y dar las gracias a Dios, « hacedor de misericordia »<sup>38</sup>, que por su gran benevolencia le otorgó el don de sabiduría.

Tampoco ha de alabarse por su fortaleza ni ha de atribuirse a sí mismo, sino que ha de agradecer a su Creador, que le confirmó con fortaleza para que tenga fuerza para obrar rectitud y justicia. Tampoco se alabará por su riqueza, para no decir : Es mía, yo la he adquirido con mi sabiduría, sino que dará las gracias a su Creador « que obró con él clemen-

<sup>38</sup> Véase el pasaje bíblico inicial, Jeremias IX, 22-23.



cia »<sup>39</sup> y le dió la riqueza, puesto que el rico no concede su protección al pobre sino es por la protección y las mercedes que antes le otorgó Dios. Esta es la explicación del mencionado pasaje : « Hacedor de misericordia, rectitud y clemencia » y, por consiguiente, el hombre ha de alabar a su Creador por las cualidades que le ha concedido; si la cualidad es buena, por la misericordia que Dios le ha otorgado, y si no es buena, ha de reconocer, a pesar de todo, su justicia, y ha de aceptar el hecho con resignación y ha de bendecir a Dios en todas las cosas, puesto que todas las cosas existen por justicia y por misericordia, según está escrito : « Yahvé dió, Yahvé tomó »<sup>40</sup>; al igual que dió con justicia, también tomó con justicia, de modo que el hombre siempre ha de alabar y bendecir a Dios, alto, fuerte y temible, tal como está escrito : « Bendito sea el nombre de Yahvé »<sup>41</sup>. Y así, el hombre hará la voluntad de Dios según dice el resto del citado pasaje : « Pues en estas cosas me complazco, dice Yahvé ». El que así obra cumplirá la voluntad y los designios de Dios.

Y esta es la buena interpretación del pasaje bíblico con el cual abrimos el Libro, interpretación según el sentido externo de las palabras sin querer profundizar maliciosamente. Quien analice detenidamente esta cuestión<sup>42</sup> podrá objetar que con esta interpretación se pone al sabio por encima del fuerte, pues la sabiduría es una cualidad loable del alma espiritual mientras que la fortaleza lo es del alma sensitiva y la riqueza de la vegetativa, de modo que si el sabio no puede gloriarse por la cualidad loable de su alma espiritual, menos aun podrá alabarse por la cualidad loable de su alma sensitiva y mucho menos por la del alma vegetativa y concupiscible, lo cual no se compagina con el lenguaje de los textos bíblicos, sino al contrario, ya que

<sup>39</sup> Véase el pasaje bíblico inicial, Jeremías IX, 22-23.

<sup>40</sup> Job I, 21.

<sup>41</sup> Job I, 21.

<sup>42</sup> El autor da una segunda explicación, literal, más sencilla que la anterior y carente de sus dificultades.

el fuerte ha de exceder al sabio, y el rico al fuerte, y éste explica que todos se vieran obligados a interpretar que, partiendo de la imposibilidad de alabar del sabio, no se puede enseñar la de la alabanza del fuerte, ni de la de éste pasar a la del rico que está por encima de él; y entonces, sería cosa vituperable que el hombre se alabase por una cualidad que le asemeja a los animales y a las plantas de la tierra, porque la fortaleza reside en el león y en el tigre en mayor cualidad que en el hombre, y el atesorar se da también en las hormigas y las abejas, y la técnica artística en las arañas, los gusanos, en muchos pájaros y animales, de modo que al texto bíblico no le era necesario prevenir al hombre acerca de esto, puesto que el hombre no es tan estúpido para gloriarse por tales cualidades. El texto bíblico precave al hombre para que no se alabe por las cualidades de su alma espiritual, tomando la fortaleza, la sabiduría y la riqueza como cualidades de esta alma, de modo que la fortaleza sobrepasa la sabiduría, y la riqueza a la fortaleza; las tres palabras se aplican como sinónimas refiriéndose a la cualidad loable del alma espiritual, indicando, sin embargo, diversos grados.

Al principio el hombre adquiere la sabiduría, y cuando se crece en adquirirla se llama *fuerte*, y cuando rebasa este segundo grado se llama *rico*, y quien llega a lo más hondo de la sabiduría es llamado el *comprensivo* o el *inteligente*<sup>43</sup>, y la corona situada en lo alto de todas estas ciencias, la torre edificada sobre ellas es el conocimiento de Dios; el hombre sólo puede alabarse por él, según dice el ya citado pasaje: « Sino que por ésto el hombre se alabará ». Igualmente leemos en el texto bíblico que la cualidad de la fortaleza sobrepasa la de sabiduría, puesto que Daniel, según está escrito, alaba así a Dios: « Porqué de Él es la sabiduría y la fortaleza »<sup>44</sup>, y

<sup>43</sup> Véase cómo el autor sigue la terminología del pasaje bíblico Jeremías IX, 22-23, base de esta Introducción.

<sup>44</sup> Daniel II, 20.

también está escrito : « Confieso y alabo ante Dios, pues me diste sabiduría y fortaleza » <sup>45</sup>, y está escrito : « De mí procede el consejo y la sabiduría, Yo soy comprensión y fortaleza » <sup>46</sup>; de estos pasajes se deduce que la palabra *fortaleza* se aplica en el sentido de sabiduría superabundante, y asimismo veremos que la palabra *riqueza* se usa significando sabiduría, según está escrito : « Riqueza y honor son conmigo. vigor y justicia » <sup>47</sup>, « Largura de días a la derecha y a la izquierda riqueza y honor » <sup>48</sup>. Dado que el citado texto bíblico habla del hombre rico después del fuerte, se deduce que la riqueza en la sabiduría es la cosa más noble que el rico puede tener.

No es preciso que aduzcamos pruebas acerca de la locución bíblica del citado pasaje : « (Es ésto el hombre se alabará) en *comprender* (que Yo soy Yahvé) » pues es cosa evidente, y de todos sabida, que la *comprensión* (el *intelecto*) <sup>49</sup> es el fundamento de todas las ciencias, que él vigila, y de ellas viene a ser la jerarquía suprema.

Hemos visto que las ciencias cultivadas por los sabios de este mundo se apoyan en cuatro fundamentos, que corresponden a los cuatro nombres utilizados por el texto bíblico en el pasaje que inicia la presente obra, y la creencia en Yahvé y el estudio de su Ley, cosas cuya alabanza autoriza el citado texto, confirman estos fundamentos que se corresponden con los cuatro ángulos de la ciencia, y viene a ser la torre edificada sobre ellos <sup>50</sup>. Y puesto que el texto prohíbe alabarse por estas cuali-

<sup>45</sup> Daniel II, 23. El texto que da el autor es algo distinto al de nuestras Biblias.

<sup>46</sup> Proverbios VIII, 14.

<sup>47</sup> Proverbios VIII, 18.

<sup>48</sup> Proverbios III, 16.

<sup>49</sup> El autor parece que lee el citado texto bíblico interpretando como sustantivo: el *intelecto*, lo que es un infinitivo: *comprender*, y en nuestro pasaje parece relacionar este *intelecto* con el intelecto superior o activo de los autores neoplatónicos.

<sup>50</sup> El autor hace la ecuación entre sabiduría, fortaleza y riqueza — cualidades graduadas del alma racional — y el intelecto (literalmente :

dades, deducimos que permite estudiarlas y ocuparse en ellas, por lo cual me propongo en esta obra estudiar las cuestiones y temas de dichas ciencias brevemente, conforme a la mezquinidad de mi pensamiento y a la pobreza de mi inteligencia.

Divido esta obra en dos tratados :

En el primer tratado se explican los fundamentos de la inteligencia a los cuales alude el ya citado texto bíblico, desde su principio hasta « en comprender y conocerme ».

En el segundo investigaremos acerca de la torre, objeto de la interpretación del resto del pasaje, desde « Pues Yo soy Yahvé » hasta el final.

El primer tratado se divide en cuatro partes y cada parte se denomina *fundamento*, por corresponderse con los fundamentos de la ciencia. El primer fundamento es la ciencia de la disciplina חכמת המוסר o ciencia de lo discursivo חכמת המרבר<sup>51</sup>, y a él alude el texto bíblico con la palabra « *sabiduría* » חכמה. Este fundamento tiene cinco columnas : La primera de ellas trata de la ciencia del número, llamada en lengua árabe *'ilm al-'adad*<sup>52</sup>; la segunda estudia la ciencia de la medida, en lengua árabe *al-handasa*<sup>53</sup>; la tercera, la ciencia de la música, en árabe *'ilm ta' lif*<sup>54</sup>; la cuarta trata de los astros, en árabe *'ilm al-nuġūm*<sup>55</sup> y la quinta de la ciencia de la lógica, en árabe

comprender) — última categoría o grado de la misma —, tal como están expresadas en el texto bíblico que abre el Prólogo, con las cuatro ciencias fundamentales — fundamentos de la inteligencia — que va a estudiar; sobre ellas descansa la torre de la creencia o de la fé en la Ley de Yahvé.

<sup>51</sup> Nos apartamos del sentido que da a este pasaje J. Klatzkin : *Thesaurus philosophicus*, vol. II p. 146.

<sup>52</sup> علم العدد

<sup>53</sup> الهندسة

<sup>54</sup> علم التأليف

<sup>55</sup> علم النجوم

*al-mantiq* <sup>56</sup>. Cada una de estas columnas se divide en capítulos, que se citarán al principio de cada columna.

El segundo fundamento trata de la ciencia física חכמת היצירות que estudia todos los seres y profundiza en el contenido de sus naturalezas y el camino de su formación; el Texto la denomina « *fortaleza* » גבורה, y se divide en ocho *columnas*. La primera trata de los principios de los seres y es el principio y base de esta ciencia; la segunda estudia los cuerpos simples que son invariables en el cielo y en los astros; la tercera expone los cambios de la generación y corrupción que tienen lugar bajo los cielos; la cuarta, los elementos de la creación y cuestiones afines. La columna quinta estudia los cuerpos mudables cuyo interior es igual a su exterior, como, por ejemplo, la plata, el oro y semejantes; la sexta, las plantas de la tierra; la séptima, los animales y la octava trata del cuerpo y del alma humanos. Todas estas columnas se dividen en capítulos <sup>57</sup>.

El tercer fundamento trata de la ciencia humana y de la ciencia política, a la que se alude en el citado pasaje bíblico con la palabra « *riqueza* » עושר, y consta de tres columnas: La primera estudia las relaciones del hombre con sí mismo; la segunda trata de las relaciones del hombre con su familia y sus servidores, y la tercera de la política del rey y de los príncipes.

El cuarto fundamento explica la ciencia divina, que los sabios paganos denominan ciencia de las ciencias, y tiene dos columnas: La primera trata de todas las cuestiones previas para las ciencias anteriores, cuestiones aceptadas por vía de tradición y que nuestra ciencia demuestra oportunamente. La segunda columna estudia la unidad de Dios y la luz resplandeciente y

<sup>56</sup> المنطق. En el manuscrito hebreo está transcrita equivocadamente.

<sup>57</sup> La división seguida por Bar Ḥiyya es parecida, pero no igual, a la que dan los *Iḡwān al-Ṣafā* (cf. Dieterici: *Die Naturanschauung und Naturphilosophie der 'Araber in X Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1876) y al-Fārābī, en su *Iḡṣā al-'ulūm*, edición y traducción González Palencia, Madrid, 1932.

todos los seres incorpóreos que no necesitan ninguna clase de cuarpo, como las milicias del mundo superior <sup>58</sup>. El Texto bíblico aplica a esta ciencia las dos palabras ya vistas <sup>59</sup>, para hacernos saber que para estudiar las ciencias anteriores no es preciso haber estudiado la Ley, pero que esta ciencia no puede comprenderse bien sino por medio de la Ley y de los Libros santos.

He aquí el *número de los fundamentos de la inteligencia* — el primer tratado — con sus columnas; y dejo la exposición de las partes del segundo tratado hasta que lleguemos a él, con la ayuda de Dios. Mis maestros, los que se fijan en estas palabras, no me increpen ni me consideren como a aquel que se coloca en un lugar estrecho y angosto y se esfuerza en salir, pues yo les expondré el secreto del asunto. No he entrado en esta materia por mi propia voluntad ni para conseguir gloria, sino que muchos personajes ilustres de mi generación, cuyo consejo estoy obligado a seguir, me han instado a ello, porque no hay en toda la tierra de Sarfat <sup>60</sup> ningún libro en hebreo que trate de estas ciencias y por ello lo he traducido de los libros árabes, a medida de mis posibilidades, según está escrito : « Cada uno según la dádiva de su porción, conforme a la bendición que Yahvé, tu Dios, te dió » <sup>61</sup>.

Cada hombre está obligado a enseñar su doctrina según su mayor o menor capacidad, y a guiar su corazón con una intención divina : Por lo cual ruego a todos los lectores de esta obra que me juzguen bondadosamente, según está escrito : « Con benevolencia juzgarás a tu projimo » <sup>62</sup>, y que corrijan benévolamente todos los errores que pueda haber en mis pala-

<sup>58</sup> Relacionado con la división de la Metafísica hecha por al-Fārābī, *op. cit.*, pág. 63.

<sup>59</sup> Las expresiones : « comprender y conocerme ».

<sup>60</sup> Francia del centro o del Norte.

<sup>61</sup> Deuteronomio XVI, 17.

<sup>62</sup> Levítico XIX, 15.

bras, de forma o de fondo, para que Dios les sea propio y se lo pague doblado. Asimismo, ruego a mi Dios que me auxilie y me libre de pecado y me conceda Su gracia y la de Sus santos, pues todo está en Su mano y no hay otro Dios sino Él!



## JUDAH HALEVI'S CONCEPT OF RELIGION AND A MODERN COUNTERPART

MAX WIENER \*,  
New York City

THE thinking of Judah Halevi diverges, in a significant particular, from the main trend of medieval Jewish philosophy. With Judah Halevi, metaphysics loses its role of basic importance for religion.<sup>1</sup> The metaphysical theory of emanations and cosmic intelligences evokes his ridicule. Such notions he brands as arbitrary. In such matters, he observes, no two philosophers agree. Imputing to Abraham the authorship of the *Sefer Yezirah*, he asserts that Abraham, repudiating metaphysics, eventually went questing for truth by a different and a surer path.<sup>2</sup>

This does not mean that Judah Halevi fails to esteem logic and the sciences. Crediting the Jews with having originated such disciplines, Judah Halevi maintains that the Jews taught these to the Babylonians who in turn taught them to the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> This he bases not only on the expectation that the chosen people would be intellectually superior to all other people but also on the circumstance that Jewish religious practice requires a close acquaintance with astronomy, zoology,

\* The editors of this Anniversary Publication announce, with sorrow, the passing of Dr. Max Wiener whose death occurred before this article was sent to the printer.

<sup>1</sup> Julius Guttman, « Das Verhältnis von Religion und Philosophie bei Jehuda Halevi, » *Israel Lewys Festschrift*, Breslau, 1911, pp. 327-358; Emil Berger, *Problem der Erkenntnis in der Religionsphilosophie Jehuda Halevi's*, Berlin, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> *Kusari*, IV, 25.

<sup>3</sup> I, 63.

anatomy and the like.<sup>4</sup> Thus Judah Halevi did not deny the validity of the intellect. His contention is merely that religion embraces something which ordinary mental processes cannot reach. The God of the pious is not the Supreme Being of the thinker. Our intellect may posit a First Cause, but a First Cause is not the same as the devout person's Deity. That which reason grasps is not at all identical with that for which the prayerful yearn.<sup>5</sup>

It follows that the awareness of God is not to be gained through any theological or philosophical system. To win an awareness of the Divine, man's natural powers are inadequate. We require something else. We require a miracle. There is needed a revelation. This thought, pervading the entire *Cusari*, animates especially the opening of the conversation with the Chazar king.<sup>6</sup>

Nor is it to be supposed that revelation merely expands or amplifies ordinary knowledge, that it merely boosts the intellect. We can trace this latter view as far back as Saadia. We mean the view that revelation serves the purpose of mitigating the effort man must put forth in order to ascertain what is good and useful. This view persisted up to the time of the eighteenth century enlightenment.

Judah Halevi does not deny that revelation imparts true knowledge. But this is not central to his thought. His doctrine is that revelation confers primarily not knowledge but an experience of bliss and of Divine love and mercy. Those who are endowed with Divine favor are, of course, also favored intellectually; man at his highest exhibits intellect at its best. But the intuition of the Divine is neither attained through the intellect nor does it consist in any enhancement of the intellect.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> II, 63 ff.

<sup>5</sup> V, 21.

<sup>6</sup> I, 1.

<sup>7</sup> II, 20; I, 103.

Judah Halevi agrees with the philosophers in their denial that a First Cause can speak to mortals or be concerned about human sorrows or be pleased or disturbed by human conduct.<sup>8</sup> The God of philosophic speculation, El or Elohim, is not at all the equivalent of YHWH, the God miraculously revealed. Except for that revealing, YHWH would be unknown to every creature.<sup>9</sup> And YHWH revealed has been the experience of only one group, namely Israel, ancestors and descendants, from the patriarchs of old down to Israel of the present.<sup>10</sup>

What is the nature of this experience? Here we must take care not to project our modern ideas into medieval speculation. Judah Halevi does not believe in any uniquely religious faculty, distinct from all other human faculties and inherent in all human beings. With Judah Halevi, religious experience appertains not to the individual but to the entire people. In the course of its history, Israel passed through occurrences which can be attributed only to Divine intervention. That the miraculous occurred brooks no question. Bible and tradition leave no doubt on this point. Israel did, in all reality, become aware of God's presence. Israel heard the Divine words, beheld the wonders of the Red Sea, of Mt. Sinai, of the wilderness. The people's bodily senses were imbued with the capacity to perceive the supernatural. The prophets, standing at a level still higher than that of ordinary Israelites and representing mankind at its loftiest, possessed an inner sense making them as clearly cognizant of the supernatural as ordinary people are of their physical surrounding.<sup>11</sup>

But prophet and ordinary Israelite alike are the favorites of the Divine mercy, and that is all important. The existence of the Supreme Being is not at issue. On this, virtually all men agree. That the manifold forces of the universe must

<sup>8</sup> I, 4.

<sup>9</sup> IV, 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> I, 95.

<sup>11</sup> IV, 3.

culminate somewhere, who can dispute? But devoutness asks for more. The devout seeks a God Who is *his* God, shaping men's personal destinies. This emphasis on the religious implications of private human concerns is what, more than anything else, links Judah Halevi with the modern outlook. Although devoutness, knowledge, and morals have strands in common, devoutness is not the same as morals and not the same as knowledge. Devoutness is not an innate quality nor is it the upshot of reasoning. Rather is it the result of something experienced by a particular tribe. True religion rests on revelation, the actuality of which is subject to proof like that of any objective reality. Judah Halevi seeks accordingly to demonstrate that what the Bible and tradition relate is something which no sober mind can question. Only Divine intervention can explain the extraordinary happenings that have marked Israel's entire history. This is admitted even by Christians and by Mohammedans.<sup>12</sup> How then can it be an illusion? What the enemies of the Jews claim as regards the later rejection of the chosen people leans on exceedingly weak supports. The non-Jews themselves grant that the words of the Hebrew Bible are unchallengeable.

Genuine religion pivots accordingly on the miraculous occurrences in the life of a people to whom God inscrutably chose to be revealed. That the Bible was inspired and that Israel was God's elect, no medieval Jew ever doubted.<sup>13</sup> Notwithstanding this, such thinkers as Maimonides and Gersonides laid scant stress on Biblical history. Everything in the Bible may have been true. Yet Maimonides and Levi b. Gershon were captivated not by Biblical events but by the possibilities of metaphysical interpretations. To Maimonides, the Bible abounded in theology. His interest lay not in its historical content but in its doctrinal framework.

<sup>12</sup> I, 4-6.

<sup>13</sup> III, 17.

In extolling reason as the approach to the Divine, Maimonides was a universalist. By contrast, religion with Judah Halevi, consists in an Israelite's identification with the life of his people. Religion emerges from a Jewish person's awareness of being Jewish and his observance of the Divinely imposed duties. Devoutness can exist only within the Jewish orbit.<sup>14</sup>

Israel is not only the bearer of the truth; Israel is also a topic of the truth. Israel is a manifestation of God as well as a spokesman of God. Israel is the heir of the first man's perfection. At least one individual in each generation retained Adam's original purity. The seeds thus preserved reached fruitage in Jacob and his descendants. That fruitage was the Law. Strict observance of the Law brings every member of the tribe closer to God. The beneficial effects of the Law have persisted despite all of Israel's dispersions and sufferings.<sup>15</sup>

This is indeed a proud nationalism, all devoutness centering in the Divine election of Israel. Despite its nationalistic emphasis, this view has much in common with that of Christianity which lacks the nationalistic emphasis. Both affirm a Divine preference, a heavenly choice extending, to some, a mercy withheld from others. The animal may not question why man rates higher than the animal nor may the ordinary Israelite question why he ranks lower than the prophet. Similarly there is no point in querying why Israel should be the preferred among the nations.

Though Israel alone is favored with truth Divine, the blessings of revelation can extend beyond Israel's confines. Well disposed heathen, like the king of the Chazars, can become proselytes enjoying many, though not all, of the privileges of born Israelites.<sup>16</sup> In the Messianic age, the Jewish people will prove to be the precious nucleus around which all nations will cluster in order to obtain eternal bliss. Even then, Israel,

<sup>14</sup> IV, 13, 15.

<sup>15</sup> I, 95 ff.

<sup>16</sup> I, 115.

the paragon, will not dissolve itself in the totality of mankind. Israel will always preserve its identity.<sup>17</sup>

With Judah Halevi it cannot be otherwise. Judah Halevi thinks in terms of nations. Individuals have been chosen as vehicles of the Divine heritage only for the sake of the tribe which was to spring from their loins. If genuine piety can abide only in Israel and if prophecy can thrive only in Israel, then are individual variations of religiousness overshadowed by those innate qualities which shape an entire people. This is the light in which we are to understand the Jewish rituals.<sup>18</sup> As Judah Halevi rationalizes them, the rituals have the purpose of keeping alive the relationship between Israel and Israel's God. Here again the Divine inscrutability appears. God has willed thus and thus. He has commanded such and such. Ceremonies are to be observed exactly as directed — not the slightest deviation. These observances are like the parts of a physical organism whose normal functioning depends upon the perfect adjustment of the organs to one another. As certain human faculties operate only under given bodily conditions, so does the effective relationship between God and Israel require strict compliance with every law. Ritual is the very nerve of religion; without it the desired communion with YHWH cannot be achieved.<sup>19</sup>

It has often been said that, of all Jewish thinkers, Judah Halevi was the most ardently nationalistic; not so much in that he taught a nationalistic religion but in that he preached a religionized nationalism. His patriotism is spiritualized. He raises, to the level of the miraculous, everything with which he deals. Within the range of Israel, nothing is mundane or secular. We are constantly on holy ground. The Hebrew language, mankind's original vernacular, in which God and

<sup>17</sup> IV, 13.

<sup>18</sup> II, 26 ff.

<sup>19</sup> I, 99.

Adam conversed in, of all languages, the most perfect.<sup>20</sup> The decline of Hebrew and the attendant deterioration of much else that was splendid was but part of Israel's general fate and the fruit of sin. Palestine is, of all countries, the most superb. The land of revelation, it was the choicest of lands even before it became Israel's abode. It continues, of all lands, the most exquisite even after Israel's expulsion. All that the prophets announced refers to that sanctified soil on which once stood the Temple and to which Israel will yet be restored in pristine glory. The wisdom of Israel's sages excels all other wisdom. Israel will produce outstanding men of genius in the future as in the past. Consider how indispensable are scholarship and acumen for large parts of Jewish religious practice such as the rules of calendation, the regulations concerning sacrifices, the dietary laws and the like.

Imperative for a full life with God was the observance of all the ordinances, from those linked with Temple and priesthood to those of tilling and harvesting the sacred soil — in a word, the application of the revealed law to all the phases of individual and communal existence. The contemporary lack of Temple, priesthood, and country imparts to Judah Halevi's religion a romantic hue. Judah Halevi stands at the acme of that medieval piety which, looking down upon the present, extolled the remote past and the Messianic future.

The attitude of the philosophers was different. Captivated by the timelessness with which the philosophers identified their religion, the philosopher felt at home in the world of cogitation. The speculation, which deepened the wise man's knowledge of things divine, guaranteed a satisfaction that was always available. Such speculation was regarded as comparable to what transpired in the mind of the prophet, a process which, though brought to maturity by the divine impact, remained nonetheless, according to the philosophers, something intellec-

<sup>20</sup> II, 67 ff.



tual. If the perfect life consists in the acquisition of knowledge and if many a scholar could, by unswerving devotion to knowledge, attain that ideal, then there was nothing about the happenings of history to affect one with pessimism. Thought and the religion of thought are not at the mercy of events.

At the same time, Judah Halevi's romantic pessimism must not be overstated. Israel is not dead. Though its body is dismembered and its limbs dispersed, Israel still retains a fiery life. The sacrificial cult and other institutions of the Holy Land may have vanished. Yet more has survived than mere memories and hopes. Israel still holds the privilege of being God's chosen servant. While Judah Halevi does not expressly say so, his outlook permits the inference that, in Israel's exile, the individual is not less significant but more significant than he was in the happy days of yore. Unlike his predecessors, Judah Halevi does not assign to the *Mizwot* the purpose of isolating the chosen tribe. Nor is he, on the whole, content to dwell upon the sanctification which the *Mizwot* procure. For him, the *Mizwot* are preeminently but the means of safeguarding the individual's contact with God.

True doctrine and the inner happiness to be derived therefrom are a gift from on High. They are vouchsafed only at the mercy of the Holy One. Still, in order to realize the promised perfection, the chosen recipients have to exert themselves. Requested by the Chazar king, Judah Halevi's Jewish spokesman describes the pious «in our times.»<sup>21</sup> It develops that God's favor embraces not only exclusively Jewish privileges but also special obligations. Judah Halevi's characterization of the devout mind, as distinguished from the prophetic, shows Greek and Arabic influences. Plato's division of the soul into three strata and his comparison of the righteous with the ruler of a state, as well as Aristotle's golden mean and, derived from Galen, the Arabic theory of inward senses

<sup>21</sup> III ff.

supply the content. At the same time, the notion of the devout person's mastery over inclination and his calm amid adversity are no less native to the climate of God-oriented Jewishness.<sup>22</sup>

The question is now in order : Does Judah Halevi's position show any kinship with our thinking of today? Judah Halevi is far from regarding religion as a matter of personal experience. He concedes that there are yearnings in the human soul. He graphically depicts those yearnings as they obtain in the case of the Chazar king. He contends, nonetheless, that mere sentiment, no matter how sincere or how compelling, is barren. YHWH, the true God is either revealed or inaccessible. And, with revelation, Israel alone is favored — Israel and, to a lesser degree, those who join the Jewish communion.

Since Judah Halevi sees in religion an objective tie between God and His chosen, any particular religion is either utterly true or utterly false. To pronounce one religion or one philosophical substitute for religion as more perfect than another or less perfect makes no sense. The Messianic era may glow with universalism. Those offspring of Judaism — Christianity and Mohammedanism — may wield some salutary influence. But this does not make them true religions. Only in Judaism are the conditions fulfilled for a genuine union between God and man. That conversion to Judaism is possible and that proselytes have access to the spiritual benefits which those of Jewish birth enjoy by descent is important. But, while this may preclude intolerance and may foster humane understanding, this does not, by any means, imply that any other religion is even relatively true.<sup>23</sup>

We of today view religion as something essentially psychological and that leads us to credit every religion with having a value of some kind for its particular devotees. This comports even with Rudolph Otto's externalized « Holy. » Judah Halevi would have found that view incomprehensible. As Judah Halevi

<sup>22</sup> Cf. I. Heinemann, *Jehuda Halevi, Kusari*, Oxford, 1947, p. 108.

<sup>23</sup> *Kusari*, I, 111, 115.

sees it, yearnings no matter how exalted confer no certainty. Without revelation, nothing is assured. Therefore Israel, being the people of revelation, possesses a status unshared by any other group. The individual Israelite himself finds his supreme value not in that which is a detached yearning within himself but only that which he derives from his divinely favored community. Once upon a time religion was tribal; the tribe was the unit of relationship between man and God. The religion of Judah Halevi is not tribal. In the religion of Judah Halevi, the individual is not effaced. The individual counts, counts however only by virtue of his membership in a divinely molded aggregate.

The true God, YHWH, revelation, Israel's history, the Hebrew language, the Torah, the Jewish way of life, all of them coalesce. They merge into a system. They create an unduplicated miraculous order. Outside of that order, real religion has no foothold. And, as Judah Halevi's nationalism is void of the secular, so is religion, with him, void of the metaphysical. Judah Halevi may hold reason in high regard. He abets no *credo quia absurdum*. But certainty, as he sees it, depends on revelation. Assurance calls for the miraculous and, in Israel's history, the miraculous invests not only the unusual. Israel's day by day existence is a miracle ever continuing.

In recent decades, Isaac Breuer, a militantly Orthodox leader among the Jews of Germany, produced a new Cusari which attempts to adapt the outlook of Judah Halevi to the demands of today.<sup>24</sup> Breuer, a protagonist of the separatistic synagogue founded by Samson Raphael Hirsch in Frankfurt a. M., wages a threefold attack. He assails (1) secular Zionism, (2) the liberalism which undermines the Rabbinic way of life and (3) collaboration of genuinely Orthodox Jews with the non-Orthodox.

<sup>24</sup> *Der neue Kusari: Ein Weg zum Judentum*, Frankfurt, 1934.

Like Judah Halevi, Breuer holds that there can be no Jewish religion without a Jewish people. The Torah, the Land of Israel, the History of Israel are inseparable parts of a whole.<sup>25</sup> While the individual is under no compulsion to identify himself with the community in which he was born, still it is only through the community that the individual finds God, just as the community itself approaches God only by means of its faithful individuals.

Today problems exist of which the age of Judah Halevi never heard. The Karaites against whom Judah Halevi polemicized evoked issues that were purely theoretical. With Breuer it was otherwise. Breuer beheld the communion of Israel menaced even by the rigidly Orthodox if those rigidly Orthodox belonged to congregations whose membership included others than the rigidly Orthodox.<sup>26</sup>

To Breuer, the Jewish communion was a projection into the sensory world of something from the supersensory. The Jewish communion was the Kantian noumenon materialized, a mystic embodiment of the transperceptual, burgeoning wherever a number of Jews dwell together. That embodiment necessitates strict adherence to the Law. Every deviation from the Law, even the slightest, violates the sanctity of the supernal.<sup>27</sup>

Jewish history is not history. Israel is meta-historical. Israel exists outside of history. The struggle between the nations on the one hand and Israel on the other is the struggle between the historical and the meta-historical. Modern political nationalism is the device by means of which Providence challenges and strengthens the meta-historical character of the Jew. Zionism, in that it would transform Israel into a political entity, would rob Israel of its super-historical structure. Hence the need of unflagging attachment to the Torah. Only thus

<sup>25</sup> 224 ff.

<sup>26</sup> 134.

<sup>27</sup> 230.

can the meta-historical character of Israel be preserved against the forces that would secularize the Jew and divert him from his meta-historical mission. Jews must return to the *Kenneset Yisra'el*.<sup>28</sup> No other way leads to the Divine.

In the modern Cusari, as in the earlier one, theology and metaphysics fall by the wayside. Judaism is construed not in terms of speculation but in terms of history. But, while Judah Halevi posits a lineage in which is conserved the perfection of the original man, Breuer, to support his claim regarding the extraordinary status of the Jewish system, points to that which transpires within the faithful soul.<sup>29</sup>

What gives Breuer's position its modern flavor is its preference for inner conviction over outward demonstrability. That inner conviction attends the persuasion that what the Torah records is divinely revealed. And divine revelation signifies not merely the marvel of Sinai, witnessed though that was by an entire people and thus removed from all possibility of illusion or fraud; there is the added miracle of the meta-historical.<sup>30</sup> We have here the noumenal, something from a realm beyond all perception and all cogitation. Reason may have to operate on those aspects of the Torah that regulate Jewish practice. But those practical aspects are not the only aspects. The Torah embodies supermundane aspects. This is what the higher criticism overlooks.<sup>31</sup> The difficulties and contradictions exploited by the higher criticism attach to the Torah only in its nature as a man-made entity. This has no bearing on the Torah as super-phenomenal. The Torah as *Erscheinung* must not be confused with the Torah as *Ding an sich*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> 339.

<sup>29</sup> 324, 337 ff.

<sup>30</sup> 341-342.

<sup>31</sup> 326 ff.

<sup>32</sup> 328,

Totally disparate therefore, are the Bible of the critics and the Bible of the Jewish people. At God's dictation, the Torah was committed to writing. Yet this does not, in the slightest, impugn the Torah's cryptic essence. The transcendence of the Torah stands. To read Scripture as if it were an ordinary book is to read a Scripture entirely different from the supernal Scripture with which the Jewish people were entrusted.

Breuer is constantly expounding the distinction between Scripture phenomenal and Scripture noumenal. The upshot is a curious amalgam of Agada and Kant. In that Breuer identifies the transcendent with the miraculous, he actually misses the meaning of «transcendent.» Nor is Breuer logical in his objections to the higher criticism. If the Torah possesses its mundane facets as well as the transmundane, why need those mundane features be immune to the slips and the errors that commonly beset the mundane. For just such slips and errors, the higher criticism offers the corrective.

We need dwell no further on Breuer's oddities. In Breuer, nineteenth century rationalism abdicates. According to Breuer, the Jew, loyal to his communion, needs no arguments. That Jew accepts Jewish doctrines and duties without speculating about their validity. Conviction grows out of the urge to believe in the extraordinary, the miraculous, the supernatural. Thus anyone born within the Jewish fold can become conscious of its meta-historical import and be drawn irresistably to the duties thereby imposed. Breuer, unlike others in the era of emancipation, dwells little on Jewish ethics. He takes the perfection of Judaism for granted. He may bypass Judah Halevi's idea of racial selection; living in an age of frenzied racialism, he had to watch against that pitfall. But in asserting the inseparability of people and teaching, the Cusari of Judah Halevi and the Cusari of Isaac Breuer are one.

In brief, both the medieval thinker and the modern thinker would base religion on miracle. Judah Halevi insists that nothing but miraculous revelation can establish the needed

certainty. Rationalistic philosophy nurtures no communion with the Divine. To enter into that communion, every Israelite must scrupulously observe all of the sacred ordinances; those ordinances promote that communion in their own mysterious way. That the miracle of revelation is not fictitious is fully corroborated by the depositions of history as well as by our own intense feelings.

The modern Cusari, despite its scant reference to the Jewish past, agrees with all of this. According to Breuer, traditional Judaism needs no defending. It exists by its own right. The divinely conferred Law defines the beliefs and the practices which comport with the divine will. The Jewish community, the Holy Land, the Written Law, the Oral Law, being of the extraordinary, can be grasped only from the standpoint of ultra-Orthodox piety. To secularize is to emasculate. It follows that, for the Jew who merges himself with the meta-historical community of Israel, all religious and all Jewish problems are solved. That Jew feels, with unshakable assurance, that the Jewish community, its ideals and its past belong to the world of the extraordinary and the transcendent.

In this persuasion, the new Cusari and the medieval Cusari are alike. Both affirm the reality of the miraculous, and both would found religion upon the experience of the miraculous.



## AVERROES' LOST-TREATISE ON THE PRIME MOVER

HARRY A. WOLFSON

Harvard University

IN a list of works of Averroes reproduced by Renan from an Arabic manuscript there is mention of a « Treatise on the Prime Mover » (*Kalām lahu 'ala al-muḥarrik al-awwal*).<sup>1</sup> This work is not extant and nothing is known about it. But, as we shall see, references to it are to be found in Averroes' Long Commentaries on *Analytica Posteriora* I, Com. 70,<sup>2</sup> and *Physica* VIII, Com. 3.<sup>3</sup> A refutation of that treatise, containing a general description of it, as well as paraphrases of arguments and at least one quotation, is also to be found in a work by Moses ben Joseph al-Lawi, which was written in Arabic and translated into Hebrew.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of this general description and the paraphrases and quotations,<sup>5</sup> with the help of parallel

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*<sup>2</sup>, p. 464, l. 13; cf. also Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted below in n. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted below in n. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning him, see Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

<sup>5</sup> In the quotations from al-Lawi's treatise in this paper, I have followed the manuscript of the Hebrew translation in the Library of the Cathedral of Pamplona in Spain, without giving the variant readings in the Oxford and Leningrad manuscripts, with which years ago I collated the Pamplona manuscript. The Oxford and Leningrad manuscripts are mentioned in Steinschneider (*loc. cit.*). The Pamplona manuscript was first mentioned by Fritz Baer in *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, I (1929), p. XVII, n. The reference to this manuscript was brought to my attention by Prof. Alexander Marx and a photostatic copy of it was secured for me in 1931 by Prof. José M. Millás. The original Arabic

passages in the extant writings of Averroes,<sup>6</sup> we shall try to reconstruct the main outline and contents of that lost treatise.

Al-Lawi's general description of the treatise is contained in the following passage :

« Averroes has composed a treatise for the purpose of [1] refuting this method, in which treatise he censures its inventor, namely, Avicenna, and ridicules the method, and [2] argues in favor of the view that the first mover is identical with the Necessary Being. »<sup>7</sup>

The point at issue between Avicenna and Averroes referred to in this passage involves two problems, which, for the sake of simplicity, may be stated in reverse order from that given here by al-Lawi. Both Avicenna and Averroes, following Aristotle, believe that the spheres are each moved by an incorporeal substance which in their language is called Intelligence. The Intelligence which moves the outermost or first sphere is called

of this treatise was recently identified by Prof. Georges Vajda in a Vatican manuscript work by Joseph ben Abraham Ibn Waqār, of which a French translation entitled « Un Champion de l'Avicennisme » was published by him in *Revue Thomiste*, 1948, pp. 480-508. From that French translation it would seem that the Arabic text used by Ibn Waqār differed in a number of places from the Arabic text underlying the three manuscripts of the Hebrew translation.

<sup>6</sup> The works of Averroes are cited in the notes of this paper by the following abbreviations :

*TMBAT* = *Tafsir ma ba'd at-tabī'at*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beyrouth, 1938-1948,

*IMBAT* = *Ilm ma ba'd at-tabī'at*, ed. Carlos Quiros Rodrigues, *Averroes compendio de metafísica*, with Spanish translation, 1919; German translations by Max Horten, *Die Metaphysik des Averroes*, 1912, and by S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, 1924.

*TAT* = *Tahafot at-tahafot*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beyrouth, 1930.

Quotations from the Latin translations of Averroes are from *Aristotelis opera*, 10 vols., Venice, 1573-76.

וזה שאבו אלוליד הניה מאמר כונתו סתירת זה הדרך וגנה מוציאה, והוא  
אבו עלי, והלעיג עליה, וקיים שהמניע הראשון הוא מחוייב המציאות.

by both of them the «first mover.» But the point at issue between them is whether this first mover is God or not. Avicenna is of the opinion that this first mover is not God and that God is a being beyond it, whom he calls «The Necessary Being» (*wājib al-wujūd*,)<sup>8</sup> or «the First Principle» (*al-mabda' al-awwal*). In opposition to him, Averroes maintains that the first mover is God and hence identical with what Avicenna calls the Necessary Being or the First Principle. Connected with this difference between them, there is another difference. Avicenna, who does not identify the first mover with God, discards also Aristotle's physical proof from motion for the existence of a first mover as a proof for the existence of God. In its stead he has a proof from possibility and necessity, which he describes as a metaphysical proof. In opposition to him, again, Averroes maintains that Aristotle's proof from motion as given in the *Physics* is a proof for the existence of God. In the lost treatise, according to this passage of al-Lawi, these two problems are discussed by Averroes. First, he refutes Avicenna's proof for the existence of God. Second, he tries to show that the first mover is identical with God.<sup>9</sup>

In another passage, referring again to the two main divisions of Averroes' treatise, al-Lawi gives us some further details of the first division. To quote: «In that treatise of his, Averroes opens the discussion by (1) reproducing some of Avicenna's words on this problem. Then (2) he begins to refute him by saying that, even if the propositions used by Avicenna be granted, they would still not lead to the conclusion with

<sup>8</sup> Literally «the Necessary of Existence», after the analogy of the scriptural expression «the Ancient of Days» (Dan. 7:13). Similarly, in the Latin translation of this phrase, namely, «necesse esse», the term «esse» is to be taken as a descriptive genitive and as the equivalent of «existentiae».

<sup>9</sup> Cf. analysis of this problem, with reference to Moses al-Lawi's treatise, in my paper «Notes on Proofs of the Existence of God in Jewish Philosophy», *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1 (1924), pp. 590 ff.

regard to the thesis in question. And thereupon he undertakes to substantiate, to his own satisfaction, this statement of his.»<sup>10</sup>

In still another place he says :

« Furthermore, after having mentioned at the beginning that, even if the propositions used by Avicenna in this method be granted, they would not lead us to his conclusion with regard to the thesis in question, namely, the establishment of the Necessary Being, and after having finished what in his opinion was a substantiation of that statement of his, Averroes began to refute the propositions which were made use of in this method.»<sup>11</sup>

Besides these fragmentary outlines which furnish us with general headings of various topics, al-Lawi's treatise reproduces individual arguments under each of these headings and also supplies us with Averroes' concluding statement of his treatise. Bringing all these fragmentary outlines and individual arguments and conclusion together, we have the following outline of the structure of Averroes' lost Treatise on the Prime Mover.

A. Refutation of Avicenna's Proof for the Existence of God.

1. Restatement of Avicenna's proof (Fragm. 1).
2. Censure of Avicenna and ridicule of his proof (Fragm. 2).
3. Formal fallacies of Avicenna's proof :
  - (a) On the basis of his premises, even granting that they are true, he failed to show that his proof is metaphysical and not physical (Fragm. 3).
  - (b) Again, on the basis of his premises, even granting that they are true, his proof is not a scientific demonstration (Fragm. 4).
4. Material fallacy of Avicenna's proof : the defect in his premises (Fragm. 5).

B. Refutation of Avicenna's view that God is a being beyond the first mover.

<sup>10</sup> Text quoted below in nn. 12 and 21.

<sup>11</sup> Text quoted below in n. 46.

1. Criticism of the proposition that from one simple being only one simple being can proceed (Fragm. 6).
2. The assumption of a God beyond the first mover introduces a superfluity in nature (Fragm. 7).
3. The variety of objects of knowledge in the understanding of the first emanation is not sufficient to explain the plurality of beings that proceed from it (Fragm. 8).

C. Conclusion (Fragm. 9).

#### Fragment 1

« In that treatise of his Averroes opens the discussion by reproducing some of Avicenna's words on this problem ». <sup>12</sup>

Averroes' reproduction of « some of Avicenna's words » probably consisted of a brief summary of Avicenna's proof for the existence of God, such, for instance, as is given by Algazali in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*. Averroes himself in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* gives a nod of approval to this summary. <sup>13</sup> As summarized by Agazali, the proof reads as follows : « It is argued that every one of the individual causes [within the world] is either possible with reference to its own essence or necessary. Now, if each one of them were necessary, then it would not be in need of any cause. And if each of them is possible, then the universe as a whole is to be described as possible. But inasmuch as everything that is possible is in need of a cause superadded to its essence, it follows that the world as a whole is in need of a cause extraneous to itself. » <sup>14</sup>

#### Fragment 2

« He censures the inventor of this method, namely, Avicenna, and ridicules the method. » <sup>15</sup>

אבו אלוליד פתח אותו מאמר שלו באשר קיים קצת דברי אבו עלי בזאת השאלה. אחר כך לקח לסתור אותו ואמר עד שאלו קובל לאבן עלי ההקדמות אשר עשה לא הביאו לקיום הדרוש. אחר כך לקח לאמת זה כפי דעתו.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *TAT* IV, 27, p. 276, ll. 10-11.

<sup>14</sup> *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* IV, 11, p. 138, ll. 9-12.

<sup>15</sup> Text quoted above in n. 7.

This statement, we take it, refers not to the general character of Averroes' criticism but rather to a specific passage in it. What that passage was, al-Lawi does not tell us. But from the nature of Averroes' references to Avicenna in his other works, where he speaks of « Avicenna and others » as those « who have perverted the view of men of divine science so that it became something fantastic », <sup>16</sup> it may be inferred that his censure and ridicule here was similarly some statement to the effect that Avicenna misrepresented the views of Aristotle.

### Fragment 3

« Then he begins to refute him by saying, that even if the propositions used by Avicenna be granted, they would still not lead to the conclusion with regard to the thesis in question. And thereupon he undertakes to substantiate, to his own satisfaction, this statement of his. He reproduces a certain difficulty raised by the Philosopher in Book Capital Alpha of his *Metaphysics*, namely, whether the principle of generated and perishable things is generated and perishable, or eternal. <sup>17</sup> For if it is generated and perishable, it undoubtedly must itself have a principle and the same must be said of that principle, and so on continuously. And if it is eternal, then that which comes into existence through it must likewise be eternal, and not generated and perishable as has been assumed, <sup>18</sup> for were

<sup>16</sup> *TAT* III, 72, p. 182, ll. 4-5 : ابن سينا وغيره الذين غيروا مذهب القوم في العلم الالهي حتى صار ظنيا .

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* III (B), 4, 1000b, 23-24. al-Lawi's reference here to « Book Capital Alpha » is probably an error. Or it may be explained on the ground that in the Arabic text used by him Book Capital Alpha included the first four chapters of Book Beta, for, in Arabic texts of the *Metaphysics*, Book I was designated as « Small Alpha » (cf. Steinschneider, *Heb. Über.*, p. 163) and « Capital Alpha » consequently came immediately before « Beta, » and thus it may have included the first four chapters of « Beta. »

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 1000b, 24-32, reproduced by Averroes in *IMBAT* III. 28.

it not assumed to be eternal, there would be the question as to the reason why that which was generated from it was generated at one time rather than another.<sup>19</sup> He then says that this difficulty can be solved only by the fact established in physical science that it is the celestial body which is the cause of generation and corruption and that this body, though eternal, by reason of certain changes of position that occur in its parts, possesses certain changeable dispositions which have a temporal beginning, and it is in virtue of this that the celestial body, though in itself eternal, is the cause of generation and corruption.<sup>20</sup> This is the gist of his statement, even though we

<sup>19</sup> This part of the argument is not found in the passage of the *Metaphysics* referred to in the preceding note. But it is found *IMBAT* III, 29, where it reads as follows: « But he who does not believe in eternal motion will be unable to give a reason why the Creator, exalted be He, who is eternal, created the world after He had been uncreative. »

ومن لم يقل بحركة دائمة لم يمكنهم ان يوفوا السبب في كون الاري تعالى وهو ازل فاعلا للعالم بعد ان لم يفعل .

This question is also raised by him in his *Kitab al-Kashf* (see below, n. 48), p. 30, ll. 10-12: « Moreover, if the agent sometimes acts and at other times does not act, then there must be a cause which brings about its being in one of these conditions rather than in the other. »

In Aristotle, the same question is to be found in *De Caelo* I, 12, 283 a, 11-12 (cf. S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, p. 217, n. 3 to p. 80).

<sup>20</sup> In *IMBAT* III, 28, after reproducing the same difficulty that is quoted here in the name of « the Philosopher, » Averroes similarly says: « This difficulty can be solved by what has been said in physical science with regard to the eternal motion of translation. » هذا الشك

ينحل بما تبين في العلم الطبيعي من امر حركة النقلة السرمدية .

By « the eternal motion of translation » he means the eternal circular motion of the celestial spheres. Then, after stating that the spheres are eternal and have no potentiality for destruction, he adds that, despite their eternity, they can be the cause of the transiency of things « on account of the interchange of positions which occurs to them, » من جهة . تبديل الاوضاع التي تعرض لها



have not quoted it verbatim ... [But, adds Averroes,] these beings, namely, the celestial bodies, which are assumed to constitute the proximate cause of generation and corruption, have themselves been shown to be eternal and the causes of generation and corruption only by arguments from physical science. Hence it necessarily follows that the metaphysician cannot prove the existence of the Necessary Being but must accept it from the physicist as granted or else he must compose a proof for it out of the combination of the two sciences. »<sup>21</sup>

What he means by « the variation of position » is explained in *De Gener. et Corr.* II, 10, 336b, 2-9, which passage is meant by his vague reference to « physical science ». The argument contained in that passage and referred to here in the Fragment, as restated by Averroes himself in his *Expositio Media in Libros de Generatione et Corruptione* II, Com. 56, f. 385 I K, reads as follows :

« The cause, therefore, of the continuity of primary generation and corruption is primary motion. The cause, however, of generation and corruption is the fact that the stars and the planets are in motion along that [inclined] circle, whereby they have diverse dispositions with reference to existing things, inasmuch as sometimes they approach and sometimes they retreat, on which account their action is diverse. It therefore follows that, if by retreatment their action destroys, by approachment it produces generation, for contrary effects demand contraries as their causes. »

« Causa ergo continuitatis primae generationis et corruptionis est primus motus. Causa autem generationis et corruptionis est quod moventur stellae et planetae in orbe isto, cum habeant dispositiones diversas entibus, quoniam aliquando approprinant, aliquando removentur, quare est eorum diversa operatio. Oportet ergo, quod si per elongationem corrumpit, quod per approprinationem generationem faciat, quia contrariorum contrariae causae. »

21. אחר כך לקח לסתור אותו מאמר עד שאלו קובל לאבו עלי ההקדמות אשר עשה שם לא הביאחו לקיום הדרוש. אחר כך לקח לאמת זה כפי דעתו. והביא ספק זכרו הפילוסוף במאמר האלף הגדולה מספר במה שאחר הטבע, והוא האם התחלת הדברים התוים ונפסדים הוה נפסדת או נצחית. ואם הוא הוה נפסדת, הנה לה התחלה בלי ספק, ותשוב השאלה בואת ההתחלה, וכן תמיד. ואם נצחית, חייב שיהיה מה שימצא

The main point of this argument is to refute Avicenna's claim that his proof of the existence of God is a purely metaphysical proof and is independent of Aristotle's physical proof from motion for the existence of a prime mover. In order to refute this claim of Avicenna, he tries to show how Avicenna's proof of the existence of God must needs depend upon certain physical considerations.

The contention that Avicenna's proof is not purely metaphysical but depends upon motion occurs in several works of Averroes.

In his Long Commentary on the *Physics*, commenting on Aristotle's statement that, « as for the First Principle in respect of form, whether it is one or many and what it is or what they are, the accurate determination thereof is the task of the first philosophy, »<sup>22</sup> he says : « It is to be noted that the existence of that class of beings, namely, beings separated from matter, ought to be demonstrated only in this physical science, and he who says that the first philosophy is that which endeavors to demonstrate the existence of separate beings is in error, for these separate beings are the subjects of the first philosophy, but it has been shown in the *Analytica Posteriora* that it is impossible for any science to demonstrate the existence of its own subject but that it concedes its existence either as something which is self-evident or as something which has been demonstrated in another science. Therefore Avicenna erred exceedingly

ממנה נצחי גם כן, לא היה נפסד כמו שהונח, ואם לא, למה נתחדש ממנה מה שהתחדש בעת בלתי עת. אמר וזה הספק לא יותר אלה במה שהתבאר בחכמה הטבעית מן שהגשם השמימי הוא סבת ההוויה ולהפסד, וזה הגשם אף על פי שהוא נצחי הוא בעל ענינים מתחדשים מתודשים, וזה מצד מה שיקרה לחלקיו מהתחלף המצבים, כי בזה הצד היה סבה להוויה ולהפסד, עתם היות עצמו נצחי. וזה ענין מאמרו ואם לא נקיים אותו בלשוננו... [והוסיף עוד] שאלה הנמצאות אשר יונחו סבת קרובה להוויה ולהפסד, והם הגשמים השמימיים, אמנם יתבאר שהם נצחיים ושהם סבות להוויה ולהפסד בחכמה הטבעית. ויתוויב מזה שבעל החכמה האלהית אי אפשר לו קיום מתוויב הנמצאות, אבל ראוי שיקח זה קבלה מבעל החכמה הטבעית או שיערב באורו משתי החכמות יחדו.

<sup>22</sup> *Phys.* I, 9, 192a, 34-36.

when he said that the metaphysician demonstrates the existence of the First Principle, in accordance with which, in his book on metaphysics, he proceeded [to prove the existence of God] by a method which he thought to be necessary and essential in that science and thereby has fallen into a manifest error.»<sup>23</sup>

The reference in the passage quoted is to that passage in the *Analytica Posteriora* which in the Arabic version reads, «It is plainly evident that no master of any art can demonstrate the proper principles of his own art.»<sup>24</sup> Commenting upon this, Averroes says: «That is, by an absolute demonstration which shows cause and existence. For the master of particular arts can demonstrate the causes of his own subject through signs, or *a posteriori*, just as Aristotle did in the *Physics*, where he demonstrated the existence of prime matter and the prime mover, but the only way by which he could demonstrate the existence of the prime mover was through a sign in that science, namely, physical science, and not as it was thought by Avicenna. Whence we have composed a special treatise to show the falsity of the universal method whereby Avicenna thought the metaphysician can prove the existence of a First Principle.»<sup>25</sup>

In another place, commenting on Aristotle's statement in the *Physics* which in the Arabic translation reads: «The

<sup>23</sup> *Commentaria Magna in Libros Physicorum*, I, Com. 83, f. 47 FG; «Sed notandum est, quod istud genus entium, esse, scilicet separatum a materia, non debet declaratur nisi in hac scientia naturali. Et qui dicit quod prima philosophia nititur declarare entia separabilia esse, peccat. Haec nam entia sunt subiecta primae philosophiae et declaratus est in in Posterioribus Analyticis quod impossibile est aliquam scientiam declarare suum subiectum esse, sed concedit impsum esse, aut quia manifestum per se aut quia est demonstratum in alia scientia. Unde Avicenna peccavit maxime, cum dixit quod primus philosophus demonstrat primum principium esse et processit in hoc in suo libro de scientia divina per viam quam existimavit esse necessariam et essentialem in illa scientia et peccavit peccato manifesto.»

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Anal. Post.* I, 9, 76a, 16-17, and *Commentaria Magna*, Text. 70, f. 152 F.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, *Commentaria Magna*, Com. 70, f. 154 DF:

question as to what is the disposition of separable form and as to what it is, belongs to the first philosophy, »<sup>26</sup> he says : « The investigation concerning the dispositions of separable forms in so far as they are separable and concerning their essence belongs to the first philosophy and not to physical science. But it is to be noted that the investigation into the existence of these

## de Balnes

Id est commonstratione simpliciter, id est commonstratione quae largiatur causam et esse. Artifex namque particularium artium potest demonstratione ostendere sui subiecti causas per signa, prout fecit Aristoteles in commonstrando primam materiam et primum moventem in Physicis Asculationibus, immo non est modus commonstrandi primum moventem esse, nisi per signum in hac, scilicet physica scientia, non sicut opinatus est Avicenna. Unde nos instituimus proprium tractatum in demonstrando corruptelam modi universalis, quo Avicenna putavit quod possit theologus demonstrare primum primum principium esse.

## Burana

Intelligit monstratione sufficiente, hoc est monstratione exhibente causam et existentiam. Et hoc quoniam artifices scientiarum particularum possunt monstrare demonstrationem causarum subiecti sui per signa, quemadmodum fecit Aristoteles cum monstravit materiam primam in Auditu Naturali et motorem primum. Sed non est via, qua monstraret existentiam motoris primi, nisi per signum in hac scientia, hoc est in scientia naturali, non quemadmodum existimavit Ben Senae. Iam vero posuimus sermonem ad monstrandam corruptionem viae universalis, quam opinatus est Ben Senae quod potest artifex scientiae divinae monstrare existentiam primi principij.

## Mantinus

Hoc est demonstratione absoluta, quae scilicet praestet causam et esse. Nam possessor artium particularum bene potest demonstrare causas sui subiecti per signa, seu a posteriori, ut fecit Aristoteles in Libro Physicorum, ubi demonstrat materiam primam et primum moventem. Sed non potest probare quod primum movens sit, nisi per signum a posteriori in hac scientia, scilicet naturali, non ut putat Avicenna. Nos vero iam edidimus tractatum, in quo probamus falsitatem illius methodi universalis, qua Avicenna putavit metaphysicum posse probare primum principium esse.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Phys.* II, 2, 194b, 14-15, and *Commentaria Magna*, Text. 26, f. 58 K),

forms belongs to physical science, and not to the first philosophy, as is fancied by Avicenna, for it is in this science that it becomes manifest that this class of forms do exist and it is only after their existence has been demonstrated that the first philosophy investigates into their essences and dispositions. »<sup>27</sup>

In still another place, commenting upon Aristotle's statement in the *Physics* to the effect that the question whether there is a beginning of motion is important «not only for the study of nature, but also for the investigation of the First Principle,»<sup>28</sup> he says: «For the metaphysician accepts the first moving principles from the physicist, and he has no way to demonstrate the existence of a first mover unless he accepts it as something well-known from the physicist. As for the opinion of Avicenna who thought that the metaphysician ought to demonstrate the existence of the First Principle, it is false and his method of proof, which he imagined to have invented himself, of which he has made use in his book, and in which he was followed by Algazali, is a feeble method and is in no way demonstrative. We, moreover, have composed a special treatise concerning this, and he who would like to learn the difficulties which occur in this method, let him consult the work of Algazali, for many things which he inveighs against others are true.»<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, *Commentaria Magna*, Com. 26, f. 59 BC: «Consyderatio autem de dispositionibus formarum abstractarum, secundum quod sunt abstractae, et de quiditatibus earum, est proprie primae philosophiae, non scientiae naturalis. Et notandum quod consyderatio in esse istarum formarum est in scientia naturali, non in prima philosophia, sicut existimat Avicenna, quoniam in hac scientia apparet istud genus formarum esse. Deinde prima philosophia consyderat de quiditatibus et dispositionibus earum.»

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Phys.* VIII, 1, 251a, 5-8.

<sup>29</sup> *Commentaria Magna in Libros Physicorum*, VIII, Com. 3, f. 340 EF: «Divinus nam accipit prima principia moventia a naturali, et nullam habet viam ad demonstrandum esse primum motorem, nisi accipiat ipsum pro constanti a naturali. Et quod existimavit Avicenna quod divinus debet

A similar statement occurs also in his *Epitome of the Metaphysics*. «The demonstrations which Avicenna makes use of in his metaphysics to establish the existence of the First Principle are all contentious (*jadaliyyah*) assertions, not altogether true, nor do they prove anything in an appropriate manner ('*ala al-tahṣīs*) ... The metaphysician, therefore, as we have said, accepts the existence of the First Principle from physical science and discusses only the manner in which it is a mover, just as it is from mathematical astronomy that he accepts the number of principles which exist as movers of the spheres.»<sup>30</sup>

A discussion of the same problem, with reference to Avicenna, is to be found also in his Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, where he tries to interpret a passage quoted from Alexander of Aphrodisias. As in the passages quoted before from his other commentaries, he brings into play Aristotle's statement in *Analytica Posteriora* that «no master of any art can demonstrate the proper principles of his own art.» Again, as in those other passages, he maintains that this refers only to an attempt to demonstrate «according to the method of an absolute demonstration (*al-burhān al-muṭlaq*), but according to the method which proceeds from posterior propositions to prior propositions or that which is called signs (*al-dalā'il*, σημεῖα) it is possible to demonstrate them.»<sup>31</sup> Then, after indicating

monstrare primum principium esse, est falsum, et via eius, quam finxit ipsum invenisse eam, qua usus est in suo libro, et similiter Algazel sequens ipsum, est via tenuis et non est demonstrativa aliquo modo. Nos autem de hoc fecimus tractatum singularem super hoc, et qui voluerit accipere quaestiones accidentes in ea videat hoc ex libro Algazelis, plures enim quas induxit contra alios verae sunt.»

واما البيانات التي يستعملها ابن سينا في بيان المبدأ الاول : 8-9 ، *IMBAT* I،  
في هذا العلم فهي اقاويل جدلية غير صادقة بالكل وليسر تعطى شيئاً على التذميص  
... ولذلك يتسلم كما قلنا ماخب هذا العلم وجوده عن العلم الطبيعي ويبطى الجهة  
التي بها يكون محركاً كما يتسلم عدد وجود المحركين عن مناعة النجوم التعاليمية.

<sup>31</sup> *TMBAT*, Lam (XII), Com. 5, p. 1423, ll. 6-8 : على طريق البرهان :



that Aristotle's proof for the existence of the First Mover is a proof from signs, he says : « And therefore it is impossible to prove the existence of a separable substance except from motion and the methods which have been thought to lead to the existence of the First Mover short of the method of motion are all persuasive [i.e., rhetorical] methods<sup>32</sup> ... But Avicenna... says that the physicist assumes the existence of nature as a hypothesis and that the metaphysician it is who demonstrates it by proof. »<sup>33</sup> Later Averroes remarks that it was a misunderstanding of that passage in Alexander that « has caused Avicenna to err. »<sup>34</sup> Still later, however, Averroes quotes another passage from Alexander in which a view like that later advanced by Avicenna is expressly stated.<sup>35</sup>

In his refutation of Avicenna's contention, Averroes reproduces, from the *Metaphysics*, Aristotle's question with regard to the transiency of sublunar things. The question is reproduced by him rather freely. He then refers to « physical science » as the place where an answer to this question is to be found. The reference is to the *De Generatione et Corruptione*. The answer to the question reproduced by him in this Fragment, in its phraseology, reflects his own commentary on that work of

المطلق واما على طريق المسير من المتاخرات الى المتقدّمات وهى التى تسمى الدلائل فيمكنه ذلك.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1423, ll. 10-13 : ولذلك لا سبيل الى تبين وجود جوهر مفارق :  
الا من قبل الحركة والطرق التى يظن بها انها مفضية الى وجود المحرك الاول  
من غير طريق الحركة هى كلها طرق مقنعة.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1423, l. 18-p. 1424, l. 2 : واما ابن سينا ... فقال ان ماحب :  
العالم الطبيعى يضع وضعا ان الطبيعة موجودة وان ماحب العالم الالهى هو الذى يبرهن  
وجودها.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1426, l. 12 : وهو الذى غلط ابن سينا

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Com. 6, p. 1429, ll. 1-3. German translation of this passage  
in J. Freudenthal, *Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders  
zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, p. 74 ll. 13-20,



Aristotle as well as his discussion of that question in his Epitome of the *Metaphysics*.<sup>35a</sup>

The general drift of Averroes' refutation is clear. He wants to show that Avicenna's proof is not, as is claimed for it, purely metaphysical. The argument by which he tries to show this may be restated as follows. One of the essential elements in the conception of God as the Necessary Being is that, while God depends for His existence on nothing else, He is the cause of the existence of everything else, and consequently this is also one of the essential elements in his proof of the existence of God from possibility and necessity. Now among the things included in «everything else», of which God is conceived as being the cause, are also the sublunar transient things which come to be and pass away. Consequently, then, God, who is eternal, is the cause of the existence of these transient things. But here is a difficulty raised by Aristotle himself. How can a being who is eternal be the cause of transient things? The answer to this question, maintains Averroes, is to be found in the Aristotelian theory that the motion of sublunar bodies, though indirectly due to God, is directly due to the motion of the celestial spheres. For, maintains Aristotle, while the motion of these celestial spheres is eternal, within these celestial spheres there are stars and planets, and these stars and planets in the course of their motion sometimes approach sublunar things and sometimes retreat from them, and it is these approachments and retreatments which cause respectively the motions of generations and corruption in sublunar things. Now, continues Averroes, the eternity of the celestial bodies as well as their being, through their approachments and retreatments, the causes of generation and corruption in sublunar things is demonstrated in Aristotle by arguments taken from physics. Hence, he concludes, Avicenna's proof for the existence of God, even if based not exclusively on physical science, draws some of its propositions from that science.

<sup>35a</sup> Cf. quotations above in n. 20,

## Fragment 4

« In the course of that argument Averroes mentioned that the method followed by Avicenna in the proof of the Necessary Being is similar to the method of the Mutakallimūn, by which he means that the propositions used therein are common and inappropriate propositions. »<sup>36</sup>

The charge that Avicenna's proof has its origin in the Kalām is found also in Averroes' *Tahāfut al-Tāhāfut*, where, after referring to this method as being that of Ḍfarabi and Avicenna, he says : « This is a path which was not trod by the ancients and these two men have only followed therein the Mutakallimūn of our religion. »<sup>37</sup> Again : « This demonstration, which Algazali recites in the name of the philosophers, was first ascribed to philosophy by Avicenna on the ground that it was a better method than the methods of the ancients, for he thought that this method proceeded from the essence of being, whereas the methods of the others proceeded from accidents consequent to the First Principle. This method was taken by Avicenna from the Mutakallimūn. »<sup>38</sup> Similarly in his Long Commentary on the *Physics* he says that « the method

וזכר אבו אלוליד באותו מאמר שזה הדרך אשר הלך אבו עלי בקיום מהווים<sup>36</sup>  
המציאות ידמה דרך המדברים, ירצה שההקדמות הנעשות בו הקדמות כוללות בלתי  
מיוחדות.

<sup>37</sup> TAT I, 93, p. 54, ll. 14-15 : وهو مسلك لم يسلكه المتقدمون وانما اتبع  
هذان الرجلان فيه المتكلمين من اهل ملتنا.

<sup>38</sup> TAT IV, 27, p. 276, ll. 1-4 : هذا البرهان الذي حكاه عن الفلاسفة اول  
من نقله الى الفلسفة ابن سينا على انه طريق خير من طريق القدماء لانه زعم انه من  
جوهر الموجود وان طرق القوم من اعراض تابعة المبدأ الاول. وهو طريق اخذه  
ابن سينا من المتكلمين.

Cf. quotations from Averroes on this subject in Shem-Tob Falaquera,  
*Moreh ha-Moreh* II, 1, pp. 76-77.

in which Avicenna proceeded in proving the existence of the First Principle is the method of the Mutakallimūn.»<sup>39</sup>

The additional statement here that the Avicennian proof which is of Kalām origin, is based upon «common» and «inappropriate» propositions, is an indirect way of saying that it is not a true scientific demonstration, for a true scientific demonstration, according to Aristotle, must be based upon premises which are appropriate (ἀρχαὶ οἰκείαι)<sup>40</sup> and not something common (κοινόν τε).<sup>41</sup> It reflects similar criticisms of Avicenna's proof found in several works of Averroes. Thus in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, Averroes says with regard to Avicenna's proof that «his argument is persuasive (*maqna'*), [i.e., rhetorical],<sup>42</sup> contentious (*jadaliyy*), and not demonstrative (*la burhāniyy*).<sup>43</sup> » So also in a passage quoted above from his Long Commentary on the *Physics*, he describes it as feeble (*tenuis*) and not demonstrative (*non demonstrativa*).<sup>44</sup> Similarly, in a passage also quoted above from the Epitome of the *Metaphysics*, he describes Avicenna's assertions as «contentious (*jadaliyyah*), as not being «altogether true,» and as not proving anything in an «appropriate manner» (*'ala al-tahṣīs*).»<sup>45</sup>

### Fragment 5

«Moreover, after having mentioned at the beginning that, even if the propositions used by Avicenna in this method be

<sup>39</sup> *Commentaria Magna in Libros Physicorum*, II, Com. 22, f. 57 B : «Via autem, qua processit Avicenna in probando primum principium, est via loquentium».

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Anal. Post.* I, 2, 71b, 23; I, 9, 75b, 38.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ibid.* I, 9, 75b, 41.

<sup>42</sup> The Arabic *maqna'* is the Greek *πιθανόν* and hence it means also «rhetorical», according to the definition of rhetoric in *Rhet.* I, 2, 1355b, 26-27. Cf. *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, p. 397.

<sup>43</sup> *TAT* I, 93, p. 54, ll. 12-13 : فهو قول مقنع جدلي لا برهاني .

<sup>44</sup> Cf. above n. 29.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. above n. 30.

admitted, they would still not lead to the conclusion with regard to the thesis in question, namely, the establishment of the Necessary Being, and after having finished what in his opinion was a substantiation of that statement of his, Averroes began to refute the propositions which were made use of in this method... He tries to show that our statement that whatever is necessary of existence by virtue of something else, that is, compulsory, is possible of existence by virtue of itself is a fictitious and false proposition. If the proposition is not fictitious and false, he says, one may wonder how a thing could be necessary of existence by virtue of something else, that is, compulsory, and at the same time also be possible of existence by virtue of itself. For as soon as a thing has received from something else compulsion with regard to its form, it can no longer be described as being possible of existence by virtue of itself [with regard to that form], inasmuch as for anything to be possible to exist implies that it is also possible for it not to exist, but the latter possibility cannot be harmonized with that which has been assumed to have come to it by compulsion from something else. This is the gist of his argument, even though we have not quoted it verbatim. »<sup>46</sup>

In this argument Averroes touches upon a fundamental distinction between him and Avicenna in the use of the term possible. Both of them agree that anything whose existence is not dependent upon anything else is to be called necessary of existence by its own essence. Such a being is God. But with

עוד כי אבו אלוליד למה שזכר תחלה, שאפילו היו לו אלו ההקדמות הנעשות<sup>46</sup> בזה הדרך, לא הביאונו אל הדרוש, והוא קיום מחוייב המציאות, והשלים לבאר זה כפי מחשבתו, והתחיל לסתור ההקדמות הנעשות בזה הדרך... וזה שהוא יאמת שאמרנו שכל מה שהוא מחוייב המציאות מזולתו, ר"ל הכרחי, הוא אפשרי המציאות מעצמותו, היה הקדמה דמיונית כוזבת. אמר, ואם לא, איך יהיה הדבר מחוייב המציאות מצד זולתו, ר"ל הכרחי, והוא עם זה אפשר המציאות מצד עצמו. וזה כי כשקבל ההכרחיות בצורתו מהזולת, נמנע שיתואר עם זה בשם אפשרי המציאות מעצמותו, כי אפשר שימצא יתחייב לו אפשר שלא ימצא, וזה לא יתקבץ עם מה שהתאמת לו מההכרחיות מצד הזולת. והו ענין מאמרנו, ואם לו נקימונו בלשוננו.

reference to all other beings whose existence depends upon some cause there is a difference of opinion between them. According to Avicenna, such things are to be called necessary by virtue of their cause but possible by virtue of their essence. According to Averroes, such things are to be called necessary (*wājib*, ἀναγκαῖος) in the sense of what Aristotle describes as compulsory (βίαιος, *darūriyy*).<sup>47</sup> The term possible, according to him, is to be applied only to that which, not being yet in existence, may either come into existence or not come into existence, that is to say, whose coming into existence is neither necessary nor impossible. But once a thing has come into existence by some cause, that thing, according to him, has lost its nature as something possible and is to be described only as « necessary » or rather « compulsory. »

In his criticism of Avicenna here, therefore, Averroes pits his own view against that of Avicenna. Starting with his conception of the possible as that which, not having yet come into existence, may either come or not come into existence, he argues that, when a thing has already come into existence by some cause, it has thereby changed its nature and lost the possibility which it had previously possessed.

This argument occurs in several other works of Averroes. First, in his *Kitāb al-Kashf ‘an Manāhiġ al-Adillah fī ‘Aqā’id al-Millah*, after reproducing Avicenna’s view with regard to things possible with respect to their own essence but necessary by reason of their cause, he criticizes it as follows : « This is a most erroneous assertion. That which is possible with respect to its essence and substance becomes necessary by reason of its cause only when its possible nature has been changed into a necessary nature. »<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* V, 5, 1015a, 28.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroes*, ed. M. J. Müller, p. 39, ll. 11-13 : وهذا قول في غاية السقوط وذلك ان الممكن في ذاته وفي جوهره ليمر : يمكن ان يعود ضروريا من قبل فاعله الا لو اقلبت طبيعة الممكن الى طبيعة الضرورى.

Second, in his Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, he similarly argues : « That the same thing should with respect to its substance be possible of existence and yet should from something else receive necessity of existence is possible only when its nature has been changed. »<sup>49</sup>

#### Fragment 6

« In his endeavor to contradict this view and to prove that the First Principle is identical with the First Mover, Averroes starts out by showing that the First Principle is not the efficient cause of anything inferior to it but is its cause only by way of form. He supports this contention by the following argument. An efficient cause, he says, is that whose action depends upon its bringing about the transition of the object of its action from non-existence into existence, so that when the object has already passed into existence, the action of the efficient cause no longer depends upon it, for its action depends upon the object only during the latter's transition into existence. Now the process of generation is a finite change, for it is impossible for any generated object to be generated for an infinite time. Accordingly, the action of the efficient cause of such a generation must likewise be finite in respect to time.<sup>50</sup> But no finite action can be ascribed to an eternal being, seeing that an eternal being must exist forever in the same state of its final perfection and cannot therefore be active at one time and not active at another. As this argument establishes, in Averroes' opinion, that the First Principle cannot be an efficient cause, he sets out to refute the view of those who believe that the First Principle is not the same as the First

<sup>49</sup> *TMBAT*, Lam (XII), Com. 41, p. 1632, ll. 5-7: لأن الشيء الواحد لا يمكن أن يكون من قبل جوهره ممكن الوجود ويقبل من غيره الوجود الضروري إلا لو أمكن فيه أن يتقلب.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Phys.* VIII, 10, 266a, 24-266b, 6.

Mover. Those who maintain this view, he says, find support for it in two propositions. First, that the First Principle is simple. Second, that from one cause there can follow only one effect. Now, with regard to the proposition which states that the First Principle is simple, Averroes concedes it to them. But with regard to the proposition which states that from one cause there can follow only one effect, Averroes, while also conceding it, does so only in the case of an efficient cause, that is to say, if an efficient cause is one and simple, that which follows from it must be likewise one and simple. In the case of a cause by way of form, however, he almost does not admit the proposition, namely, that, if such a cause is one and simple, its effect must also be one and simple.»<sup>51</sup>

In this passage Averroes tries to establish two points. First, the First Principle is not an efficient cause but only a formal cause. Second, since it is only a formal cause, it can be, despite its simplicity, the cause of many things, for the principle that from one simple cause only one simple effect can proceed applies only to an efficient cause.

The first point is discussed fully by Averroes both in his

כי הוא למה שרצה לחלוק על זה הדעת ולקיים שהתחלה הראשונה הוא 51  
המניע הראשון, התחיל ראשונה וקיים שהתחלה הראשונה איננה סבה פועלת למה  
שלמטה ממנה, ואמנם הוא סבה לו על דרך הצורה. וכסמך בזה על זאת הטענה,  
והוא שהפועל הוא אשר תתלה פעולתו בהוצאת הפעול מהעדר אל המציאות, וכאשר  
יצא אל המציאות לא יתלה בו פעולת הפועל, ואמנם יתלה בו בעת צאתו אל המציאות.  
ולפי שהיתה ההויה שנוי בעל תכלית, כי אי אפשר שיתהוה ההוה זמן אין תכלית  
לו, היה פעולת הפועל בעל תכלית מזה הצד, והפעולה הבעלת תכלית אי אפשר  
שתיוחס לנצחי, כי הנצחי ימצא לעד על שלמותו האחרון, ואיננו אם כן פועל עת  
ובלתי פועל עת. ולמה שחוייב כפי דעתו מוזאת הטענה שהתחלה הראשונה אינה  
סבה פועלת, לקח לבטל דעת מו שיחשוב שהתחלה הראשונה זולת המניע הראשון,  
ואמר שהאומרים זה הדעת נשענו בקיום סבתם זאת בשתי הקדמות. אחת מהם  
שהתחלה הראשונה פשוטה. והשנית שאמנם יתחייב מן העלה האחת עלול אחר.  
אמנם ההקדמה האומרת שהתחלה הראשונה פשוטה הנה הוא יורה אותה להם.  
ואמנם ההקדמה האומרת שאמנם יתחייב מהעלה האחת מציאות עלול אחר, הוא גם  
כן יורה אותה בעלה הפועלת לבד, ר"ל שהסבה הפועלת כשהיתה אחת פשוטה והיה  
המתחייב ממנה אחד פשוט, ואמנם בעלה אשר על דרך הצורה כמעט שלא יורה זה,  
ר"ל שכשהיתה אחת פשוטה שיחוייב שיהיה עלולה אחת פשוטה.



Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics* and in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. In both these works he tries to show that the First Principle or God is not the creative nor the emanative cause of the world but rather its formal and final cause, in the sense that He is the cause of the unity and order in the world and that He moves the world as its object of understanding and desire. It is in this sense of His being the cause of the unity and order and motion of the world that He may also be called the cause of the existence of the world, that is, its efficient cause, inasmuch as the real existence of the world consists in its unity and order and motion.<sup>52</sup>

The second point is discussed by him directly in his Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics*. Referring to those, like Alfarabi and Avicenna, who from the premise that from one simple cause one simple effect must proceed inferred that God was above the mover of the outermost sphere, he says : « This discourse of theirs is sheer fancy, for in the case under consideration there are no processions (*ṣudūr*) and no consecution (*luṣūm*) and no action (*fiʿl*) to justify us in bringing into play against it the proposition that from one agent (*fāʿil*) only one single action (*al-fiʿl*) can follow. »<sup>53</sup> In the sequel he tries to show that the agent in this case is an agent only in the sense of its being a formal and final cause.

Similarly, in the Epitome of the *Metaphysics*, after stating the view of those whom he describes as « the later philosophers of Islam, as Alfarabi and others, » he says : « But there is the following difficulty. When we say that from one there can proceed only one, it is true of an efficient cause (*fāʿil*) *qua* efficient cause only but not *qua* a formal cause (*ṣūrah*) or a

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *TBMAT*, Lam (XII), Com. 44; *TAT* III, 53, 70-72, 79, 81.

<sup>53</sup> *TMBAT*, Lam (XII), Com. 44, p. 1649. II, 1-3 : وهذا القول هو موهوم : وذلك انه ليس هنالك صدور ولا لزوم ولا فعل حتى نقول ان الفعل الواحد يلزم ان يكون عن فاعل واحد.

final cause (*ghāyah*), seeing that formal and final causes are also called efficient causes by a certain kind of simile.»<sup>54</sup>

The phraseology in the passage just quoted from the Epitome of the *Metaphysics* will explain the use of the term «almost» by al-Lawi in the present Fragment. Probably in the original text of Averroes' lost treatise, just as in his Epitome of the *Metaphysics*, his statement read something to the effect that «the proposition was true of an efficient cause *qua* efficient cause only, but not of an efficient cause *qua* formal cause,» without saying outright that it was not true of a formal cause. In his paraphrase of this passage, therefore, al-Lawi says that in the case of a formal cause Averroes «almost does not admit the proposition,» the term «almost» having here the meaning of «virtually,» «practically,», or «indirectly.»

#### Fragment 7

«One of the most amazing things is Averroes' contention here to the effect that if we assume that the First Principle does not act essentially, that is to say, if we assume that the First Principle does not directly move any of the celestial bodies but acts by the intermediacy of that which is inferior to it, then the First Form would be without the action which is appropriate to it and the work of nature would thus be in vain.»<sup>55</sup>

The criticism in this passage, as fully stated by Averroes in his Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, reads as follows :

54 'IMBAT IV, 60 : وفيه خلل وذلك ان قولنا الواحد لا يصدر عنه الا واحد : هي صادقة في الفاعل من حيث هو فاعل فقط لا من حيث هو صورة وغاية فان الصورة والغاية ايضا يقال فيها انها فاعلة بضرب من التشبيه .

55 ומן הדבר הייותר נפלא מאמר אבן אלוויד הנה שאנחנו אם הנחנו שהעלה הראשונה אין לה בעצמותה פועל, ר"ל אם הנחנו שההתחלה הראשונה לא תנוע דבר מן הגרמים השמימיים, ואמנם תפעל באמצעות מה שלמטה ממנה, היתה הצורה הראשונה שלולת פעולתה המיוחדת בה, ופעל השבע לבטלה.

« As for the statement of recent philosophers that there is a prime substance who is prior to the mover of the universe, it is absurd, and for the following reason. Any one of these substances [i.e., Intelligences] is a principle of a sensible substance [i.e., a sphere] after the manner of a motive cause (*muḥarrik*) and of a final cause (*ghāyah*) and it is for this reason that Aristotle says that if there were any substances (i.e., Intelligences) which did not cause motion, their action would be in vain (*bāṭil*). »<sup>56</sup> The last statement is not a direct quotation from Aristotle, though Aristotle does say elsewhere in a general way that « nature does nothing in vain. »<sup>57</sup> It is meant to be a paraphrase and interpretation of Aristotle's contention that the number of the Intelligences cannot exceed the number of the movements of the spheres.<sup>58</sup> Averroes' paraphrase and explanation of this contention of Aristotle evidently reflects the following paraphrase of the same passage by Themistius : « It is impossible that any divine substance or nature should be in vain (Hebrew : *baṭel*) and without any action, for any substance of that kind, by reason of its having attained to the perfection of everlasting life, is in the highest degree good and is incessant in that activity which is appropriate to it and which comes within the scope of its definition. »<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *TMBAT*, Lam (XII), Com. 44, p. 1648, 4-8 :   
 واما ما قاله المتأخرون :   
 من ان هاهنا جوهر اول هو اقدم من محرك الكل فهو قول باطل وذلك ان كل جوهر من هذه الجواهر فهو مبدا الجوهر المحسومر على انه محرك وعلى انه غاية ولذلك ما يقول ارسطو انه لو كانت هاهنا جواهر لا تحرك لكان فعلها باطلا .

<sup>57</sup> *De Caelo* I, 4, 271a, 33. This is the reading of the text as was known to Averroes. Cf. my paper « Hallevi and Maimonides on Design, Chance, and Necessity », *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 11 (1941), pp. 158 f.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *Metaph.* XII, 8, 1074a, 17-24.

<sup>59</sup> *Themistius in Aristotelis Metaphysica* XII, ed. S. Landauer, Hebrew:   
 ואי אפשר שיהיה עצם : p. 24, l. 31 — p. 25, l. 1 (Latin : p. 28, ll. 18-22) :   
 ושבע אלחי בשל אין פועל לו, כי כל עצם זה עניינו, הנה הוא טוב, לא יתגרשל בפעולתו המיוחדת בו, הנכנסת בגדרו, על תכלית המעלה, אחר שהשיג בשלמות החיים התמידים.

## Fragment 8

« Furthermore, Averroes raises here the following objection against those who say that the First Principle is not identical with the first mover. He says : 'Would that I knew whether that which the mover of the universe understands of the First Principle is a perfection to its essence or is not a perfection to it. If it is a perfection to it, how then could any action be conceived to proceed from it, without regard to the existence of that which is a perfection to it? For the relation of that perfection to it is like that of form to matter and the relation of its essence to the perfection is like that of matter to [form], and, consequently, just as there can be no action on the part of matter except by virtue of its form so there can be no action on the part of that first mover except by virtue of that which it understands of the First Principle.' This is a verbatim quotation of his statement. » <sup>60</sup>

By this argument, Averroes tries to show that if we assume the principle that from one simple being only one simple being can proceed is true, then the emanationists' explanation of the rise of plurality from unity is not a good explanation. For what is their explanation? They say that within the understanding of the first emanation there are two concepts, one in so far as it understands the First Principle and the other in so far as it understands its own essence and that from each of these two concepts there proceeds a different being, so that from the first emanation, who is one, there arise more than one emanation. But, argues Averroes, these two concepts are

עוד כי אבו אלוליד יקשה גם כן הנה על האומרים כי ההתחלה הראשונה בלתי המנויע הראשון ויאמר מי יתן ואדע האם מה שישכיל מנויע הכל מן ההתחלה הראשונה שלמות לעצמותו או איננו שלמות לו. ואם היה שלמות לו, איך יצויר פועל מסודר ממנו מזולת השגחת מציאות זה השלמות לו, כי זה השלמות יחסו אליו יחס הצורה, ויחס עצמותו אליו יחס החמר, וכמו שמהוויב שלא ימצא פעל לחמר אלא מצד הצורה, כן מהוויב שלא נמצא פעל לזה המנויע אלא מצד מה שישכילתו מן הראשון. זהו מאמרו בלשונו.

related to each other as matter and form, and, inasmuch as matter by itself without form is incapable of producing anything, one of the concepts, namely, that which is analogous to matter, cannot produce any being. In other words, the two concepts in the understanding of the first emanation constitute a unity and hence no plurality could emanate from it. Somewhat different is the argument against the duality of concepts within the understanding of the first emanation given by Averroes in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. Whereas here he contends that the essence of the first emanation and its knowledge of the First Principle are related to each other as matter to form, there he contends that its essence and its knowledge of the First Principle are identical. The passage in question reads as follows: « This, however, is an error according to the fundamental teachings of the philosophers, for according to their teachings the intellect in its act of understanding (*al-‘āqil*) and the object of the intellect’s understanding (*al-ma‘qūl*) are one and the same thing in the case of the human intellect and how much more so must it be in the case of the separate Intelligences. »<sup>61</sup>

An allusion to this criticism may also be found in the Epithome of the *Metaphysics* in the sequel of the passage quoted above, in which a difficulty (*ḥalāl*) is raised.<sup>62</sup> The sequel of that passage, according to the Madrid Arabic manuscript, reads as follows: « The thing that is especially to be determined here is whether in (*fī*) one simple thing more than one simple thing may be conceived (*yataṣawwaru*) and by that simple thing more than one thing attain its perfection. If this is impossible, then the difficulty (*al-mus’alah*) is real; if it is possible, the difficulty is not real. We have already discussed

<sup>61</sup> *TAT* III, 68, p. 180, ll. 1-3: وهذا خطأ على أصوله لأن العاقل والمعقول: هو شيء واحد في العقل الانساني فضلا عن القول المناقاة.

This passage is quoted by Narboni on *Moreh Nebukim* II, 22, p. 35, ll. 23-25.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. above n. 54.

this in another place.»<sup>63</sup> Assuming that the reading of the Arabic manuscript is correct, then the difficulty referred to is like that discussed by him in the lost Treatise on the Prime Mover and in the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, namely, the contention that the knowledge of its cause and the knowledge of its own essence do not constitute in the first emanation a duality of distinct elements. In the Hebrew translation from the Arabic, as well as in the Latin translation from the Hebrew, the reading of the first sentence in the preceding quotation is as follows : « The thing that is especially for us to determine here is whether from (*min*, ex) one simple thing more than one simple thing may proceed (*yesudar*, ordinetur), »<sup>64</sup> which quite evidently implies a different underlying Arabic text, where the reading was *عن* for *في* and *يصدر* for *يتصور*. If this reading is assumed to be correct, then the passage is merely a restatement of the difficulty with regard to the distinction between an efficient cause and a formal or a final cause mentioned by him previously and quoted by us above.<sup>65</sup>

#### Fragment 9

« Averroes finally says that these matters are to be understood according to the manner which he himself has set forth and not according to the manner in which the common run of philosophers are in the habit of interpreting them ».<sup>66</sup>

ואנא המטלב الخاص بهذا ان يقال هل يمكن ان يتصور  
 في الشيء الواحد البسيط اكثر من شيء واحد ويستكمل به اكثر من شيء واحد فان  
 امتنع هذا فالمسألة صحيحة فان جاز فالمسألة باطلة.

ואמנם : MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Heb. 918, f. 145v1 :  
 המבוקש המיוחד בזה שנאמר אם אפשר שיסודר מן הדבר האחד הפשוט יותר מדבר  
 אחד. Cf. Latin, f. 393 D : « Sed quaesitum proprium huius rei est, ut  
 dicamus utrum sit possibile, quod ex uno simpliciter ordinetur plusquam  
 unum. »

<sup>63</sup> Cf. above n. 54.

<sup>66</sup> והוא יאמר שאלה הדברים יצטרך שיובנו על דרך שזכר, לא כמו שפשט בו  
 מנהג המון הפילוסופים.

So also in his other works Averroes refers in a similar vein to the exponents of the view represented by Avicenna as « the later ones » (*al-mut' aḥḥirūm*)<sup>67</sup> and as « the later ones of the philosophers of Islam » (*al-muta' aḥḥirah min falāsifah al-islām*).<sup>68</sup>

In this paper we have collected the fragments of Averroes' lost Treatise on the Prime Mover, supplementing them with parallel texts from his other writings and also with brief explanatory comments. But the problems touched upon in these Fragments and parallel texts have, both historically and philosophically, much deeper roots and much wider ramifications. Some of these deeper and wider aspects of the problems are dealt with in an unpublished study, by the present writer, on mediaeval philosophy, in which this paper, as originally written, formed one of several appendices.

<sup>67</sup> *TMBAT*, Lam (XII), Com. 44, p. 1648, l. 4.

<sup>68</sup> *TAT* III, 56, p. 173, l. 7.















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